

ANCIENT MAGIC AND DIVINATION

Bodies of Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia

The Diviners of Late Bronze Age Emar
and Their Tablet Collection

Matthew Rutz

BRILL

Bodies of Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia

Ancient Magic and Divination

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By
Matthew Rutz



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For Emily

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PREFACE

This book has its origins in the research I did for my doctoral dissertation, "Scholars, Texts, and Contexts: An Archaeological and Textual Study of the Diviners' Archive from Late Bronze Age Emar, Syria" (Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania, 2008). I have tried to update the discussion and bibliography to reflect current thinking in the sub-disciplines concerned with the study of Late Bronze Age Emar in Syria on the one hand and Mesopotamian diviners and divination on the other. However, the exciting pace at which these fields are developing has meant that regrettably few of the most recent publications have been incorporated in any systematic way.

I had planned a research visit to the Aleppo Museum before completing this book, but the ongoing political unrest in Syria made such a trip impossible for the time being. Although I would have liked to have had the opportunity to check the numerous identification and joins proposed in this book, it was never my intent to collate or re-edit the Emar text corpus in its entirety. Rather, my primary interest is in illustrating a method for studying divination as a cultural complex by using both textual and archaeological evidence, and it happens that the text corpus from Late Bronze Age Emar's 'Temple' M₁ is particularly well suited to such an investigation. With one exception (the Hurrian tablets), the text corpus from Emar is well published, and the excavation methods, artifacts, features, and architecture at the site are sufficiently well known. The ultimate significance of the Hurrian tablets will need to be evaluated once that corpus is properly published.

The aim of this book is to lay out an approach to the diviners of Emar that is at once descriptive, interpretive, and programmatic. I have sought to provide a systematic description of a tablet collection closely associated with the diviners of Emar and interpret the place and significance of this totality in the history of divination and scholarship in cuneiform culture. The larger agenda of this work is to highlight once again the importance and vitality of research programs that interweave epigraphic, philological, historical, and archaeological data and methods.

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A number of people have contributed to the completion of this work, and it gives me great pleasure to thank them. I am grateful to have such good colleagues in ancient studies at Brown University, where I completed this book. Since I began this project while a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, I must also seize the opportunity to once again thank my dissertation committee. Barry Eichler first introduced me to the study of cuneiform and took on the role of supervising my dissertation project. Steve Tinney instructed me in Sumerian and allowed me unfettered access to the files of the *Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*. Richard Zettler was extraordinarily helpful with a number of matters both intellectual and practical, and I gratefully acknowledge my intellectual debt to his work on cuneiform texts as part of Mesopotamia's archaeological record. A number of other people at Penn shaped my thinking over the course of my graduate career, especially Erle Leichty, Grant Frame, Holly Pittman, and Renata Holod. I warmly thank them all.

It is a distinct pleasure to acknowledge a number of other people, all of whom have my sincere thanks. Jenny Jacobs, Kevin McGeough, and Benjamin Porter helped me in more ways than I can count, and I benefited tremendously from the erudition, generosity, and friendship of Paul Delnero and Jeremie Peterson. It is impossible to name everyone else who has helped me along the way, but I would be remiss not to single out Ann Guinan, Matt Johnson, Fumi Karahashi, Stephen Kim, Catherine Mittermayer, Nick Picardo, Lauren Ristvet, Josh Roberson, Eleanor Robson, Yitschak Sefatti, Vanessa Smith, Jon Taylor, Matt Waters, and William Zimmerle. In all I could not hope for more able colleagues or finer friends.

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The following people have graciously given me permission to reproduce illustrations from their important archaeological work at Emar: Jean-Claude Margueron, Jean-Louis Paillet, Solange Ory, Uwe Finkbeiner, and Ferhan Sakal. It is they who are responsible for uncovering such a

fascinating body of material that scholars will continue to discuss for many years to come, and I am grateful for their generosity.

Academic research is impossible without considerable institutional and financial support, and I am grateful to a number of sources that funded me at various times. These include the Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies and Office of the Vice President for Research at Brown University, as well as the William Penn Fellowship, the Abraham M. Ellis Fellowship, the Raymond B. Brenner Award, and the Louis J. Kolb Foundation at the University of Pennsylvania and its Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Beyond financial matters, institutional support has come from many individuals, above all from Claire Benson at Brown University and from Linda Greene, Margaret Guinan, Diane Moderski, Margaret Spencer, and Christine Walsh at the University of Pennsylvania.

I must also thank the editorial staff at Brill, including Jennifer Pavelko, Katelyn Chin, and the series editors, for their help and input at various stages in the publication process.

Finally, my family has encouraged and supported me all my life, and I am especially thankful for everything they did to foster my intellectual curiosity, to indulge my love of old and odd things, and, above all, to further my education. Robert Maddin and the Eisensteins have become a second family to me, and S. Eisenstein Rutz has kept me attuned to what matters most in everyday life. Finally, there are not words to express my gratitude to my wife Emily, to whom I lovingly dedicate this book.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The Assyriological abbreviations used in this study can be found in the following sources: Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (cdli.ucla.edu), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, and *Archiv für Orientforschung*.

The abbreviations used for published tablets from Emar and Middle Euphrates are as follows.

| Abbreviation | Publication |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Excavated Tablets</i> | |
| <i>Emar</i> (text edition number) = <i>Emar</i> 6/3–4 | Arnaud 1986, 1987b |
| <i>Emar</i> 6/1–2 (page number) | Arnaud 1985 |
| RAI 44 | Singer 2000b |
| SMEA 45 (text edition number) | Salvini and Trémouille 2003 |
| <i>Ekalte</i> (text edition number) | Mayer 2001 |
| <i>Looted Tablets</i> | |
| <i>Anatolica</i> 16 | Gonnet and Malbran-Labat 1989–1990 |
| <i>ASJ</i> 6 | Tsukimoto 1984 |
| <i>ASJ</i> 9 | Watanabe 1987 |
| <i>ASJ</i> 10 (text edition number) | Tsukimoto 1988 |
| <i>ASJ</i> 12 (text edition number) | Tsukimoto 1990 |
| <i>ASJ</i> 13 (text edition number) | Tsukimoto 1991a |
| <i>ASJ</i> 13 (text edition letter) | Tsukimoto 1991b |
| <i>ASJ</i> 14 (text edition number) | Tsukimoto 1992a |
| <i>ASJ</i> 14 (text A) | Tsukimoto 1992b |
| <i>ASJ</i> 16 | Tsukimoto 1994 |
| <i>AuOr</i> 2 (text edition number) | Arnaud 1984 |
| <i>AuOr</i> 5 (text edition number) | Arnaud 1987c |
| <i>AuOrS</i> 1 (text edition number) | Arnaud 1991c |
| <i>CDLN</i> 2012 | Cooper 2012 |
| <i>CM</i> 13 (text edition number) | Westenholz 2000 |
| <i>DaM</i> 1 | Meyer and Wilhelm 1983 |
| <i>FsGreenfield</i> | Owen 1995 |
| <i>FsMayer</i> | Di Filippo 2010 |
| <i>GsKutscher</i> (text edition number) | Sigrist 1993b |
| <i>Iraq</i> 54 (text edition number) | Dalley and Teissier 1992 |
| <i>JCS</i> 34 | Sigrist 1982 |
| <i>JCS</i> 40 | Beckman 1988 |
| <i>Kadmos</i> 21 | Poetto 1982 |

Table (*cont.*)

| Abbreviation | Publication |
|--|-------------------------------|
| <i>Oriente</i> 23 | Yoshikawa and Matsushima 1980 |
| <i>Prima</i> (text edition number) | Fales et al. 1989 |
| <i>RA</i> 77 (text edition number) | Huehnergard 1983 |
| RAI 47 | Hallo 2002 |
| RE (text edition number) | Beckman 1996e |
| RSOu. 7 (text edition number) | Arnaud 1991b |
| <i>Semitica</i> 46 (text edition number) | Arnaud 1996c |
| <i>Semitica</i> 51 | Roche 2003 |
| <i>SMEA</i> 30 (text edition number) | Arnaud 1992b |
| Subartu 17 | Cavigneaux and Beyer 2006 |
| <i>ZA</i> 90 (text edition number) | Streck 2000 |

The abbreviations that appear in the appendices are explained in the list of sigla found at the beginning of the appendices.

Additional abbreviations include:

Emar Object Signatures

| | |
|-----|--|
| Msk | Mission archéologique française de Meskéné-Emar (French) |
| R. | Mission archéologique de Meskéné-Balis (French) |
| O. | Département des antiquités orientales du Musée de Damas (French) |
| EM | Emar-Maskana (joint Syrian-German) |

General Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|-------------------|
| Akk. | Akkadian |
| ANE | Ancient Near East |
| Arab. | Arabic |
| BCE | B.C. |
| biling. | bilingual |
| CE | A.D. |
| cent. | century |
| DN | divine name |
| EBA | Early Bronze Age |
| ED | Early Dynastic |
| Fs. | Festschrift |
| GN | geographical name |
| Gs. | Gedenkschrift |
| Heb. | Hebrew |

| | |
|-------|--------------------------|
| Hitt. | Hittite |
| Hurr. | Hurrian |
| LBA | Late Bronze Age |
| MA | Middle Assyrian |
| MB | Middle Babylonian |
| NA | Neo-Assyrian |
| NB | Neo-Babylonian |
| OA | Old Assyrian |
| OB | Old Babylonian |
| PN | personal name |
| RN | royal name |
| S | Syrian table t type |
| SH | Syro-Hittite tablet type |
| Sum. | Sumerian |
| Ug. | Ugaritic |
| WSem. | West Semitic |

INTRODUCTION

Divination is a means to establishing non-obvious connections among categories of thought in order to make sense of the world, creating a nexus for interpreting elements of the past, present, and future. As a mental practice divination is predicated on the observation of the phenomenal world and the differentiation of significant signals from the noise and randomness of experience. The signs detected through divination are thought to have sense and follow a discernable logic, albeit one that may at times defy everyday perception. This sense derives its credibility and power from the signs' putative source, beings or forces like gods, ancestors, or other agents and bodies seemingly outside of direct human control. For a diviner, someone trained in divination's conventions of manipulation, observation, and inferential reasoning, understanding the logic of divination provides access to culturally valued methods for mediating experience: the production of narratives of etiology, causation, prediction (or at least an implicit predictability), and, above all, intelligibility and meaning. As a system of knowledge divination is elastic and can allow the coexistence of paradoxical propositions about the world, such as an implied, unsystematic mechanics of the cosmos that is at once deterministic, stochastic, and alterable. Divinatory systems both create and claim the ability to interpret potent interrelationships among phenomena, and the practice of divination as a hermeneutical system and performance embraces imagination, contradiction, manipulation, contention, revision, contingency, and innovation as well as appeals to a community, real or imagined, and some received tradition that may be both explicitly and implicitly sanctioned by that community. Moreover, divination is a way of knowing the world that is culturally circumscribed and exists in socially and historically specific moments. Like science, religion, medicine, and law, divination is also a category that the modern academy defines, delimits, and deploys to isolate and analyze certain human practices. The success of any such analyses will hinge on the degree to which they can shed light on how an isolated practice, in this case divination, fits into some larger whole.

While an anthropological ethnography of divination must cope with the problems of negotiating and translating the face-to-face interactions around behavior, historical inquiry into systems of applied knowledge

like divination must make due with more scant remains. For the more remote past, being at a remove in space and time tends to further reduce the quantity and quality of available information. Thus, the dialogic, discursive, and performative nuances and subtleties around divination as a practice are essentially inaccessible for the ancient world. The ancient historian's lot falls with the written remains of ancient cultures, that is, what was deemed necessary and proper to transmit in written form. Excluded from the written record was any information practitioners thought was too (un)important to preserve in the textual formats, conventions, and canons known at any given time and place. However, premodern texts are not solely the contents of their information. Ancient texts are also a class of material culture, even if their materiality is compromised by time and circumstance or at times undervalued by philological and historical research. If there is one geographical region in which ancient texts can be profitably interpreted using their status as material culture from the archaeological record, it is Mesopotamia.

DIVINATION IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA: BODIES OF KNOWLEDGE

One approach to understanding the ancient past in its unrecoverable fullness is to describe its epitome. All manner of objects, built environments, landscapes, and behaviors can be thought to epitomize the inhabitants of a civilization, and ancient Mesopotamia is no exception. For ancient Mesopotamia writing, kingship, law, 'list science,' or divination are convenient lenses through which to view the region's ancient cultures, and for good reason ancient Mesopotamia has been characterized as exhibiting a "divination culture" (Frahm 2011: 20). However, it is important to keep in mind that divination does not epitomize Mesopotamian culture or mentality anymore than other singular cultural, social, and political behaviors do. Selecting a category of culture for meaningful study requires isolating it from its complex, dynamic, and thoroughly entangled place in human interactions.

One of the central questions posed in this book focuses not on the theory and practice of divination itself but rather on the practitioners: What do we know about diviners in the ancient Near East, especially greater Mesopotamia, as cultural brokers, social agents, and historical actors? The term 'diviner' is a convenient, if somewhat uncomfortable, gloss of Sumerian lu_2 -maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂ (and variants), and in later cuneiform traditions the title was also written with the logograms LU_2 .ĦAL or LU_2 .AZU/UZU₂ for

Akkadian *bārû*, literally ‘seer’ or ‘one who inspects’; a similar etymology lies behind later Hurrian *f/wurulinni*, which was then lent into Ugaritic as *prln*.¹ The diviner and his craft (Akk. *bārûtu*) occupied an important role in the societies of ancient Mesopotamia, and aspects of this role are evident in virtually every period for which there is adequate documentation. Divination was an integral component of the interplay between royal and religious ideologies, being a putative method for the appointment of cultic officials, the sanctioning of building projects, and the legitimation of political and military policies, including instances when the diviner actually accompanied military campaigns. While this figure commanded a specialized knowledge about the art of divination, this was certainly not his only role in any given place or time.

It is vital to appreciate that, like any other title, ‘diviner’ is not an *a priori*, natural, static, or self-evident category or role. That is to say, whatever the title ‘diviner’ denoted and connoted for ancient societies must be reconstructed, inferred from various muted signals in the historical record. However, contemporary research has generally attempted to articulate the role of the diviner in Mesopotamia by focusing solely on aspects of his specialized craft: the geographic and historical distribution of specific divinatory techniques (for instance, so-called provoked and unprovoked omen traditions); the serialization and standardization of the repertoire of omen texts; the veracity and appropriation of historical allusions in the omens; and the degree to which the omen literature reflected popular or folk strata versus esoteric, hermetically sealed scholarly traditions. Rarely have contemporary scholars sought to clarify the diviner’s broader social roles, since significant methodological and empirical problems have often prevented such an analysis. These problems ultimately stem from the means by which the Mesopotamian text corpus was recovered, namely, archaeological excavation, especially the excavation techniques employed by early archaeologists in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The physical, material document, the cuneiform tablet, provides an entry point for appreciating and understanding the interrelationships among what appear to be isolated manifestations of culture. Objects in isolation irrevocably lose dimensions of meaning, since they then lack an unambiguous indigenous context. This statement very much includes

¹ West Semitic titles such as Aramaic *hzh* and Hebrew *hōzeh* or *rō’eh* also derive from verbal roots associated with vision (Jeffers 1996).

texts, or perhaps better, physical manuscripts as textual artifacts. Archaeological excavation techniques at historical sites in recent decades have, at the very least, provided information about the relationships among texts, the rest of the archaeological assemblage, and architecture. Unfortunately, much of the information about ancient Mesopotamian diviners comes from early, unscientific excavations. As a result the diviners' social, political, and intellectual involvements can be difficult to trace beyond the familiar omen series, rituals, prayers, reports, and letters: without archaeological context only explicitly divinatory texts can be reasonably attributed to the diviner's sphere. It is only by considering archaeologically provenienced tablet collections that it becomes possible to use all of the texts in the diviner's world, including materials not expressly related to divination, to reconstruct the diviner's roles at a specific site and period. Such a holistic totality is in part what I mean by 'bodies of knowledge.'

The material, media, contents, and users of cuneiform tablets all play into some aspect of 'bodies of knowledge.' A physical collection of written knowledge is a body or 'text corpus' in its own right, and where and how such a collection was created and used has bearing on whether it ought to be referred to as a library, an archive, a cache or hoard, a rubbish heap, or some other kind of intentional or accidental repository. The characterization of any given collection in turn has implications for how its constituent parts are interpreted. Some relationship must have existed between written and non-written bodies of knowledge, even if the latter are not directly accessible in the archaeological record. It is also possible to imagine the existence of intersecting, comingling relationships between knowledge preserved in memory, in writing, and in both. Writing can make a body of knowledge known to a community of readers but also restrict unmediated access, moving sources of social and political power away from illiterate or marginally literate segments of the population. Looking at intellectual history, writing can relieve memory from the burden of keeping information reliably and readily at hand, but the fixity of writing also contributes to the fixity of a repertoire or canon, however loosely defined, thereby drawing lines around a mental body of knowledge.

By 'bodies of knowledge' I also have in mind the objects and subjects of the particular kind of knowledge claimed by divination. The objects of divination as a system of knowledge are semiotic bodies, that is, things read for signs, such as the entrails, astral bodies, the calendar, the world of social being. Diviners are the subjects of knowledge, historical and social embodiments of culturally valued knowledge at specific places and points

in time in a variety of communities. These individuals and families, some named, populate the landscape and enliven it, linking with the highest and most well-known political and social elites as well as with the lowest social strata, whose lives leave only the faintest trace in the epigraphic record.

A significant obstacle to understanding Mesopotamian divination has to do with a different body of knowledge still: how the historiography of divination is positioned with respect to more well-established (and academically more reputable) categories of historical inquiry. Does the study of divination belong to the study of religion or the history of science in antiquity? It is widely acknowledged that this question is really best answered by being problematized and dissolved by the critical recognition of the foreignness of categories like 'religion' and 'science' for the vast majority of human societies throughout history (Rochberg 2004). If the study of ancient science and religion is construed as the genealogy of truth, either implicitly or explicitly, then divination does not fit comfortably with either. However, divination in ancient Mesopotamia has resonance with both the world of religious attitudes and behaviors and that of early scientific schemes of observation, inference, and explanation. The placement of divination vis-à-vis religion and science has significant implications for how the practitioners of divination, the diviners, are understood. Are diviners best viewed as scholars, antecedents to experimentalists or theoreticians, or religious participants in the political power structures of their day? Were they charismatic religious figures or (perhaps unwitting) charlatans? The answers to these questions will depend on how the idea and practice of divination is framed. Moreover, even if it is possible to reconstruct the diviner as an ideal type in greater ancient Mesopotamia, divination and therefore the office of diviner was never eternal or static. Rather, diviners lived as active members of various intersecting communities that conditioned what it meant to be a diviner.

COMMUNITIES OF LANGUAGE, TEXT, AND SCRIPT IN LATE BRONZE AGE SYRIA

In north Syria, the end of the Bronze Age is characterized by tumult and transformation in settlement patterns, socio-economic systems, and political modes of organization. The details and extent of these changes have been the subject of much discussion and debate, but what is not in doubt is that destruction levels at sites like Emar or Ugarit provide a

unique glimpse of Syrian society in the late second millennium BCE. Part of what is interesting about this period is the dynamic of identity and difference that finds expression in the texts and other forms of material culture. Excavations across north Syria provide evidence for the use of the familiar scripts and languages of Mesopotamia and Anatolia as well as the transmission of well-known compositions that originated elsewhere. The epigraphic record also allows scholars to create synchronisms that interlace local histories with supra-regional historical narratives. However, in Late Bronze Age north Syria there is also extensive evidence for local languages, the innovation of local scripts, the written transmission of otherwise unknown compositions, and the documentation of distinctly local traditions and practices in the realms of cult, law, political organization, and social structure. Research on this corpus has sought to distill and analyze the heterogeneous elements comingled together in the archaeological and epigraphic records. Similar and dissimilar cultural features and phenomena can be isolated and identified, but a number of questions remain unanswered, and perhaps unanswerable, about the local experience of identity and difference vis-à-vis topics such as language, writing, and other modes of cultural expression. One profitable approach is to look at the cultural complex of Late Bronze Age north Syria through a particular theoretical lens, a construct called the 'script community.' Before it is possible to explore the ramifications of using this construct to situate the diviners of Emar, it is first necessary to define what is meant by communities of language, text, and script.

As with any cultural practice, divination is an embedded social phenomenon, and social life is predicated on the existence of communities: large and small, perceived and undetected, malleable and static, enduring and mutable, overlapping and distinct, 'real' and 'imagined.' A variety of sources of evidence are available for the study of communities in antiquity, including material culture, built environments, landscapes, and texts. For deep antiquity, past the reach of collective memory and even the most robust oral transmission, 'text' must mean 'written text.' Thus, writing itself is one promising point of access for the study of communities that cohere around a shared language, a shared text or group of texts, or a shared system of writing.

Despite the fact that ethnicity is a fraught analytic category in ancient studies, the idea that individuals cohere around a common language is both trivial and obvious regardless of place or time. However, accessing the nuances of ancient language communities is far from trivial, and defining the method by which this is to be done is far from obvious. Written text cannot be a linguistic artifact in the sense of an adequate representation

of a living, active linguistic community. For example, recent debates on language and text in the Late Bronze Age have highlighted the potential pitfalls of equating language and script (von Dassow 2010), revealing the significant methodological problems confronting even the most narrowly construed examination of ancient linguistic communities. Simply put, writing is a communication technology, and as such the practice of writing is wholly artificial (Houston 2004). The significance of language as a marker of cultural identity and the peculiar, entangled relationship between writing and language in literate societies can blur the distinction between the two. That is to say, for literate producers of written text, a writing system may be naturalized to such an extent that it appears to be indistinguishable from natural language. Whereas the acquisition of language is a natural, universal facet of social being in human communities, acculturation into the world of a writing system is not. The existence of well-defined pathways (i.e., educational curricula) for such an acculturation only underscores the remarkable input of socio-economic resources and cultural capital that instruction in any writing system requires.

In a 1990 monograph Brian Stock articulated the idea of the ‘textual community’ in the service of understanding the relationships within “microsocieties organized around the common understanding of a script” (Stock 1990: 23, 150) in the Middle Ages, when “Europe became a society that used texts on a large scale” (Stock 1990: 18–19). As part of a genealogy of the significance of ‘text’ in the modern world, Stock’s formulation uses ‘text’ in reference to either an actual physical document or mental images of a document’s contents gleaned from reading or oral transmission. Textual communities existed around the authorship, reading, and copying of texts, and these communities could be largely non-literate with a few literate ‘interpreters’ who were able to distill and convey a written document’s contents. The limitations of this model for the study of the ancient Near East stem from the fact that we are often in the dark about the actual uses of cuneiform literature, broadly conceived, and there is also vigorous debate about the extent of literacy in particular periods and at specific sites.² However, the end of the Bronze Age in Syria does

² I think that the ‘textual community’ model should find some applicability for Assyriological research, provided that the text corpus is chosen carefully: for example, a study of the ‘textual communities’ that existed around the practice of Neo-Assyrian scholarship or the production of commentaries in the Late Babylonian period should yield interesting results. Cooper’s (1993: 13) idea of ‘Babylonia as a text community’ is perhaps so broadly conceived that it no longer captures the dynamics and phenomena that Stock sought to describe.

not offer up a corpus that will interact well with the ‘textual community’ model by itself.

The theoretical construct of ‘script community’ has its origins in a study that looks in a comparative way at the ways in which ancient writing systems fell into disuse, i.e., “script obsolescence,” in Mesoamerica, Egypt, and Mesopotamia (Houston et al. 2003). That fruitful collaboration was essentially an autopsy, an examination of the last phases of the decayed text corpora from the Near East and Mesoamerica aimed at accounting for the final and complete disappearance of cuneiform and the two hieroglyphic systems. In the course of their discussion the authors defined the idea of a ‘script community’ as “a socially constituted group that uses and disseminates writing across generations through apprenticeship and other modes of training” (Houston et al. 2003: 431). Houston (2008) subsequently developed this idea further in order to understand what he calls the ‘small deaths’ of Mayan glyphs, that is, the writing system’s waning and eventual disappearance from use on multiple, intermediary local levels well before its last gasp on a supra-regional level, a phenomenon that has unambiguous parallels from the cuneiform world. “The script community involves a more restricted focus on who used a writing system, how the system was employed, and how the script was taught, learned, and practised” (Houston 2008: 234). For Houston, in a script community “a sense of shared identity can . . . result from the use of a writing system or witnessing that system in a less active capacity. Actual members of the script community differ in skill” (Houston 2008: 232). Examining these differences in skill can generate some interesting questions. In a so-called literate urban society, how often did someone encounter written text? That is, how public was the practice of writing and its products? How can historical inquiry best model, characterize, and interpret such encounters, and what was significant about encounters with script? In the context of the present study, what did it mean for someone bearing the title ‘diviner’ to possess texts dealing with divination, local ritual, therapeutic magic, literature, the legal transmission of wealth, and the like? Where such texts written in ‘Mesopotamian’ cuneiform perceived as local or exotic sources of power?

The binary opposition of literate/non-literate is inadequate for describing the shape of ancient script communities, and this realization provides an inroad for investigating the nuances of how writing systems functioned socially. It is here that Houston (2008) develops a useful continuum of ‘production’ and ‘response.’ These are essentially the categories of writing and reading but with finer shades of gray in between, a continuum from

low-production, low-response, i.e., ‘non-literate,’ to the highest echelons of elite literati, the scholar, who benefits from being able to engage in high-production and high-response. In the case of low-production, high-response, we can imagine a learned scholar with some physical disabilities that make him physically unable to produce written text. In contrast, there is the scenario of high-production, low-response in which a copyist is well versed in the craft of writing a script but unable to penetrate the surface of graphemes to the linguistic meaning of the written text, for example, certain Late Babylonian religious texts written in unorthographic Sumerian. An individual member of a script community occupies several different locations on this plane over the course of a lifetime, and the aim of education is to progress from the natural state of low levels of production and response to the highest levels possible. However, different members of a script community will reach different individual peaks of production or response, and ill health and old age will push an individual’s response and production back toward zero, where all users of a script begin.

Script production and response are spatially restricted and involve finite numbers of people, and a number of “contingent social circumstances” shape the spaces in which scripts are used (Houston 2008: 240). Within a dynamic script community we can imagine four rough categories (Houston 2008: 235–236): (1) those who cannot respond; (2) those who respond passively; (3) those who both produce and respond; and (4) those who produce and respond with a high level of skill. Naturally, an individual occupies multiple categories over a lifetime, but it is the ability to transition from one category to another that marks the relationships between members of different categories. The spaces of producing and responding to writing can have high or low social visibility, and the degree of social visibility can amplify or mask differences in status.

Finally, a script community can be broadly or narrowly construed (Houston 2008: 236). A broad understanding encompasses all users of a given script over a long time span, and this broad definition is essentially what we mean by a ‘script tradition.’ Using this terminology it would be fair to call the discipline of Assyriology the study of the cuneiform script tradition. It is also possible to speak more narrowly of a set of script users at one time across multiple sites, or more narrowly still at individual sites of script production and response, and even individual producers or responders.

So why introduce this terminology of ‘script community,’ ‘production,’ and ‘response’? What not talk simply about ‘writing’ and ‘reading’? The idea of a script community provides a wider conceptual space in which to

account for difference and variability in the experience of writing. Writing is not the only facet of textual production (e.g., choosing clay, forming a tablet, etc.), and all too often the nature of how cuneiform documents were used (i.e., 'read') is poorly understood. Examining Syria's Late Bronze Age text corpus at the level of the broadly construed script community, the Script Tradition as a whole, is not fine enough an analytical tool to tease out what is most interesting in the data. For example, were property holders in the possession of contracts relating to their property able to read their tablets? Could possessors of seals read their own seal impressions in cuneiform or Hittite hieroglyphs? Could seal cutters read? Were ritual tablets copied and kept for consultation or commemoration, display, education, or some other purpose? Were literary narratives known beyond small circles of literati and/or social elites? How widely were the contents of scholarly texts like lexical lists, omen compendia, and incantations understood by various professions and social groups? The script community model also provides a useful means to critique habits of thought like the 'core-periphery' model that figures so prominently in discussions of Late Bronze Age Syria. Finally, this model can inform the reconstruction of intellectual history by providing insights about the roles played by literate elites like diviners ('high-producers/high-responders') in the production and transmission of written knowledge.

GOALS, SCOPE, AND STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

This book examines an archaeologically discrete body of cuneiform tablets to discern and articulate meaningful associations between the texts and the contexts in which they were found. It is widely acknowledged that the vast majority of known cuneiform tablets lack secure archaeological provenience, and relatively few large groups of texts have been excavated in such a way that a critical investigation of the whole is possible. However, within the discipline of Assyriology, there is a growing appreciation that excavated groups of textual artifacts provide the strongest foundation for reconstructing ancient Mesopotamia's political, social, religious, and intellectual worlds. As a result, recent decades have witnessed the initiation of a number of research programs that have sought to exploit archaeological provenience as a central analytic tool, an equal complement to advances in epigraphic, philological, and historical modes of inquiry. Given this state of affairs, not only is it vital to examine each and every excavated text corpus, but such analyses should also come to serve

as the normative methodology that provides the epistemological foundations for how we go about reconstructing the ancient past.

The present inquiry focuses on a collection of cuneiform tablets from Late Bronze Age Emar (ca. 1375–1175 BCE), a town located at the big bend of the Euphrates River in present-day Syria. Populating the texts from one building excavated in Emar were a number of diviners who acted as high-ranking scribes, scholars, and cultic functionaries. The discovery of a group of cuneiform tablets such as this prompts a number of questions. Where and when were the tablets written and stored, and how did they come to be deposited in the archaeological record? What texts were written on the tablets? What do these texts and the contexts in which they were found reveal about the people who produced and collected the tablets, as well as how and why they produced and collected them? If the diviners of LBA Emar were diviners who do not divine (Fleming 2000: 26), then why did they use the title in the first place as well as copy and collect so many tablets inscribed with divinatory texts? Did they completely repurpose the title ‘diviner’ and make it incommensurable with its Babylonian, Assyrian, or Hittite manifestations? Or did they merely expand its scope to include, for example, otherwise unattested participation in local public rituals?

To address these questions this study examines the archaeological distribution of cuneiform documents within the architectural framework of a single building, ‘Temple’ M₁, as well as the distribution of genres, personal names, and titles present in that text corpus. Since many of the textual genres found in the archive drew on scribal traditions in circulation throughout the Near East (Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Anatolia), it is both necessary and profitable to situate the texts with respect to earlier, contemporary, and later textual traditions. Central to any discussion of a body of ancient texts is an examination of the names and titles that appear in the texts themselves as well as in any scribal colophons that are preserved. In some cases, this information provides the point of access for addressing how, why, and by whom a given text was written down. Using individuals’ names and titles it is possible to plot their specific social, economic, and intellectual involvements and illuminate how an elementary social unit, such as a family of scribes and scholars, was integrated into the existing local and regional institutions and regimes of control. Furthermore, the physical features, layout, orthography, and paleography of the text corpus can also provide distinguishing features that make it possible to identify and assess both innovative and conservative elements found in the tablet collection, as well as its chronological depth.

Each of these types of analysis can be usefully employed to examine any body of texts. In point of fact, when archaeological data are insufficiently documented or completely lost, these types of analysis often provide the only plausible basis for linking texts together and reconstructing possible contexts of meaning and use. However, when these analytical methods are used to interpret an archaeologically provenienced body of texts, the result promises to be a clearer and more coherent picture of a past society.

Chapter 1 sets the stage with an examination of the sources of evidence for diviners and divination in ancient Mesopotamia and develops one of the central ideas of this book, namely that textual and archaeological approaches are, or ought to be, complementary and interdependent axes of information about the past. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the limits on the text corpus and the specific procedure or method I used to look at that text corpus. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the archaeological investigation of LBA Emar. First, Emar is situated in a historical framework as well as in its region and environment in the archaeological sequence of LBA Syria. Next is a survey of the excavations at Emar by the French, Syrian, and German-Syrian teams. Since the corpus for the present study derives from the French excavations, there is a more systematic summary of the excavation areas and soundings conducted by that team. Chapter 2 concludes with a presentation of the various archives found across the site by the French expedition. The one archive not treated in Chapter 2 is the archive from 'Temple' M₁ in Emar, which is the focus of Chapter 3. The first section of Chapter 3 describes the architecture, artifacts, and epigraphic finds from 'Temple' M₁. Here I make an argument about how to best reconstruct the find-spots, and all of the inscribed objects are placed in a square and locus. The second section of Chapter 3 provides a summary of all the excavated inscribed object by locus, i.e., by room. This description parallels the data found in Appendix A. Chapter 4 first describes the genres present in 'Temple' M₁, as well as those found in the other archives on the rest of the site. This description parallels the data found in Appendix B. Next is a presentation of the names, titles, and dossiers of principals found in the 'Temple' M₁ tablet collection. Using the sum total of evidence, Chapter 5 begins with a critical examination of the various theories about the nature of 'Temple' M₁ and its tablet collection, examining the formation of its tablet collection from comparative and textual perspectives. The work concludes with some reflections on the transmission and reception of cuneiform scholarly texts and the significance of Emar for the study of diviners and divination in the ancient

Near East. The appendices present all the published information about the Emar text corpus according to find-spot, genre, and, for the scholarly tablets, scribe.

The data included in the appendices and index are presented in such a way that this work can serve in part as an index and guide to the excavated text corpus from LBA Emar. Information about an individual epigraphic datum can be reached in one of three places. To begin at the end, the first feature is a total index of published cuneiform tablets, fragments, and miscellaneous inscribed objects, both edited and unedited. The first element of the index is a list of excavated fragments from Emar that I have identified for the first time. The second element of the index is a concordance that correlates the text editions (*Emar* = Emar 6/3–4) with excavation numbers. The third and primary element of the index, the index proper, is organized by excavation number. From this index it is possible to reach the two other presentations of the data. The first is organized by find-spot, and the second is organized by genre. Chapters 2–3 and Appendix A present each tablet collection by find-spot and genre. Chapter 4 and Appendix B organize the same data by genre and text, noting each piece's find-spot but also indicating joins and additional information, such as notes on each text's contents and copyist. Chapter 4 and Appendix C present the dossiers found in the archive and catalogue the colophons known from 'Temple' M₁. This organizational structure should make the present work a useful tool for research on virtually any aspect of the rich text corpus from LBA Emar.

CHAPTER ONE

TEXT AND ARCHAEOLOGY: PRACTITIONERS AND PRACTICE, DIVINERS AND DIVINATION

Every society has developed some form of divination. On its surface divination appears to relate occult predictions about the past, present, or future, knowledge of which confers the power to avert, ensure, or at least comprehend the torrent of events that constitute experience. However, a more nuanced understanding of divinatory practices also sees in them the culturally sanctioned creation and dissemination of knowledge about the world. In other words, divination is about the ordering and, therefore, the interpretation of the world through signs. From an indigenous perspective, these signs are encoded in the dynamics of the world itself, and they can be read, but only by those properly trained and acculturated to do so. With over three millennia of documentation, ancient Mesopotamia saw the eventual development of the diviner's craft into an elite system for organizing knowledge and a concomitant elite social role, that of the diviner. Mesopotamia's long and in many respects idiosyncratic epigraphic tradition has yielded significant information about diviners and divination, data that modern scholars have only begun to use for the purpose of reconstructing a coherent picture of this ancient professional title and craft.

DIVINERS AND DIVINATION: SOURCES AND METHODS

The earliest attestations of cuneiform writing as a fully formed system in late-fourth-millennium Mesopotamia witnessed the appearance of a menagerie of professional titles, both exotic and banal. The early history of these professions is of course opaque, but the evidence for literate elites is, by definition, as old as writing itself. For nearly three millennia various specialized scribes and scholars are woven into the fabric of a sequence of highly stratified complex societies that populated the landscape of greater Mesopotamia. By the mid-third millennium a variety of more-or-less identifiable literate specialists are attested in cuneiform sources from a handful of sites, hierarchies of scribes, advisors, administrators, and cultic officials. Some of these titles even persisted until the turn of the Common Era,

while others quickly became defunct or were fossilized in esoteric scholarly writings, relegated to the status of antique curiosities transmitted only in the learned circles of the cuneiform scholarly tradition. Furthermore, as cuneiform writing diffused throughout the Near East, many of the titles that originated in early southern Mesopotamia were given new life and meaning in radically different cultures, places, and historical periods.

Given this expanse of space and time, it is no surprise that the text corpus in its entirety is an unwieldy embarrassment of riches: myriad practical documents and administrative records from everyday life, numerous duplicates of multi-tablet scholarly series and compendia, and a significant body of literary texts, all of which were written in one or more of the numerous languages for which cuneiform was used. Due to the extent of the available data, research on ancient Mesopotamian scribes and scholars, including diviners, has often focused on assembling convenient composites of only the most colorful or readily accessible data from various regions and periods (e.g., Zimmern 1901: 82–91). This is due in part to the fact that all studies of ancient Mesopotamia's literate elites must contend with the same types of data. There are four basic rubrics under which the evidence can be classified: (1) personal names and professional titles; (2) textual genres; (3) non-textual material culture, including specialized objects and visual representations; and (4) archaeological contexts. Of course, many connections can and do occur among these isolated categories of evidence, and one of the arguments of this book is that such cases are of paramount importance for historical research. In any case, to effectively organize and exploit these sources of data, it is important to understand their geographic and chronological distribution. In addition, a number of biases and limitations are inherent to the origins and interpretation of each different type of data. In short, a dialectical relationship between sources and methods has resulted in the dominant research paradigm, whose suppositions are seldom acknowledged. A detailed discussion of how this came about would be too much of a diversion into the intellectual history of the fields of Assyriology and Near Eastern archaeology. Therefore, the following is only a sketch of the basic characteristics and problematics of these four categories of evidence.

Identifying Diviners: Names and Titles

Titles mark social differentiation, delimit social functions and roles, and create an array of concomitant expectations about those roles. The meaning of any given title necessarily changes over time, which is to say that the

set of expectations of a person who holds a given title and office are fluid, determined by changing geographical, social, historical, and performative contexts. Titles are laden with culturally constructed meanings that may not find clear articulation in the sources available to historical research. When combined with personal names, as, for example, in legal documents, administrative records, or scribal colophons, titles offer a window into the lives of specific individuals and groups as they are engaged as social actors in circumscribed historical and cultural contexts. However, since no title or office can encompass the totality of lived experience, titles can both reveal and obfuscate social roles, relationships, and identities. In the literate periods of ancient Mesopotamian history titles like ‘diviner’ appear in virtually every major type of cuneiform text, including lexical and literary texts, practical documents, and scribal colophons (e.g., CAD B 121–125 sub *bārû*). However, the conservative nature of the cuneiform writing system frequently stymies efforts to determine seemingly equivalent, or at least comparable, titles in various languages, especially when logograms are used to write a title like ‘diviner.’

Lexical and literary texts evidence some of the richest and most varied attestations of titles. However, because of the limited concerns, domain, biases, and purposes of lexical and literary texts and because of cuneiform literature’s general conservatism, such attestations are typically the least illuminating of the different bodies of evidence under consideration. All periods of the cuneiform lexical tradition contain some text that deals specifically with titles. Lexical texts from the archaic period may show some correspondence with administrative hierarchies of the Late Uruk period, but these mixtures of professional titles and personal names also illustrate the emergence of a written system with more theoretical than practical concerns (Englund 1998: 103–106; Veldhuis 2006b: 186–190). Later Early Dynastic lexical texts continue and elaborate on the traditions of listing names and professions (Krebernik 1998: 315–316; Taylor 2003), and some professional titles are found in the corpus of Sumerian-Eblaite¹ bilinguals from Ebla (MEE 4; cf. MEE 3). The early second-millennium Old Babylonian lexical corpus bears witness to a number of lists of professions, some of which can be traced in whole or in part down through to the so-called canonical versions of the later second millennium and into the first millennium (MSL 12; Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 628–630).² These texts provide a

¹ Eblaite should probably be viewed as an early Akkadian dialect (e.g., see Krebernik 1996c).

² For more on lexical lists that deal with titles, see Chapter 4.

wealth of information about Mesopotamian education and ancient scholarship, and they are invaluable for modern lexicography. However, a few examples will suffice to illustrate the limitations of the lexical corpus as a central source for historical analysis.

A passage from the Ugarit version of the so-called Middle Babylonian Grammatical Text demonstrates the basic problems at hand. This text contains a list of Sumerian or quasi-Sumerian terms probably glossed with the Akkadian title *bārû* “diviner” (Ugarit MBGT 2:123–136, MSL SS 1, 81):³

| | | |
|-----|---|----------------------------------|
| 124 | maš ₂ -šu-gid ₂ -gid ₂ | [<i>ba-ru(-u₂)</i>] |
| 125 | a-gu ₇ | MIN MIN |
| 126 | a-zu | MIN MIN |
| 127 | i ₃ -zu | MIN MIN |
| 128 | me-zu | MIN MIN |
| 129 | zu-zu | MIN MIN |
| 130 | uzu-zu | [MIN MIN] |
| 131 | uzu-gir ₃ -pad-ra ₂ | [MIN MIN] |
| 132 | igi-[bar] | [MIN MIN] |
| 133 | lu ₂ -[ḫal ⁴] | [MIN MIN] |
| 134 | ad-[ḫal] | [MIN MIN] |
| 135 | sag-su[d] | †MIN MIN ¹ |
| 136 | zu-[x]-[...] | MIN MIN |

The graph ḫal appears elsewhere in Ugarit’s lexical corpus,⁵ and the writing MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ occurs as a title in a few royal documents from the site.⁶ However, none of the other writings for ‘diviner’ is attested anywhere

³ MSS F, J, and L are from the ‘house of Rap’ānu’ and G and M were found in the so-called ‘Lamaštu’ archive (van Soldt 1995a: 197). MBGT contains only a handful of titles, while in other lists like Lu₂ titles are the text’s primary concern.

⁴ The reconstruction of this entry and the following entry is assured because ḪAL is the only element that combines with both LU₂ and AD in the lexical tradition as a logographic rendering the term *bārû*. Note particularly the following: Cavigneaux 1981: 108 no. 58:2’–3’, 109 no. 174 rev. i 5’–6’, 109 no. 161 rev. 3–4; MSL 12, 231, Kish Fragment II 10–11.

⁵ E.g., the polyglot versions of S^a Voc. (Sum.-Akk.-Hurr.) RS 94.2939 ii 10 ḪAL *ba-a-ru wu-ru-ul-li-ni* (André-Salvini and Salvini 1998: 6, 22–23); S^a Voc. ([Sum.-Akk.]-Hurr.-Ug.), Ugaritica 5, 131, pp. 234, 428, line 1’ (RS 20.426 G + 201 G) [ḪAL...p]u-ru-l[i]-n[...]; and S^a Voc. (Sum.-Akk.-Hurr.-Ug.) RS 20.189 A+B 33 [ḪAL *ba-a-ru pu-ru-li-ni pu-ru-[li-ni]* (Laroche 1979; van Soldt 1989).

⁶ The text RS 18.02 (PRU 4, p. 201) is thus far unique in that it involves the ransom of several individuals. Here the king, perhaps Niqmaddu III, pays 100 shekels silver to one Kiliya, SANGA-priest of Ištar of Zinzar (RGTC 12/2: 356, Qal’at Saïgar?), for two pairs of brothers and their children. In the middle of the obverse is the seal impression of Kiliya. The third witness is given: IGI ¹AN-^dU LU₂.MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ LU₂.SANGA ^dU (RS 18.02:16; Lackenbacher 2002: 177–178). This same individual is evidently referred to in the witness list of another text, RS 18.20 + 17.371 rev. 14’ (PRU 4, pp. 202–203) IGI ¹ša-mu-^dIŠKUR LU₂.MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.[GID₂], which recounts the legal verdict of the *kartappu* of the king of Karkamiš.

else thus far in the text corpus from Ugarit. The same can be said of other lexical texts and other titles, such as the obscure lexical equivalents of the *āšipu/mašmaššu* or ‘exorcist’ found in the Neo-Assyrian period (Jean 2005; Geller 2010: 45–48). This basic problem holds true for every period and site that has produced cuneiform lexical texts.

A number of literary compositions also mention titles, and some allude to or describe certain professional activities associated with a given title. There are obvious biases to be taken into account in, for example, the production of religious and court literature, as well as in the use of these texts as educational instruments of the state apparatus and its ideologies (Michalowski 1991). Despite these caveats, expressly literary representations of a professional title like ‘diviner’ do provide a restricted and perhaps distorted view of the constellations of ancient views held about a given Mesopotamian title. The earliest identifiable literary texts provide only hints about the highest ranks of the southern Mesopotamian hierarchy or the ideologies and practices they employed, such as divination (Krebern timer 1998: 280, 298–302, 321–322 with n. 812). Some later texts from the OB period give more detailed literary accounts of some specialized professions, such as the following section of the royal hymn *Šulgi B*, which is attested in OB sources from Nippur and Ur (Black et al. 1998–2006: 2.4.2.02:131–149; Michalowski 2006a: 247–248; Richardson 2006):

I (Šulgi) am a ritually pure diviner (*maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂*), I am Nintu (creator deity) of omen procedures (*ĝiri₃-ĝen-na inim uzu-ga-ka*)! . . . After taking a propitious omen from a white lamb—a sheep that brings messages—water and flour are poured at the place of inquiry; I prepare the sheep with ritual words and my diviner (*maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂-ĝu₁₀*) expresses amazement like a fool. The prepared sheep is placed in my hand, and I never confuse a favorable sign with an unfavorable one. . . . In the insides of a single sheep I, the king, can find the (divine) messages for the whole universe!

Here the description is indirect, since the king claims the ability to subsume the prerogative of his astonished diviner.⁷ A text from about a millennium later ascribes a mythological origin to divination techniques and its associated literature, and this text stipulates a series of purity

Niqmaddu is expressly mentioned as the king of Ugarit, i.e., probably Niqmaddu III. In PRU 4, p. 238 the queen of Ugarit, probably Šar-elli, appoints a servant from the house of a functionary of Ini-Teššup, king of Karkamiš, for 70 shekels of silver. The second of two witnesses is the diviner Penti-ia/Pendiya: IGI ¹ZAG-ia LU₂.MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ (RS 17.231:17; Lackenbacher 2002: 294–295).

⁷ Cf. the Statue of Idrimi, line 29, from LBA Alalāḥ, several centuries later (Dietrich et al. 1982).

requirements for Babylonian diviners (Lambert 1998). Other texts are more laconic but create interesting interconnections between titles, such as an Assyrian bilingual incantation that describes the exorcist as “the diviner of Ea,” $\text{maš-maš maš}_2\text{-šu-gid}_2\text{-gid}_2 \text{ } ^d\text{en-ki-ga-ke}_4 / \text{a-ši-pu ba-ru-u}_2 \text{ } ^dE_2\text{-a}$ (STT 1, 173:13–14 and dupl., see Schramm 2008: 44, 211). Even descriptions of ritual procedures involving the diviner should be viewed as literary compositions.⁸ Unlike lexical texts that merely list titles and, in bilingual and polyglot versions, give their equivalent glosses in various target languages, literary texts provide a much more specific, if also more tendentious, picture. Such literary passages are useful reflections of certain beliefs and practices at the time of a text’s composition (e.g., see refs. in CAD B 122). However, without careful attention to the contexts in which such texts circulated and the purposes for which such texts were composed and copied, excerpts such as these may just as easily be seen as refractions, distortions, or again fossilizations of the professional titles they describe. In any case, there are relatively few attestations of diviners in the literary text corpus.

Practical documents from everyday life, including administrative records, legal contracts, and letters, allow us to trace the names and titles of various professions, families, and individuals as they engage as social and economic beings. As early as the Kassite period, certain professional titles even appear as family names, including the title of diviner (Brinkman 2006b: 27). Since diachronic and regional variations in professional roles abound, recent studies have recognized the importance of limiting the scope of inquiry to a specific place and/or period. For example, recent work has examined the scribes of third-millennium Šuruppak (Visicato 2000), the scribes and scholarly advisors of EBA Ebla,⁹ and cultic officials such as the gala in the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods (Michalowski 2006b; Löhnert 2008, 2009: 61–80). In addition to classic treatments of OB

⁸ E.g., TCL 6, 46 and dupls., see Linssen 2004: 293–294, cf. 17; Ambos 2004: 13, 173, 177–189.

⁹ Fronzaroli 1997; Catagnoli and Bonechi 1998; Biga 1999; Archi 2002; Sallaberger 2003a; Biga 2006; Archi 2010. There are a few named diviners ($\text{lu}_2\text{-maš}_2\text{-maš}_2$): Puzur₄-*ra-ma-lik*, (PN), Tūbī, šeš-II-ib-priest and diviner, perhaps also *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* (Catagnoli and Bonechi 1998: 33–35); however, Archi originally viewed the $\text{lu}_2\text{-maš}_2$ as an “exorcist” and as the šeš-II-ib and $\text{lu}_2\text{-maš}_2$ as entirely separate offices (Archi 2002: 23–24). Note also the *inim-a:zu*₅ = *’a₃-zi-um* / *’a₃-za-zu* (MEE 4:216) = *ḫāziyūm* / *ḫazzāzum* “seer,” perhaps related to extispicy in MEE 7, 14 (Catagnoli and Bonechi 1998: 37; Bonechi 2006: 86); *igi-ġar* (or *gurum₇*) = *ba-la-um* / *ma-da-u₃*, *barāyūm* “to see, inspect” and *maṭṭalum* “inspection”; Ibrium (PN or title?) may have been a diviner, just like his son, Ibbi-zikir (Catagnoli and Bonechi 1998: 37–38).

cultic titles (Renger 1967, 1969), other studies have focused on the diviners of OB Mari (Finet 1966; Durand 1988b, 2000: 91–108; Heimpel 2003) and the scribes of OB Sippar-Amnānum (Tanret 2004b). A number of works have recently surveyed evidence from the later second millennium, such as the texts from Kassite Babylonia (Sassmannshausen 2001; cf. Brinkman 2004), the Middle Assyrian text corpus (Jakob 2003), and the array of Hittite personnel (Pecchioli Daddi 1982; van den Hout 2003a, 2003b; Hazenbos 2007). Other studies have concentrated on the Neo-Assyrian exorcism-priest (Jean 2006) and other scholars in the NA court (Starr 1990; Hunger 1992; Parpola 1993), as well as the role of scribes and scholars during the final centuries of cuneiform's use (McEwan 1981; Boiy 2004: 256–258, 265–273; Clancier 2005).

Witness lists present information, albeit scant, about various intersecting social circles that gathered at a particular moment around some legal event or economic transaction. In some instances witness lists provide the only passing correlation between an individual's name and title.¹⁰ Practical records mention scholars as transacting parties in a variety of legal arrangements, as well as either distributing or receiving various items.¹¹ Epistolary documents refer to scholars sending or receiving messages regarding both personal affairs and professional duties (Durand 1988b; cf. Heimpel 2003). Examples abound in legal and administrative documents for every period in which the use of the cuneiform writing system thrived.

¹⁰ E.g., a tablet from late-OB Alalāḥ VII, ALT *54:31 (month of Ḫiyare, year Irkabtum became king; Dietrich and Loretz 2004–2005: 100–102, 22.03:31) the ninth and penultimate witness is recorded as 1GI *Na-ak-ku-uš-še* MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GI[D₂]. Several other individuals bear this PN in the Alalāḥ VII corpus, but so far none is otherwise attested with the title MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ (Dietrich and Loretz 2004–2005: 143). Curiously, in lines 16–18 reference is made to the practice of sacrificing an animal (here before Niqm-epuḫ, the general, UGULA AGA.US₂) to solemnize and legitimate the transaction (cf. Lafont 2001: 262–271). It is uncertain whether the diviner was involved in examining the animal's entrails after it had been butchered. Various other high-ranking officials are present as witnesses, including representatives of three different cities, a ŠA₃.TAM, an UGULA KUŠ₇.MEŠ, and the DUB.SAR. Another witness list of a tablet probably looted from LBA Ekalte provides the only reference to a diviner from that site: 1GI *Al-la-i* LU₂.MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ (*Ekalte* 96:29; cf. Frahm 1999; Roche 2003).

¹¹ E.g., the notice at the end of the Alalāḥ VII tablet ALT *378:20–22, which gives a total amount of silver that was allocated for large vessels *i-nu-ma* DUMU.MUNUS LU₂.SANGA ḫIŠTAR / *ana Ku-uz-zi* LU₂.AZU / *i-ḫi-ru* “when the daughter of the *sanga*-priest of Ištar married Kuzzi, the diviner” (Lauinger 2007: 180; 2008: 188, 198). In ATT 39/124 (Dietrich and Loretz 2004–2005: 81, 20.10:2–3) a sum (115+x shekels) of silver belonging to Bauziya, diviner, was given to the city of Kazzuwe as a pledge: [x+]1 *me-tim* 15 GIN₂ K[U₃.BABBAR] / *ša Ba-u₂-zi-ia* / LU₂.MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ / *a-na* ^{uru}*Ka-az-z[u-we^{ki}]* ¹*a-na*1 *ma-az-za-az-z[a-nu-tim]* / [*id-d*]*i-in*. However, to my knowledge this figure does not appear elsewhere in the text corpus.

In each of these instances the information provided by the text is limited by the concerns and scope of what was being documented as well as by whom and for whom it was being documented.

The Genres of Divination

Another approach to the cuneiform text corpus involves the exhaustive description of the textual genre associated with a specific scholar's alleged area of expertise. The core genres of Mesopotamian divination include prayers, rituals, observations, reports (both stand-alone reports and those embedded in letters), and omen collections or compendia. There is wide recognition that the very notion of genre is problematic in both ancient and modern settings alike (Michalowski 1999; Vanstiphout 1999; Veldhuis 1999). Be that as it may, even analyses that are critical of the term 'genre' utilize practical generic categories of reference, if only to meet the basic need to differentiate the identifying elements of one text from those of another. Studies abound that isolate a genre to atomize its features in order to understand its basic contents and constituent structural elements as well as its geographic distribution and transmission history, all organized under various rubrics both ancient and modern.¹² Other approaches in modern scholarship subsume various genres under broader analytic constructs, such as scribal education.¹³ Detailed analyses of genres, sub-genres, and groups of associated genres can shed light on questions of textual formation, stabilization, transmission, and (re)production.

Given the fact that the Mesopotamian text corpus has yet to be reconstructed and published in its entirety, a genre-centered approach is consistent with the basic needs of assyriological research. However, this focus on genre has resulted in a tendency to conflate various genres with the titles of the scribes, scholars, and specialists whose purview a particular genre is purported to be (e.g., Geller 2010: 50–51, 72, 122). For example, by this approach, omen literature is taken to be the same as that output and concern of the diviner (*bārû*), mastery of the celestial divination literature falls to the scribe of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* (*tuṣṣar Enūma Anu Enlil*), lamentation literature is equated with the professional duties of the

¹² E.g., omen literature (e.g., Maul 2003a; Riemschneider 2004; Fincke 2004), lamentation literature (Black 1991; Löhnert 2009), incantation literature (e.g., Schramm 2001, 2008; Geller 2008; Böck 2003, 2007; Schwemer 2007).

¹³ E.g., studies of the OB (Veldhuis 1997, 1998; Tinney 1999; Glassner 2004a, 2009) and LB scribal curricula (Finkel 2000; Gesche 2001).

lamentation-priest (*kalû*), and incantations are viewed as the domain of the exorcism-priest (*āšipu/mašmaššu*). There is a further designation for master (*ummānu*) scribe or scholar, but its use is generally limited to the first millennium (see CAD U/W 114–115; Parpola 1993: xiii–xxvii; cf. Verdrame 2008). There are compelling reasons to map connections between specialists and genres, not the least of which is the existence of emic terminology from ancient Mesopotamia that denotes the craft derived from a number of such titles, i.e., *bārûtu*, *kalûtu*, *āšipûtu/mašmaššûtu*, and *ṭupšarrûtu*. Moreover, literary accounts, practical documents, and scribal colophons occasionally provide tangible connections between specific genres and titles. However, the tenuous and provisional nature of such associations is evident when direct or obvious connections are less clearly defined.¹⁴ In short, evidence that disrupts the equation of genre and title merits more than a facile dismissal as a curiosity.

Colophons, Education, and Scholarship

A great number of ancient manuscripts bear scribal colophons that give direct information about who, where, when, and, sometimes even hints as to why a specific text was copied (Leichty 1964; Hunger 1968). Among the most significant features of scribal colophons is that they can create connections between the name and title of the scribe who copied a given manuscript and the specific text and genre of the text copied by that scribe. As is well known, the earliest recognizable colophons date to the ED period (Krebern timer 1998: 325–335), and the practice continued down through the last centuries before the cuneiform script's slip into obsolescence (cf. Westenholz 2007: 276, 278). In some cases early colophons provide some distinguishing information that merits study (e.g., such as those colophons from OB school texts copied by female scribes studied by Lion and Robson 2005), but like their third-millennium predecessors OB colophons are typically rather laconic. In the later second millennium colophons occasionally provided more information.¹⁵ Some tablets give

¹⁴ E.g., the titles associated with medical diagnosis and treatment (Scurlock 1999; Geller 2007, 2010); the case of a medical prescription compendium copied by a diviner (Finkel 2004); the tablet collections attested in the NA library records (Parpola 1983); and the absence of any association between the chief lamentation-priest (*galamāḫum*) of Sippar-Amnānum and lamentation literature as such (van Lerberghe 2003; Tanret 2004a).

¹⁵ E.g., the extensive colophons found among the scholarly tablets from MA Assur (Hunger 1968: 30–34; Litke 1998: 17; Frahm 2002: 60–61, Ass.2001.D-586, Emesal Voc. 3; Civil 2010: 39–51; Wagensonner 2011).

the title of the composition or the copyist's name and title, including that of diviner.¹⁶ In this same period the practice included cuneiform alphabetic texts from Ugarit as well.¹⁷ Later on in the first millennium some colophons occasionally became quite detailed, furnishing valuable details connecting a specific person, title, text, and place.¹⁸

While there are instances of colophons that give literally the only direct evidence for where a text was produced or kept, there are also examples of tablets whose colophons name one place but which somehow made their way to an altogether different location. Some manuscripts were copied from an original source that was known to have a different provenience,¹⁹ while in other cases the actual tablets themselves appear to have traveled from one site to another.²⁰ Finally, in some instances the colophon itself was considered to be part of the text and was thus copied and preserved by later scribes. Arguably one of the most famous scribal colophons describes the editorial work of an eleventh-century scholar (*ummānu*) from Borsippa named Esagil-kīn-apli, who created editions of the Mesopotamian medical diagnostic (*Sakikkû*) and physiognomic (*Alamdimmû*)

¹⁶ E.g., BRM 4, 15 is a MB omen compendium copied by a diviner, Ilīma-aḥi (MB Babylon; Pedersén 2005: 81, M4:3), and various MA diviners copied omen compendia found in Assur (Hunger 1968: 30–31, nos. 45–46; Jakob 2003: 523, cf. the fragmentary colophon of KAR 440).

¹⁷ E.g., the alphabetic cuneiform colophons from a few Ugaritic texts, such as: the Baal Cycle (KTU² 1.6 = RS 5.155 + RS 2.[009] vi 54–58); the tale of Aqhat (KTU² 1.17 = RS 2.[004] vi 56; cf. KTU² 1.16 = RS 3.408 + RS 3.342 + RS 3.325 vi 59); and a text edited as “Le dieu Ḫôrānu entre deux eaux” (RS 92.2016 = RSOu 14 chap. 8 no. 53, pp. 393–405). For discussion of the names and titles in these colophons, see Dietrich and Loretz 1972: 31–33; van Soldt 1989; Freilich 1992; cf. Zeeb 2001: 289–292; Smith and Pitard 2009: 725–730.

¹⁸ E.g., the liver omens copied by the Assyrian scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu from a diviner's old writing boards (Hunger 1968: 92, no. 297), and the student copy of a hymn to Ninurta by the son of a diviner and scribe (STT 1, 70; Hunger 1968: 119, no. 397).

¹⁹ E.g., the solar omen compendium UM 29-15-393, which was copied from a writing board from Susa that traveled to Nippur, where the tablet was found (Rutz 2006b).

²⁰ E.g., an EBA list of composite sign forms for large number units (TM.75.G.1693) was found in L.2769 at Ebla, but col. ii connects the text with one Išma'ya, “scribe of Kish” (dub-sar kiš^{ki}, Archi 1980; Friberg 1986: 8–15; Archi 1987: 128–129); two MB omen reports from Nippur were written in Dūr-Kurigalzu (Ni. 105, Kraus 1985: 130–131, no. 1) and Ur (CBS 12696, Kraus 1985: 146–147, no. 17); the hemerology compendium KAR 177 is dated to the reign of the Kassite-period king Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282 BCE) but was found in a NA context in Assur (Brinkman 1999: 191); MA liver omen compendia were copied by the MA diviner Šamaš-zēra-iddina, son of Šamaš-šuma-lešir, but preserved in NA settings in Assur (Tschinkowitz 1968–1969; Pedersén 1986: 23, N1 no. 73) and Nineveh (AfO 16, pl. 12a, K.205 + Rm. 2.101, found in Ashurbanipal's library; Jakob 2003: 525); finally, some legal documents also appear to have traveled, such as the NB legal, administrative, and epistolary texts found in Ur that had been written in Babylon (Pedersén 1998: 203–204, Ur 3; Jursa 2005: 135–137).

omen series (Finkel 1988; Heeßel 2010).²¹ These cases illustrate the problem of relying on what appear to be the most obvious and unproblematic internal textual features presented in the colophons from Mesopotamia.

Material Culture of Divination: Objects and Representations

Specialized artifacts and visual representations can occasionally be tied to various scribes and scholars, creating connections between material culture and individuals or simply their professional roles. However, such material is necessarily linked to the other major categories of evidence, that is, names and titles, genre, and the associations of these categories with some archaeological context or visual repertoire. Iconography can give some evidence, such as the vivid details from NA palace reliefs that show scribes and scholars on military campaigns or the distinctive attire worn by *ummānu*-scholars or diviners in certain settings.²² Such connections are only possible when names, titles, textual descriptions, or modern scholars' inferences make specific correlations likely or at least plausible. Seals and sealing practices are an extremely important subset of the study of names and titles. Typically it is only the seal impressions that are preserved, but these point directly to the material objects that were an essential tool of a particular individual or office.²³ Many seals survived as heirlooms and were reused, sometimes without having been re-cut, making it difficult in some cases to determine the duration of time over which a seal was used and by whom it was used. The extremely poor correlation between the extant corpus of physical seals and that of the numerous sealings on tablets, bullae, and miscellaneous other objects bears repeating here as well (Collon 2007: 438). Finally, unprovenienced seals represent a disproportionately large part of the known corpus, imposing practical limits on their use for certain kinds of historical inquiry.²⁴ Any research

²¹ For more on Esagil-kin-apli, see Chapter 4.

²² The detail from a relief of Ashurnasirpal II from Nimrud (BM 124548) depicts a diviner examining the entrails within an encampment (Reade 2005: 42 fig. 10). Note also a possible depiction of a chief lamentation priest (LU₂.GALA.MAH) etched on the stone bowl fragment ND 5429 found in the Nabû temple (Ezida) in NA Kalḫu (Mallowan 1966: I 269–270, fig. 251).

²³ E.g., the seal of the diviner Asqudum in OB Mari (ARMT 21, 17–55 and others with Durand's comment on p. 16 n. 1; RIME E4.6.12.2011).

²⁴ E.g., the significance of a diviner's cylinder seal from MBA Beth Shean is uncertain: *Ma-a-nu-um* / MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ / IR₃ ^dEN.KI, "Manum, the diviner, servant of Ea" (Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 47–48, 225, Beth Shean 1). For the Kassite period note the unprovenienced seals that were cut for the following diviners: Dūri-Eulmaš, MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂,

that engages with such unprovenienced seals must entertain doubt or at least circumspection about their authenticity.²⁵

In some cases it is possible to infer a connection between some specialized objects, a particular profession, and the specialized activities associated with that profession. Both inscribed and uninscribed terracotta and ivory models of the exta are remnants of the practice and theoretical constructs of divination via extispicy.²⁶ Data documenting the garments and accoutrements associated with a particular title are usually only available for the upper strata of society, if they are preserved in the archaeological record at all. Iconography is often the only record for adornment customs associated with an office. In the rare instances when garments and objects are both preserved and identifiable, it is frequently burials that provide the crucial link between persons and objects. In these cases the occupants of the tombs are typically either royalty²⁷ or officials who occupied the highest echelons of society,²⁸ and in any case it is only archaeological provenience that makes it possible to make plausible inferences about the objects and the tombs' occupants. At present no burials have been found that clearly belonged to a diviner.

Other material culture has the power to shed light on everyday modes of being, but it is often problematic to associate specific objects with the people who hold a particular title or occupy a specific office. Material culture from daily life is exceedingly difficult to correlate with specific individuals because of the limited extent to which we can identify specific individuals in the epigraphic and, therefore, archaeological records. To develop a corpus of artifacts associated with an office, family,

son of Bēlī-iddinam (Limet 1971: No. 7.22); *Ma-an-nu-gi-ir-d*x[...], MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂, son of Iribā-Marduk (Limet 1971: No. 2.20).

²⁵ In Kassite Babylonia one Mudammiq-Adad is referred to as “overseer of the diviners, administrator of the temple,” uḡla maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂ menarī? e₂ dingir-e-ne-ke₄ (Limet 1971: No. 12.12; Sassmannshausen 2001: 67). Unlike most seals, this specimen was inscribed in the positive. The resulting impression it creates is, therefore, in the negative. It is hard to believe that such an inadequately produced seal would have been acceptable for administrative purposes, and it is possible that it is a modern forgery. A secondary development in found on a tablet from MA Assur, MARV II 24 (VAT 18021), on which there is a seal impression from a diviner's servant (Weidner 1952–1953a: 214; Jakob 2003: 524 n. 81): ^{na}4KIŠIB ¹Lu-da-ri-LUGAL IR₃ ša ¹Ḫa-bal-la-ni LU₂.ḪAL (MARV II 24:1).

²⁶ For more on these objects, see Chapter 4.

²⁷ E.g., in the so-called Royal Tombs of Ur (Zettler and Horne 1998; Marchesi 2004).

²⁸ E.g., Assur Tomb 45, which can be associated with Bābu-aḫa-iddina, a high-ranking MA official in the thirteenth century BCE (Pedersén 1985: 106–113, M11, 1992; Freydank 1991: 53–55; Feldman 2006).

or individual it would be necessary to identify some locus of activity for someone who held a particular title, such as a household, workshop, or other professional space associated with architecture or the landscape. This type of correlation is only made possible through the associations among archaeological data from specific archaeological contexts.

Text and Archaeology: Contexts, Artifacts, Archives, and Libraries

The last avenue of investigation to consider is that provided by the archaeological provenience of material culture, that is, the objects (inscribed as well as uninscribed artifacts) that cohere together in some context. The context of an artifact refers to “its immediate matrix (the material surrounding it, usually some sort of sediment such as gravel, sand, or clay), its provenience (horizontal and vertical position within the matrix), and its association with other finds (occurrence together with other archaeological remains, usually in the same matrix)” (Renfrew and Bahn 2004: 54; cf. Papaconstantinou 2006). Groups of texts constitute a distinct and peculiar subset of an archaeological assemblage, and such groups are typically referred to as archives or libraries.

It goes without saying that some notion of context permeates all aspects of the study of the ancient Near East. European explorers’ rediscovery of Mesopotamia’s ancient civilizations antedated and, in some respects, ushered in the development of archaeology as a scientific discipline with scientific methods, standards, and goals (Zimansky 2005). However, even the earliest investigations of this region had a practical appreciation of the importance of the associations between sites and their objects.

Despite this general unity of purpose, from the earliest investigations of ancient greater Mesopotamia until rather recently, there has been a methodological disjunction between explicitly archaeological and textual approaches (Zettler 2003: 3–16). The mid-nineteenth-century decipherment of the cuneiform script made it possible to reconstruct historical, social, and intellectual narratives about the ancient past in the Near East. The primary building blocks for these reconstructions were the thousands of decontextualized textual artifacts housed in numerous museums in Europe, North America, and elsewhere. The size, variability, complexity, and chronological depth of the text corpus has necessitated a long process of deciphering, cataloguing, editing, and finally interpreting each individual inscribed object from over three millennia. Although this laborious process of studying the cuneiform text corpus is nowhere near completion, the limitations of trying to comprehend texts in isolation are clear.

As outlined above, studies of Mesopotamian scribes and scholars typically rely on a vast array of circumstantial lines of evidence. In each of the examples cited above, and of course there are many more, it is internal criteria that are the basis for understanding the relationships among texts and the scholars and scribes who produced them. By this methodology, textual artifacts from archaeological sites, museums, and the antiquities market are given equivalent status. Tablets recovered *in situ* are simply new exemplars of some genre or new attestations of personal names or titles known from poorly excavated or altogether unprovenienced objects. Such an approach is best viewed as a secondary development that was conditioned by the nature of the first archaeological exploration of the Near East. The available data generally were acquired during periods of nascent proto-archaeology or imperial exploitation. In any case, as productive as the normative approach has been, it has serious methodological limitations when it comes to constructing coherent political, social, and intellectual histories.

In this book I will endeavor to use a representative case study to reinforce and expand on an approach that has steadily gained ground in the discipline of Assyriology: the focus on archaeologically contextualized epigraphic material, provenienced tablet collections that are given the functional classifications archive and/or library. The cumulative results of this endeavor have the potential to recalibrate how the field frames the most basic problems confronting the reconstruction of ancient societies. Instead of using primarily internal textual criteria, the argument here is that by using provenienced tablet collections, the resulting historical reconstructions will be more likely to reflect ancient realities that were both richer and more complex than could otherwise have been realized.

Archaeological context is the most fundamental and essential context to reconstruct in that it creates the framework on which all subsequent analyses depend. Each of the different types of evidence discussed here (name and title, genre, specialized objects) would be unintelligible without a reconstructed context—be it historical, geographic, archaeological, or otherwise—and none exists in isolation. Whenever possible, objects' physical, material context (i.e., where objects are found) should be the unifying rubric under which all other lines of evidence are organized. The observation and documentation of material context is the very definition of archaeological context. In turn, the concept of provenience can be understood as the complementarity of archaeological context and the inferences made from the associations established among the material

objects themselves. This is not to say that archives excavated from archaeologically secure contexts are unproblematic. Because of the destructive nature of archaeology as a mode of inquiry, archaeological context paradoxically begins to be lost at the very moment it is found. The unavoidable result is that the construct of archaeological context is hostage to the excavator's aims and techniques. Yet the burden does not lie solely with archaeologists as investigating subjects. The vicissitudes of site formation unavoidably condition objects' placement and preservation in any given material matrix. Therefore, not all contexts are equally informative: no one would argue for the equivalent status of objects found in a primary context and objects from some secondary context, for example, pieces that had been discarded as rubbish or used as fill in antiquity. Furthermore, the associations among groups of objects from either end of this spectrum prompt as many questions as they answer. However, these new questions are of a significantly higher order of analysis, since they are motivated by an independent axis of information that can in no way be derived from even the most sensitive and detailed examinations the objects themselves. Even the most painstakingly detailed and atomistic catalogue of contents and attributes cannot reveal context because context does not inhere in the object.

CORPUS AND METHOD

General Considerations: Terminology and Methodology

In the case of both dossiers of activities and the classification of various genres and subgenres, it is internal textual criteria that are the primary means of delimiting and unifying a subset of data for analysis. The necessity of this approach is evident, but it is, by its very nature, limited by the types of information included or excluded from the contents of a particular document or group of documents. The goal here is to avoid allowing internal textual consistencies in a group of textual artifacts to skew the interpretation of the data as a whole. To that end it is first necessary to situate the data in their archaeological context. A detailed analysis of those data and a rationalization of the text corpus should be the starting point of any further research on the many questions prompted by the text corpus: the meaning of titles like *diviner* and *scribe*, the nature of scribal education and the transmission of knowledge, the relationships between text and ritual, the evidence for land tenure and inheritance practices,

the relationships between social and political power and scholars' ability to control knowledge, and questions about any number of other topics of historical, social, religious, and intellectual import.

Before presenting the specific corpus and methodology that are the focus of this study, it is necessary to entertain basic questions about tablet collections, libraries, archives, and formation of these entities. What is an archive? How do archives form? Why are archives significant? The same questions can be posed of another common term: library. These terms are surprisingly difficult to define for antiquity, and different researchers deploy the pertinent terminology in different, sometime contradictory ways. Suffice it to say, the concept is muddled (Veenhof 1986; Du Toit 1998; cf. Black and Tait 1995; Brosius 2003). Since so many cuneiform tablets are unprovenienced, what Assyriologists call archives are often scattered texts assembled around the dossier of a person, family, or institution. In other words, internal textual criteria, such as prosopography, toponymy, paleography, orthography, grammar, lexicon, glyptic styles, and physical characteristics furnish the typological criteria used to delimit and define a text corpus that is then deemed to constitute an archive. This is a valid and necessary approach, especially when studying large bodies of texts that lack any other unifying principle or context. For example, in the case of the Ur III, Old Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian/Late Babylonian periods, large collections of tablets often cannot be brought together in any other meaningful way.²⁹ In the present work, however, the term 'archive' will have a more tightly circumscribed meaning. Here the term 'archive' will be reserved to denote collections of texts that cohere in some *archaeological* context. By definition, dossiers cohere prosopographically, and it is often assumed that it is possible to reconstruct archaeological context from the internal consistency of a particular dossier. This provisional assumption is reasonable and, as noted already, often yields the best results that can be expected, especially when little or no information about provenience is known. Nevertheless, equating dossiers and archives is methodologically unsound, since the empirical principles used to structure these independent data sets differ so radically.

The problems of equating a dossier with a presumed archaeological context come into relief when an archaeologically secure archive is subjected to scrutiny. In some instances the contents of an archive can be organized

²⁹ E.g., Ur III: Sallaberger 1999: 200–211; OA: Michel 2003: 1–59; NB: Baker 2004: 5–12; Waerzeggers 2003–2004; Jursa 2005.

around a single dossier. However, in very many cases multiple dossiers can occur in the same archive, or at the very least there are outliers that are found within an archive but appear to be aberrant with respect to the dossier(s) that dominate(s) that archive.³⁰ A frequently cited working definition of archive is “the total records accumulated during the time a particular task was performed by an institution or person . . . and still present with those who made them out or used them” (Veenhof 1986: 7). This definition could be expanded in various ways. For example, the definition could include the immediate descendents of those who made the documents. Furthermore, in this definition much hinges on how we understand the use of documents. A ledger consulted daily and property deeds stored under the floor of a house both fulfill prescribed archival uses, albeit on different scales with different parameters. Some notion of archaeological context ought to be a significant component of any critical definition of what constitutes an archive.

The other term that often appears in any discussion of cuneiform archives is library (Charpin 2010a: 178–214; cf. Rutz forthcoming c). Libraries are often defined, functionally if not formally, in the negative. That is to say, they are taken to be collections of non-administrative, non-economic, non-legal texts of a pedagogical, literary, learned, or religious nature. Texts from so-called libraries present specific difficulties, since the logic of their production, organization, and use is often less transparent than is the case with administrative and legal archives. One window on the variety of ancient views of what we would term a library are the inventories of literary and religious texts from the early second millennium (Delnero 2010; Gadotti and Kleinerman 2011), the later second millennium (Geller 2000; Jean 2006: 63–72; Groneberg 2003; Dardano 2006; perhaps Arnaud 2007: 203–206, nos. 67–68), and the first millennium (Parpola 1983; Fincke 2003–2004). The meaning and function of these texts is still far from clear in each instance, and in at least one case, the so-called Exorcist’s Manual (KAR 44 and dupls.), the catalogue probably ceased to be a functional tool and continued to be copied in later scholastic settings, assuming the mantle of literary status in the textual tradition.

The archaeological formation of an archive or library is essentially a product of organization and destruction. An archive or library can be

³⁰ Larsen (2002: xiv–xv) describes the situation succinctly in his introduction to a collection of text editions of unprovenienced Old Assyrian texts. For the example of the royal dossiers from Area A and Area M archives in Emar, see Chapters 2 and 4.

thought of as the written residue of human patterns of organization that come to an end and are deposited in the archaeological record in such a way that it is possible to recover traces of the contents and coherence of the whole. Another significant point to address is how we specify where the dynamics of archive formation occur. In the ancient Near East these processes can generally be discerned in or around either monumental or domestic architecture. Monumental structures with archives are typically characterized as palaces, temples, or public storage facilities, and, as the name implies, domestic archives are found in houses of varying size. Domestic archives are of additional interest because of the perspectives they sometimes offer on the intersection of family affairs with institutional, political, and social responsibilities: in many cases the allegedly 'private' and 'public' facets of an individual archive can be commingled to such an extent that an analytic separation of the two would be suspect if not impossible. It must also be noted that in some instances architecture is ambiguous or, as in the case of secondary or disturbed contexts, potentially misleading when it comes to the characterization of the texts that constitute an archive. In these cases the argumentation about text and architectural context can become circular (Baker 2003).

Unfortunately the ideal case study simply does not exist, that is, an archive/library for which there are complete editions of all texts with carefully recorded find-spots, thoroughly documented and published assemblages of concomitant material culture, and comprehensible stratigraphy within clearly articulated architecture. All of this information is only recoverable and comprehensible when the events, usually catastrophic, that sealed the tablet collection happened to preserve it meaningfully. Even if all these criteria were to be met, post-depositional disturbance of some kind ought to be expected. Reality is seldom, if ever, fully cooperative (Veenhof 1986: 34–35). Generally even when an archive is found, archaeologists are confronted with a number of serious impediments, environmental, social, political, and otherwise. Rising flood waters, observant and motivated looters, the high costs of excavating on a large scale, and a host of other practical and theoretical constraints can prevent the scientific excavation of an archive or library, which can easily consist of one to two thousand tablets and fragments, alongside whatever other material culture is present.

Given this state of affairs, it is all the more urgent that we examine the excavated 'manuscript collections' at our disposal (Charpin 2010a: 201). The tablet collection from 'Temple' M₁ in LBA Emar constitutes a promising and in many respects provocative body of material for the holistic study of diviners, scribes, and scholars in ancient cuneiform culture.

Case Study: 'Temple' M_i in Emar

A number of text corpora suggest themselves as possible candidates for an archaeologically based approach to the study of ancient Near Eastern literate elites, such as the diviner. There are two fundamental requirements for such an analysis. First, the text corpus needs to have been excavated in such a way that it is possible to reconstruct the settings in which inscribed materials were produced, used, and/or stored. Practically speaking, very few excavated collections of texts meet the ideal, namely, scientifically excavated primary contexts that are adequately documented. As noted already, a variety of factors make this scenario extremely rare. Second, the documents and excavation records must be published or accessible in some way. When these preconditions have been met, the resulting reconstruction begins to more accurately reflect ancient realities: from an emic perspective the object of inquiry, i.e., a specific tablet collection, may have represented a coherent totality in the possession of an institution, a family, or an individual.

Among the examples of contextualized, excavated tablet collections within the cuneiform text corpus are a number of archives from monumental structures. Palace archives are known from EBA Ebla (Archi 1986, 1993b; Matthiae 1986), OB Mari (Margueron 1986b; Charpin 1995, 2001), OB/MBA Alalāḫ VII (Lauinger 2011) and later MB/LBA Alalāḫ IV (von Dassow 2005, 2008), MA Assur (Maul 2003b), and even NA Nineveh, albeit with serious limitations and caveats (Reade 2000: 421–427). Temple archives have been found at sites such as Ur III Nippur (Zettler 1992), LBA Ḫattuša (Pedersén 1998: 44–56; van den Hout 2005; Archi 2007: 192–196), NA Nimrud (Wiseman and Black 1996; Pedersén 1998: 151–153), and NB Sippar (Pedersén 1998: 193–197).³¹ This list is by no means exhaustive, but it serves to illustrate the chronological and geographical range of the possible data sets found in monumental or public buildings.

A number of important tablet collections have also been identified in domestic contexts at OB sites such as Ur (Charpin 1986), Nippur (Stone 1987; Postgate 1990), and Sippar-Amnānum (van Lerberghe 2003; Tanret 2002, 2004a).³² These finds have figured prominently in studies devoted to the reconstruction of the OB scribal school, or e₂-dub-ba-a (Charpin

³¹ Hilgert 2004 was not available for consultation.

³² There is only one small archive from a large OB domestic structure from Mari (Charpin 1985a). However, a large corpus of schools texts, literary texts, and private documents were reportedly found in a secondary context within a domestic structure in Area K at Mari. Antoine Cavigneaux and Margaret Jaques are heading up the publication of these significant new textual finds.

1989, 1990; Robson 2001; Tanret 2002). Significant legal and administrative archives have come to light from OA Kültepe/Kaniš, but many of these tablets await study and publication, especially those found during the course of controlled excavations (Özgüç 2001; Michel 2008). Moreover, numerous archives have been reconstructed from the excavations of the mid-second-millennium occupation at Yorghana Tepe/Nuzi (Lion 1999; Jas 2000; cf. Maidman 2005: 6–46).

The collections of various scribes and scholars are known from OB Tell Hadad/Meturan (Cavigneaux 1999; Jean 2006: 159–161), MB Babylon (Pedersén 2005: 78–82, M4), perhaps MA Assur (Pedersén 1985: 31–42, M2; cf. Maul 2003b),³³ LBA Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a, 2000), the so-called “Haus des Beschwörungspriesters” in NA Assur (Pedersén 1986: 41–76, N4; Jean 2006: 147–153; Maul 2010), NA Sultantepe/Ḫuzirīna (STT; Pedersén 1998: 178–180; Jean 2006: 154–158), and LB Uruk (SpTU 1–5; Pedersén 1998: 212–213, Uruk 10–11; Jean 2006: 161–164; Clancier 2009).³⁴ Investigations of all of these text corpora promise to answer questions, specific and general as well as synchronic and diachronic, about the individuals who produced, used, and ultimately abandoned each of these collections, as well as the circumstances under which the formation of a given tablet collection took place.

The case study that is the object of the present inquiry is the body of Late Bronze Age texts from ‘Temple’ M₁ in Eski Meskene (or Meskene Qadime), ancient Emar/Imar on the Euphrates River in present-day Syria. The discovery and excavation of the Bronze Age town of Emar has transformed the state of knowledge about the history, society, economy, religious life, and literary output in the latter half of the second millennium BCE. This is due in no small part to the cuneiform tablets found in ‘Temple’ M₁. Two general aspects of this collection made it an ideal case study for this book. First, figuring prominently in a variety of documents in this text corpus is a family of scribes and scholars who bore the title of diviner. Second, there is still some debate as to whether the architectural context of these finds should be characterized as monumental (temple),

³³ Because this library had to be reconstructed, there is some tension as to whether it originally constituted the library of a private family of scribes or was already consolidated under some temple authority in the Middle Assyrian period (Pedersén 1985: 37).

³⁴ The text corpus from Assur is the focus of a long-term project of the Heidelberger Assur-Forschung research agenda, under the direction of Stefan Maul, and the material from Sultantepe, Uruk, and elsewhere is being investigated anew by The Geography of Knowledge in Assyria and Babylonia project, co-directed by Eleanor Robson and Steve Tinney.

domestic (house), or mixed. More detailed accounts of the archaeology and archives of Emar in general and 'Temple' M₁ in particular are found in Chapters 2–4, but the following is a sketch of the discovery of the text corpus and the features of the text corpus that motivated this study.

Following the discovery of Bronze Age artifacts at Meskene in 1971, Jean-Claude Margueron led a series of six campaigns to investigate the earlier occupation levels at the site. By the autumn of 1973, another team of French excavators working on a large medieval necropolis at Bālis-Meskene happened upon additional material culture dating to the Late Bronze Age. Though disturbed by the burials, the small area investigated revealed some 150 cuneiform tablets and fragments and other still poorly documented material culture (Ory and Paillet 1974). Due to realistic concerns about looting, emphasis was placed on getting the artifacts out of the ground as quickly as possible. Though the excavators attempted to record find-spot information, there is no published correlation between any of these data points and the field numbers of the tablets that were later edited by the excavation epigrapher, Daniel Arnaud. Only when the final report appears will we know of if any such records exist.

More systematic investigations of the area where these initial finds were made, later deemed Area M, articulated the architectural context of the first finds, first called "temple M." Later on, following the discovery of another sacred structure nearby (Temple M₂), Margueron deemed the first structure "temple M₁." In this building the excavators unearthed over 1,703 cuneiform tablets and fragments, by far the richest textual finds on the site. The resulting collection contained educational materials such as lexical texts (Sumerian and binlingual Sumerian-Akkadian versions), narrative and wisdom literature (Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual and Akkadian literary texts), omen compendia in Akkadian and Hurrian, Hittite divination reports, Mesopotamian rites, incantations, and prayers in Sumerian and Akkadian, Akkadian documents for cultic administration and public ritual texts, Akkadian legal and economic texts, and a few letters in Akkadian and Hittite. Both scribal colophons and private documents attest to a family of diviners who were associated in some way with the structure. As the preliminary decipherment of the textual finds proceeded, the excavators wasted no time in declaring the structure to be "un nouveau temple" (Margueron 1975b: 65) which contained "la bibliothèque d'un temple" (Ory and Paillet 1974: 278), characterized also as "la bibliothèque d'un devin de la fin du Bronze Récent" (Margueron 1975a: 209).

The accounts of the textual finds from the site indicated that it was not possible to give an exact number of tablets, especially since the

material from Area M was found “en milliers de fragments” (Margueron 1975b: 69–70). Preliminary catalogues of the excavated Emar tablets appeared shortly after their discovery (Arnaud 1980b; Laroche 1980a, 1982), and the copies (Arnaud 1985 = Emar 6/1–2) and editions (Arnaud 1986 = Emar 6/3; Arnaud 1987b = Emar 6/4) of most of the text corpus followed a decade later. The few Hittite tablets from the site were published more recently (Salvini and Trémouille 2003), while the Hurrian tablets still await publication (Laroche 1982, 1989; Salvini forthcoming, cited Trémouille 1999: 281 n. 26).

The first two volumes of Arnaud’s *magnum opus* contain the central data set that is the focus of this work: (1) a catalogue of excavated Sumerian and Akkadian tablets and fragments (Arnaud 1985: 7–22); and (2) copies of all Sumerian and Akkadian tablets and fragments. Arnaud organized the text editions by general find-spot and genre. The find-spot of a particular tablet is given as an excavation area (e.g., Area M), an architectural feature within an excavation area (e.g., Temple M₂), and/or a (5×5 m) square in a given excavation area (e.g., M III NE). Because the publication of the excavations is incomplete, it is necessary to use the find-spot squares to reconstruct the actual rooms in which the tablets were found. There are no indices of any kind in Arnaud’s edition, and throughout Emar 6/3–4 there are references to a commentary volume that never materialized. Emar 6/1–4 and the multitude of published tablets that were looted from the site have led to an explosion in Emar studies in the decades following the discovery of the site (Faist et al. 2003–2004, 2005–2006, 2007–2008, 2009–2010). The abbreviations above (pp. xix–xx) contain a current list of published texts and sigla for tablets excavated and illicitly taken from Emar and other sites in the Middle Euphrates region. The list of looted tablets is necessarily provisional, and more such tablets will almost certainly continue to be published. It is also worth mentioning that some of the looted tablets have been edited more than once as a result of their movement on the antiquities market (Vita 2002a).

Given the large number of tablets and fragments that were robbed from several sites on the Middle Euphrates, it is necessary to articulate the principles whereby specific pieces were included or excluded from my reconstruction of the tablet collection from ‘Temple’ M₁. However profitable it may be to include the information from looted tablets in textual and historical research, very strict criteria govern the inclusion of tablets in the specific corpus that is the focus of this study.

Two types of objects are included in the text corpus, though texts from the antiquities market are used extensively in the service of understanding

the wider historical context of the tablet collection from 'Temple' M₁. First, the core of the text corpus consists of the excavated tablets and fragments. Second, only pieces that actually join excavated objects will be reckoned as part of the tablet collections in question.³⁵ It may be that other tablets should be included, but one of the core theses of this book is that it is impossible to reconstruct context after it has been lost: archaeological context constitutes a separate axis of knowledge that is in no way recoverable from the object itself. In many instances prosopography and sealings point to Emar as a place where a legal or administrative document was written. At the very least many of these pieces are concerned with real estate in or around Emar, so they can be reasonably associated with the site. Despite attempts to associate groups of looted tablets with specific excavated tablet collections, even with the collection from 'Temple' M₁ (e.g., Fleming 2002: 365–367), internal data provide no definitive evidence about the tablets' place(s) of composition and use, archival setting, or archaeological deposition.³⁶ The situation with literary and lexical texts is more complicated. Some tablets and fragments with scholarly, literary, and religious contents have been attributed to Emar, but in most instances the reasons for doing so are not explained or, when given, are not terribly persuasive.³⁷ Interesting pieces all, to be sure, but so far nothing necessitates associating them with 'Temple' M₁ in Emar.

Two practical factors motivated the present study of the tablet collection from 'Temple' M₁. First, the find-spot information recorded in Arnaud's catalogue is difficult to reconcile with the information scattered in various preliminary excavation reports. This has led to considerable confusion about the archaeological contexts (architecture, material assemblages, and, to a lesser extent, stratigraphy) in which the inscribed materials were found. Therefore, the first question to address was whether it would be possible to reconstruct how 'Temple' M₁ was excavated so as to be able to situate the tablet finds in the building and evaluate various

³⁵ I know of only a handful of examples: Arnaud (Emar 6/4, pp. 170–172) observed that *Oriente* 23 (Sag B, MSL SS 1, 28–35) actually joins *Emar* 575; Tsukimoto (1992: 299–303) has suggested that Msk 74298c *Emar* 385–386 Hii joins ASJ 14, 49; and in Chapter 4 I argue that ASJ 9 joins Msk 74171c = *Emar* 548–549 J (Hh 11–12).

³⁶ E.g., numerous documents were written in Karkamiš but found during the course of excavations at Emar and Ugarit.

³⁷ Examples include a Hurrian-Akkadian bilingual version of the Instructions of Šuruppak (Alster 2005: 48, 204–208), an unpublished Akkadian compendium of weather omens (Schwemer 2001: 690 n. 5654), a fragmentary ŠU.II₂.LA-prayer to Ištar (Zgoll 2003: 24–25, 107–147, Ištar 10 E), and some lexical fragments (Civil 2010: 33, 127–128).

hypotheses about the relationships among the building, the tablets found in it, and the personal names that appear in the texts. These questions get at the very heart of the inferences and assumptions made about the connections between archaeological context, architecture, and texts in Assyriological research.

The second factor relates to the state of the published text corpus. Fortunately Arnaud copied all the Sumerian and Akkadian pieces excavated from the site, both those he was able to identify and those he was not. This was a sound decision that has provided virtually unparalleled access to the excavated texts. Although the text editions do provide the excavation number of the piece(s) edited, there is no indication in the catalogue which pieces have been identified and edited and which have not. A recently published concordance attempts to correlate the excavation numbers with the text edition numbers (Pruzsinszky 2003: xxviii–liii). Though useful, this concordance again addressed only edited pieces, reproduced some of Arnaud's typographical errors, misunderstood some of the notations in Arnaud's text editions, and made no attempt to account for joins and misidentifications. A number of subsequent researchers have made further identifications and joins among the published pieces (see Chapter 4), but there is still no reckoning of the total excavated corpus. As the material from 'Temple' M₁ was being excavated, there was an immediate recognition that it would take years to sort through and piece together this gigantic puzzle (Margueron 1975a: 209). Despite tremendous strides after more than three decades of research, this work remains incomplete. In other words, there has been no attempt to formulate the minimum number of individual tablets from 'Temple' M₁ and approach their contents and distribution systematically. One aim of this study is to complete this essential archaeological and textual groundwork. Only with a rationalized and provenienced text corpus will it be possible to meaningfully interpret the collection as a whole and exploit it for the construction of political, socio-economic, religious, and intellectual histories.

Approaching the Tablet Collection from Emar's 'Temple' M₁

There were two principal facets of this investigation of the text corpus from 'Temple' M₁. The first entailed gathering together and interpreting the published archaeological information about the excavation of 'Temple' M₁ and Emar as a whole. Here the focus was on using the preliminary field reports to understand the excavators' strategies, methods, and results. In some instances the finds themselves had to be pieced together

based on anecdotal accounts of the architecture and material culture that were uncovered across the site.

The second facet was a textual analysis of all published inscribed objects from the site by recording the following essential information about each inscribed object:

- Excavation number
- Find-spot
- Publication
- Object type
- Object dimensions
- Object preservation
- Joins
- Sealing(s)
- Tablet type
- Genre
- Text
- Language(s)
- Scribe
- Contents

The following provides glosses of each of these organizational terms:

Excavation number: three separate sigla appear in the catalogue (Emar 6/1 p. 7), Msk = Mission archéologique française de Meskéné-Emar, which consists of the last two digits of the year in which the object was found followed by the object number (e.g., Msk 7430 = excavated in 1974, object number 30); R. = Mission archéologique de Meskéné-Balis, though it should be noted that the vast majority of these objects were subsequently inventoried with Msk 731000 numbers (Msk 731000 through Msk 731095; see Chapter 3 below); O. = Département des antiquités orientales du Musée de Damas.

Find-spot: the sounding, area, and, when provided, square in which the object was found (see Chapters 2 and 3 below). The find-spot of a given piece is not specified beyond the subunits of a given find-spot square (e.g., M I SW). No stratigraphic information has been published beyond the preliminary description of the first sounding in what was later identified as 'Temple' M₁ (Ory and Paillet 1974; see Chapter 3 below).

Publication: both the volume and pages where the hand copy appear (Emar 6/1–2 = Arnaud 1985), as well as the text number in the edition (Emar = Emar 6/3–4 = Arnaud 1986, 1987b). A number of photographs have been published (e.g., those in Beyer 2001), though only one photograph appeared in Emar 6/2 (Emar 775 = Msk 74243, Emar 6/2, p. 564). Also

included were the revised editions and significant studies that appeared subsequent to the text's publication.

Object type: almost all are tablets, though other objects like tags, an inscribed bead, an inscribed weight, and terracotta impressions of feet are known from the site as well.

Object dimensions: in millimeters (mm), though only available for edited pieces of significant size. In cases where Arnaud joined pieces before publishing the edition, dimensions are available only for the combined pieces after the join.

Object preservation: an admittedly subjective approximation of the state of preservation of individual objects based on a four-tiered scale: comp. (= complete), 75% (preserved), 50% (preserved), 25% (preserved), frag. (= highly fragmentary).

Joins: both possible and confirmed joins based on the proposals put forward by a number of investigators of the 'Temple' M₁ text corpus. Joins have been proposed or confirmed by Daniel Arnaud, Emmanuel Laroche, Mamoru Yoshikawa, Kazuko Watanabe, Miguel Civil, Daniel Fleming, Akio Tsukimoto, Walther Sallaberger, Jon Taylor, Yoram Cohen, and me. The specific contribution of each is documented in the appropriate section of Chapter 4 below. The goal here has been to present a conservative catalogue that still takes into account the most plausible joins, some of which may eventually prove to be spurious.

Sealings: following the alphanumeric system (type + number, e.g., A₁) of the publication of the seal impressions from Emar, according to the following classification types (Beyer 2001):

- A: Hittite and Syro-Hittite cylinder seals
- B: Syro-Hittite signet seals
- C: circular or square Hittite stamp seals
- D: Old Babylonian style cylinder seals
- E: "Mittanian" style cylinder seals
- F: Syrian and "Syro-Mittanian" cylinder seals
- G: Middle Assyrian cylinder seals
- H: Kassite cylinder seals and signet seals
- I: Cypriot seals
- J: Middle Elamite cylinder seal
- K: Egyptian or Egyptianizing seals
- L: Miscellaneous types

As much information as possible was documented about the placement of each sealing. The owner or user of the seal was documented, as well as any inscription found on the seal itself.

Tablet type: determined by physical features and layout (Arnaud 1975a: 87–88; Fleming 2000: 198–202; Fleming and Démare-Lafont 2009), paleography (Wilcke 1992), orthography and grammar (Seminara 1998: 9–20), sealing practices and styles (Beyer 1987, 2001: 421–429), as well as formal and textual elements (Fleming 2008). The general types are Syrian (S) and Syro-Hittite (SH), but others, based on paleography, include Archaizing and Lapidary; others still remain Uncertain. This typology is derived primarily from the most salient differences between the legal documents that occur in both Syrian and Syro-Hittite styles, but a recent proposal has challenged the S/SH terminology even for that corpus, suggesting the terms “Conventional” (= Syrian) and “Free” (= Syro-Hittite) formats instead (Fleming and Démare-Lafont 2009). In any case, the so-called Syrian-type documents stem from the earliest LBA written traditions at the site and most resemble the OB style, with the text written perpendicular to the long axis of the tablet; the Syro-Hittite-type documents represent the later traditions adopted at the site and most resemble the contemporary MB style, with the text was written parallel to the long axis of the tablet. Paleographic and orthographic differences between the Syrian and Syro-Hittite types extend beyond legal and administrative text to other genres, including ritual texts (Fleming 2000) as well as lexical texts and omen compendia (Cohen 2009). The significance of this tablet typology scheme for the chronology of the site and its tablet collections is addressed in greater detail in Chapters 2 and 5.

Genre: The basic genres used for this classification are the following:

- Administrative Records
- Legal Documents
- Letters
- Public Rituals
- Lexical Texts
- Divinatory Texts
- Incantations and Rituals
- Literary Texts
- Uncertain Texts and Fragments

Chapter 4 and Appendix B discuss and present the specific contents of each genre.

Text: as specific a subgenre as possible. Chapter 4 and Appendix B discuss and present the specific texts represented. New identifications are listed at the beginning of the Index.

Languages: Akkadian, Sumerian, Hittite, Hurrian, as well as Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual texts (lexical, literary), some of which also contain

unorthographic Sumerian. Hieroglyphic Hittite (or hieroglyphic Luwian) inscriptions are found on many sealings from Emar, evidently a regional emulation of an Anatolian style (Laroche 1981, 1983; Gonnet 1991; Beyer 2001; cf. Hawkins 2003: 141–145, 155–159). These were not treated beyond instances where the hieroglyphic inscriptions were relevant to the decipherment of the onomasticon and, therefore, reconstructions of prosopography. The hieroglyphic inscriptions are edited in the final publication of the seals (Beyer 2001) and elsewhere (e.g., I. Singer in Westenholz 2000: 81–89; Cohen 2009).

Scribe: the name of the scribe as it appears in practical documents or in the colophons to lexical, divinatory, and literary texts (Ikeda 1999; Pruzsinszky 2003: 34–40; Cohen 2009). The scribes in Emar bore a number of titles, and several scribes found in the Emar tablets are known to have been active in Karkamiš to the north, where certain matters of import in Emar were evidently resolved and documented. The work of virtually every scribe can be characterized as belonging to either the Syrian or the Syro-Hittite type (see Tablet type above). Pruzsinszky (2003: 39) has claimed that certain scribes wrote in both the Syrian and Syro-Hittite style. However, the co-occurrence of a common PN (Bēlu/Baʿl-mālik, Dagān-tāriʾ, Ipqi-Dagān) with the title DUB.SAR in a handful of documents of each type is not sufficient evidence to conclude that these were scribes writing in both styles (cf. Ikeda 1999: 175–176, 182–183).³⁸ Appendix C contains a catalogue of the colophons, and the personal names and titles of principals found in the ‘Temple’ M₁ tablet collection are discussed in Chapter 4.

Contents: a detailed summary of a given text’s contents. It was not neither practical nor necessary to do new editions of every single tablet and fragment. In Chapter 4 I edit newly identified texts but only discuss manuscripts and texts that are edited and known from previous studies.

In Appendix A the inscribed material from each area and, where possible, find-spot square has been organized by genre. Each piece is then presented according to its excavation number. For convenience the edition number is also provided. The specific subgenre is presented as the Text. In instances where the genre of a given piece is uncertain, a tentative identification of that piece’s genre is given under Text, and these designations are generally those of the primary genres that have been identified, i.e., Administrative, Legal, Letter, etc. Some fragments are further classified

³⁸ Note that *AuOr* 5, 15 is not Syro-Hittite (so Pruzsinszky 2003: 39) but rather Syrian.

as Uncertain in two cases: (1) when a given fragment could belong to any number of the generic text types; and (2) when too little of that fragment is preserved to say anything meaningful about its generic classification. Even when the classification of Uncertain fragments is dubious, it is useful to have delineated a list of pieces that have yet to be identified. In some cases other investigations of the material may eventually lead to more specific identifications. In other cases the list of Uncertain fragments will serve to catalogue those minor fragments that have little hope of ever being identified or joined. The object entries also document text type based on material, paleographic, glyptic, textual, and orthographic criteria into the following categories: Syrian, Syro-Hittite, uncertain, Lapidary, Archaizing. The language of the text is indicated, as are any sealings. Finally the preservation of each piece is given on the four-tiered scale: comp. (= complete), 75% (preserved), 50% (preserved), 25% (preserved), frag. (= fragmentary). It must be noted that these designations apply only to the specific artifact being described and do not include information about joins. This catalogue aims to present the total number of excavated pieces from every excavation area and square, such as they are known and published. To speak to the total number of tablets, it is necessary to account for the numerous joins to be made among the tablets and fragments, sometimes across excavation squares. Possible and probable joins and the total number of tablets appear in Appendix B and are discussed in the genre section of Chapter 4.

CHAPTER TWO

EMAR ON THE EUPHRATES: ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY, AND SOCIETY

In order to understand the place of diviners in LBA Emar and the recovery, reconstruction, and interpretation of the significant tablet collection associated with ‘Temple’ M₁ and the Zū-Ba’la family, I will first give an overview of the history of the ancient town of Emar in textual sources from the third and second millennia BCE. The second part of this chapter summarizes the archaeological investigation of Emar in the context of the archaeological sequence of LBA Syria. Here the emphasis is on understanding the French excavations in the 1970s because of the importance of that work for uncovering, publishing, and interpreting the text corpus under consideration in this study, namely, the tablet collection found in ‘Temple’ M₁, the exposition of which is the focus of Chapters 3 and 4.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF EMAR IN ANCIENT SOURCES

Nothing is known about Emar in the historical record prior to the mid-third millennium. The earliest texts that refer to the town come from the royal archives of EBA Ebla (Archi 1990). In Ebla the town of Emar or, more precisely, Imar (written *I₃-ma-ar^{ki}* and *I₃-mar^{ki}*) occurs more frequently than any other toponym with the exception of Mari and Ebla itself (Bonechi 1993: 200–203). This is due in part to the dynastic marriage between the king of Ebla and the queen of Imar (Archi 1993a; Dietrich 1993b). Other affinities between Ebla and Imar have been observed in the royal onomasticon employed in third-millennium north Syria (Bonechi 1997). No texts have been recovered so far from archaeological investigations of EBA levels at Emar, but it seems likely that there would have been an administrative and diplomatic need for scribes and their craft in this early period.¹

¹ Perhaps the EBA archives of Imar lie buried beneath Bālis, a possibility worth entertaining on account of the results of the deep sounding in Area N (see below). If this placement is correct, we can only hope that there were other administrative centers on the EBA

Thus far there is a similarly scanty distribution of references to Emar in sources dating to the first half of the second millennium, when the town is referred to both as Imar and Emar.² However, unlike the situation in the third millennium, a few exceptional tablets produced in the south do refer to Emar (Goetze 1957b; Groneberg 1980: 109). The unprovenienced OB itineraries trace stopping points from Larsa in the south up to Emar in the north, and these routes would have been usable either for long-distance trade or the movement of military personnel and supplies (Hallo 1964; Goetze 1964; cf. Goetze 1953). Although the OB itineraries were not properly excavated, there is no reason to assume that they came from anywhere but southern Mesopotamia, and Rīm-Sîn's Larsa itself is a possible candidate (Hallo 1964: 85). An unprovenienced omen report that was originally dated to the MB period refers to concern for the well-being of a boat traveling to (or from?) the quay of Emar, indeed that concern was the reason for performing an extispicy in the first place (CUA 101; Goetze 1957a: 93, 95 n. 37, 104–105).³ However, on account of the tablet's orthography and layout the Kassite date has been questioned, and an OB date seems more likely (Kraus 1985: 128 n. 7).⁴ All of these sources appear to relate in some way to long-distance trade between Babylonia and the Middle Euphrates region to the northwest. In contrast to the small handful of OB sources from Babylonia proper, many more references to the town of Emar are found in the Mari archives (Durand 1990a; Heimpel 2003: 614). Before the reign of Zimri-Lim, king Yaḥdun-Lim of Mari commemorated a military victory over Imar in one of his year names.⁵ Mari's local dynasts were constantly negotiating how to effectively exploit the region further

occupation of the site: any EBA occupation beneath Bālis is now well below the water table, and any cuneiform archive that may have been present there is lost.

² Strike **e-ma-ri-tum* from RGTC 3 (Groneberg 1980: 109), instead read *ēma rītum ibaššū* “wherever there is herbage” (AbB 14, 4:7; CAD R 389b).

³ The text reads: *te-er-tum an-ni-tum ša a-na šu-lu-um* ^{giš}MA₂ *ša* ¹IR₃-^dEŠDAR ¹a²-na² ¹(or: [iš-t]u?) *ka-ar* ^{urru}E-mar^{ki} ¹a¹-na ¹SILIM¹ *ep-še-et* “This extispicy, concerning the well-being of Warad-Ištar's boat (traveling) to (or: from) the quay of Emar, was performed with a favorable result” (CUA 101:13–15).

⁴ Note that one phrase used to describe part of the liver (*miḥiṣ pān nakrīm*, lit. “a blow to the enemy's face”) occurs so far only in tablets from OB Mari, LBA Ḥattuša, MB Susa, as well as in SB omen compendia (Koch-Westenholz 2002: 132; cf. Heimpel 2003: 657; Glassner 2005: 285).

⁵ In its fullest form this year name reads: MU *Ia-aḥ-du-li-im da-am₇-da-am ša* DUMU.MEŠ *Ia-mi-na^{ki} u₃ I-ma-ar^{ki} i-na* KA₂ *A-ba-at-tim^{ki} i-du-ku-u₂* “The year Yaḥdun-Lim inflicted defeat on the Yamanites and on Imar at the gate of Abattum” (Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 59, cf. 64). Abattum was a crossing point on the Euphrates probably located somewhere between Tuttul and Imar (Heimpel 2003: 605).

up the Euphrates. Imar may have been in the orbit of influence of Aleppo to the west, but there is also a possibility that it constituted something of a boundary or marginal political zone (Ziegler 2009: 188–189). In any event, OB Imar paid tribute to the kings of three locales: Mari, Aleppo, and Karkamiš (Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 182). This is not surprising, since Imar is well documented as a weigh station between Mari and Aleppo. Furthermore, despite references to the ruler (en) and queen (*ma-lik-tum*) of Imar in third-millennium sources from Ebla, there is no mention of a king or local dynast of Imar in the early second millennium. Instead, the large number of texts from OB Mari that mention Imar refer to a different local authority, the *tahtamum* or assembly/council, which held power in towns such as Imar and Tuttul in this period (Fleming 2004a: 212–214).⁶ Needless to say, following Hammurapi's sack of Mari, the source material for this period decreases precipitously. Away from Mari, a small handful of texts from the OB palace in Tuttul refer to provisions for messengers from Imar (Krebern timer 2001: 13; Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 149, 151), and an OB fragmentary legal document from another site in the orbit of Mari, Ḥarādum, also mentions someone in a financial dispute being seized in Emar (Joannès 1990, 2006: 137–138, no. 97). Finally, Emar also figured prominently in the royal archives of OB Alalāḥ VII (Zeeb 1998: 834–835, 2001: 463–467). One particularly important OB tablet from Room 11 in Alalāḥ's Level VII palace documents the founding of Alalāḥ and, as part of the transaction, refers to ^{uru}I-ma-ar^{ki} *qa-du-um na-wi-šu* "The town of Imar together with its steppe region" (ALT *456; Dietrich and Loretz 2004–2005: 48–52, 10.02.1; Lauinger 2011: 49). In sum, the early second millennium evidence gives only passing glimpses of the site in so far as it was of interest to external players large and small.

Following the collapse of the OB dynasty in the south, there is a lacuna in the textual evidence from southern Mesopotamia, and the situation is hardly better in Assyria. When the source material picks up again in Mesopotamia proper, there is little concern for the Middle Euphrates

⁶ As Fleming notes, the lexeme is attested in OB texts found at Mari (see also CAD T 299a sub *ta'tamu*). Not considered in Fleming's study is the verbal reflex of the same root that may occur in a tablet from OB Tuttul (Krebern timer 2001: 13, 56–57). The Amarna-period reference (EA 252:26) adduced in CAD T 299a is suspect. This letter from Lab'ayu, the governor of Shechem, probably contains the West Semitic preposition *tḥt* (cf. Ug., Heb., Aram., Arab.), i.e., the preposition with a pronominal suffix *ta-aḥ-ta-mu* "beneath them" (Sivan 1984: 128) or the adverbial accusative with enclitic *-mu* (Huehnergard 1987a: 720) in the construction *nu-pu-ul-mi₃ ta-aḥ-ta-mu u₃ ti-ma-ḥa-šu₂-ka* "(if you say) 'fall down (or: fall down beneath them) so that they might strike you.'"

region in general and the town of Emar in particular. So far there is no mention of Emar in cuneiform sources from Kassite Babylonia, with the possible exception of the travel itinerary embedded in the MB copy of the Dream Book from Babylon (Oppenheim 1956: 260, 313, pl. V; Pedersén 2005: 80–81, M4:1). However, the itinerary itself may have been a fixed and frozen received tradition that originated in the first half of the second millennium. Regardless, the Middle Euphrates would have been a likely route for diplomatic contacts between Ḫattuša and Kassite Babylonia, as is suggested by one of the international letters found in Dūr-Kurigalzu (Baqir 1946: 90, 93, pl. XVIII; Gurney 1949: 139–142, nos. 10 and 12; Nashef 1982: 128). In contrast, a handful of Middle Assyrian sources do document contact between Emar and Assyria, though any such interactions were sporadic due to the fact that the Euphrates constituted a natural western boundary for the Middle Assyrian sphere of influence and concern (Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008). One document from Assur dated to the time of Adad-nirari I (1305–1274/1295–1264 BCE) records the sale of a house in Assur by one Ibašši-ilī, son of Imarāyu, i.e., an obvious *nisba* form meaning ‘the Emarite’ (KAJ 145; Nashef 1982: 137; Pedersén 1985: 100, 103, M10:9; Faist 2001: 138). Another tablet found in Assur dates to the time of Shalmaneser I (1273–1244/1263–1234 BCE) and refers to eighty-eight lumps of copper confiscated (*puāgu*) in the towns Imar and Hazaziri (hapax), which are characterized as being in ‘the land of Ḫatti’ (*i-na KUR Ḫa-at-te*), i.e., Syria (MARV III 19; Pedersén 1985: 79, M7; Belmonte 2001: 73). Merchants (LU₂.DAM.GAR₃.MEŠ) from Emar also appear in the MA archive from Dūr-Katlimmu (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 162–165, no. 13). These texts, which consistently refer to the town as Imar, once again attest to Emar’s significance as a node along the routes used for long-distance trade across northern Mesopotamia (Faist 2001; Durand 2003a).

In the mid- to late-second millennium a number of texts from the rising centers of power throughout the Near East document political and economic activities in the Middle Euphrates region and thus make some mention of Emar (Otto 2009). The Egyptian topographical enumerations of Thutmose III’s (1479–1425 BCE) military campaigns to Syria may mention the town, but it cannot be inferred from this text that he conquered Emar and the Middle Euphrates region more generally (Redford 2003: 74 n. 101; von Dassow 2008: 22–23). In any case, this enumeration corresponds with the 12th-century occurrence of the toponym Emar in the inscriptions on the front pylon of the mortuary temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu in Thebes (Astour 1968: 737). A correspondence of this kind is suspect and probably suggests a borrowed literary topos and structure.

Texts from a number of sites document the influence of Mittani in mid-second-millennium northern Syria, but very little of this evidence comes from Mittani itself. This is largely due to the fact that the Mittanian capital Waššukanni has yet to be found. The Euphrates River appears to have acted as a western border of Mittani proper, but the Hurrian state's influence extended west to include sites such as Alalah and its environs (von Dassow 2008). Tablets bearing the Mittanian dynastic seal, which was originally inscribed by king Sauštatar, have been found at Umm el-Marra (Cooper et al. 2005) and Tell Bazi (Sallaberger et al. 2006). Further south, 14th-century administrative tablets found at Qaṭna reflect a 'Hurrianization' of the local population, but there is no evidence of Mittanian imperial presence (Richter 2005, 2006). In any case, the long inscription on the statue of Idrimi mentions the 15th-century king's flight from Ḫalab to Emar, his mother's ancestral home, though it is not clear what event(s) prompted Idrimi's actions (Dietrich et al. 1982). However, given the numerous archaeological and interpretive problems that beset that text, the historicity of this claim is uncertain at best (von Dassow 2008: 23–45). This leaves only a handful of references to Emar in administrative texts from Alalah IV, all of which are census lists that identify various individuals as having come from Emar, among other locales in the region (Niederhof 1998: 526).

The town Emar is not very well attested in texts from Ḫattuša (Del Monte and Tischler 1978: 140). ^{uru}*E-mar* occurs in a fragmentary Akkadian letter (KUB 3, 79; Mouton 2007: 100) as well as in a copy of a text that recounts early Hittite military campaigns (i.e., the reign of Ḫattušili I) in north Syria (KBo. 22, 4+). Interestingly, the former text may come from the corpus of international correspondence found at Ḫattuša, showing a concern of some kind with the Middle Euphrates region. The latter text refers to one Yarim-Lim, son of Piazzzi, LU₂ ^{uru}*E-mar*, 'man' (perhaps 'ruler?') of Emar (Klengel et al. 1999: 40 [A10]; De Martino 2003: 106–107; cf. CHD P 327a). Unfortunately, nothing more is known so far about this individual, whose existence is an extremely important bridge between the OB/MBA occupation of the town, when there was evidently no local king, and the advent of the royal families documented in the earliest, i.e., Syrian-type LBA texts found at the site. Over and above these few references to Emar in historical sources, the regional toponym Aštata is much more common in texts from Ḫattuša.

Unlike Egyptian administration of the Levant in the New Kingdom period or, for that matter, the administration of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, no system of Hittite provinces was in place on the Anatolian peninsula or

in northern Syria (Klengel 2006: 68). From about the middle of the 14th century on, the Hittite vizier in Karkamiš, referred to in texts as the “king of Karkamiš,” was responsible for dealing with the Syrian territories subsumed under the Hittite Empire.⁷ Several documents found at Emar were written there (Seminara 1998: 21, 129–132). Of course, the Hittite Great King in Ḫattuša could intervene in regional affairs as he saw fit.⁸

Aštata was evidently not a term used locally in Emar to designate the territory to which Emar itself belonged, that is, *māt Aštata* “the land of Aštata,” which probably consisted roughly of the Middle Euphrates region (Yamada 1994c; Belmonte 2001: 44). References to such an entity come from elsewhere, namely in texts from Ugarit, Ḫattuša (Del Monte and Tischler 1978: 48–49),⁹ and Karkamiš. The town of Aštata, which is known from texts found in Alalaḥ IV, Ḫattuša, and Emar, may be the site of Tell Faq’ūs (Margueron 1982b). In any case, the reference to ¹*Zu-u₂-Ba-a-la-aš* LU₂.AZU / LU₂ ^{ur}*Aš-ta-ta* “Zū-Ba’la, diviner, man of the town Aštata” (RAI 44 = *SMEA* 45, 1:4–5), in a Hittite letter is significant, since the tablet was found amongst the remains of Zū-Ba’la’s heirs’ tablet collection in Emar’s ‘Temple’ M₁. The two tablets excavated from Emar that refer to the town of Aštata were written in Karkamiš (*Emar* 19) and Ḫattuša (RAI 44 = *SMEA* 45, 1).

Emar is mentioned in a number of contemporary texts from Ugarit, which also fell under the influence of the Hittite Empire. A syllabic (Akkadian) letter from the “house of Rap’ānu” (RS 20.227) appears to refer to the sender’s relatives traveling to Emar (Ug 5, 57: rev. 9’–14’). Other syllabic letters refer to citizens of Emar (RS 17.143, PRU 4, 217–218) or appear to have been sent from Emar (RSOu. 7, 30–33). These links have made it possible to establish plausible synchronisms between the two LBA Syrian towns (Cohen and Singer 2006). Finally, a Hurrian alphabetic incantation invok-

⁷ On the Hittite administration of north Syria more generally, see Beckman 1992, 1995; Klengel 2001a, 2001b; Faist 2002; Imparati 2002; Beckman 2003b.

⁸ As is evident, for example, in the case of Zū-Ba’la, the diviner in Emar (RAI 44; Yamada 2006a).

⁹ These texts include: the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Nuḫašše (Beckman 1999: 54–58, no. 7; cf. Klengel et al. 1999: 138 [A7]); the treaty with Aziru of Amurru (Beckman 1999: 36–41; Klengel et al. 1999: 138 [A8]); the treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Šattiwaza of Mittani (Beckman 1999: 42–48; Klengel et al. 1999: 129 [B5], 138 [A4]), which indicates that the land of Aštata lay just beyond Mittani’s western border (Sallaberger et al. 2006: 95); the treaty of Muwattalli II with Talmi-Šarrumma of Aleppo (Beckman 1999: 93–95, no. 14; Klengel et al. 1999: 42 [B5], 62 [B6], 107 [B2], 126 [B1], 145 [B13], 177 [B1], 203 [A3]); and the Prayer of Muršili II (Singer 2002: 73–77, no. 17).

ing Išhara of Mari (*ušhr mryt*) was found in the “cella aux tablettes” in the “Sud Acropole” (RS 24.285 = KTU² 1.131). This text mentions *imr* (KTU² 1.131:5), along with Tuttul (*ttl*), Ugarit (*ugrt*), and a host of other northern Syrian toponyms that are also attested in tablets from Alalah IV (Dietrich and Mayer 1995: 22–31; Dietrich 2004: 141–143).

Aside from texts from the site of Emar itself, other sites in the Middle Euphrates region have produced cuneiform tablets, but very few of these refer to the town. Emar is mentioned in only a handful of documents from Houses P and O in Ekalte, where texts refer to travel to Emar (*Ekalte* 64) and citizens of Emar in Ekalte (*Ekalte* 28; *Ekalte* 34). There is no hint of any Hittite presence in the texts from Ekalte,¹⁰ and very few Hurrian personal names and only one Hurrian loanword can be identified among the texts from that site (Wilhelm 2005). Thus, the Ekalte archives may have preceded Šuppiluliuma I's campaigns across northern Syria, and these texts were probably written after a period of Mittanian florescence. It is also possible that, for whatever reason, Ekalte was unaffected by Mittani during the period for which there is textual documentation from the site. In any case, the identification of the dynastic royal seal of Emar (Beyer 2001: E2a) in a document from Ekalte (*Ekalte* 25, House P) suggests some as yet unclear (but chronologically highly significant) connection between the two towns (Werner 2004: 21–24). There is no mention of Emar in any of the fifteen Syrian-type legal and administrative texts found in a building at Tell Hadidi (Dornemann 1977: 144–147), ancient Azû,¹¹ nor in the single tablet from Tell el-Qīṭar (Snell 1983–1984).

Not surprisingly textual sources excavated at Emar itself give us the most detailed picture of the town's history, and I will sketch what we know of this history after an archaeological overview of the town and its archives.

¹⁰ On *Ekalte* 80:31–32 and Mayer's (2001: 15–16) view that it contains a year name commemorating Tudḫaliya I/II, note the correction by Sallaberger (2003: 277). Wilcke (1992: 124–125) had already critiqued one of Mayer's earlier iterations of his hypothesis.

¹¹ These texts remain unpublished, but a catalogue and preliminary editions have been disseminated by the excavation epigrapher Robert Whiting at <<http://www.helsinki.fi/~whiting/hadidcat.html>>.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF LATE BRONZE AGE EMAR AND ITS ARCHIVES

Geography and Environment of the Middle Euphrates

Emar (approximately 35° 59' 13" N, 38° 06' 41" E) is located on the western bank of the Euphrates River, slightly south of where the Euphrates begins to make its big bend to the east toward its confluence with the Balikh River (cf. Wirth 1971: 429–433). To the north of Emar is the Euphrates River valley itself, the meanders of which can be followed up to Karkamiš. The harsh, arid desert of the Shamiyah plain stretches to the south, and the Jabbul plain separates Emar from Aleppo, which is located almost 90 km from Emar, just north of due east. According to one early account, Eski Meskene lies about 6 km east of where the descent begins into the Euphrates River valley from the Aleppo plain (Sarre and Herzfeld 1911: 120). Despite the flooding of the river valley by Lake Assad, a number of wadis can still be seen cutting through the soft limestone, illustrating how small tributaries must have drained into the Euphrates in antiquity. In antiquity the Euphrates River valley itself was probably not more than 7 km across and not more than about 80 m down from the plateau's edge (Geyer 1990: 107).

Texts from the OB period indicate that Emar was the beginning of the land route from the Euphrates west to Aleppo (Ḫalab) and then on south to Qaṭna and Hazor (Goetze 1964: 115). Late antique and medieval Meskene continued to have this function as the first port on the Euphrates in Syria, at least until the river was no longer navigable (Sarre and Herzfeld 1911: 129). This change accounts in part for why the site was not rebuilt, and in the Ottoman period the village Meskene moved to a different location altogether (Sarre and Herzfeld 1911: 121).

In the present day Emar's geographic placement allows for rainfall agriculture albeit not consistently, making it a marginal zone for any agricultural activity (Deckers 2005: 155). The tablets from LBA Emar mention various fields situated abutting the Euphrates (Belmonte 2001: 393), so the use of irrigation canals seems likely. The construction of the Tabqa Dam has radically transformed the landscape along the Euphrates, making it even more difficult to compare the region's ancient and modern environments. Even before the dam's construction, the Euphrates valley below Meskene could be thought of as a riverine oasis with harsh desert steppe on either side (Wirth 1971: 431). Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the ancient climate was somewhat wetter with more vegetation than in the present. The study of faunal remains from Emar, especially those found during the German-Syrian excavations, has revealed the pres-

ence of elephants and fallow deer, suggesting that the Middle Euphrates should be characterized as having riverine forests in the LBA (Gündem and Uerpmann 2003; Deckers 2005: 161). The same studies found evidence of gazelles and onager in the LBA, which also points to the presence of steppe vegetation. Furthermore, preliminary anthroecological analyses suggest that olive, fig, date palm, and grapevine were all cultivated in LBA Emar (Deckers 2005: 163–164). These fauna and, especially, flora coincide with many of the species that are mentioned in the administrative, legal, and ritual texts from the LBA occupation of the town.

Late Bronze Age Syria: An Archaeological Overview

The historical events of the mid-second millennium provide a useful framework for parsing the Bronze Age archaeological sequence in Syria. The Hittite sack of both Yamḥad in Syria and the Old Babylonian state in southern Mesopotamia (ca. 1600 BCE) furnishes a functional terminus for the MBA. Subsequent centuries witnessed international competition across Syria among the dynasts of Mittani in north Syria, the Hittite Empire in Anatolia, early New Kingdom and later Ramesid Egypt (Dynasties 18–20), and eventually the Middle Assyrian state (Van De Mieroop 2007). This competition and the relationships and conflicts it produced made an impact on the cultural landscape and the settlement patterns across Syria. However, as always, it is frequently difficult to reconcile the archaeological sequence of every known site in the region with the elements of the various historical narratives reconstructed from the epigraphic record, which has well-known idiosyncrasies, limitations, and biases. Nevertheless, some such reconciliation of the evidence is possible.

The distribution of Syrian sites occupied in the LBA exhibits a pattern that correlates loosely with the region's geography. For example, in the west are the coastal sites of Ras Shamra (Ugarit) and Ras Ibn Hani, as well as Tell Atçana (Alalah) near the Orontes River in the Turkish Hatay (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 333–341). Further south off the Orontes and east of the Jebel Ansariyah are sites such as Hama and Tell Mishrife (Qaṭna). Back in the north, moving east we find Aleppo (Ḥalab), where Bronze Age levels are largely inaccessible due to the city's long continuous occupation, and in the Jabbul plain, Umm el-Marra (ancient Tuba?, see Belmonte 2001: 291). The Middle Euphrates region is densely populated with LBA sites, including Jerablus (Karkamiš), Tell Bazi (Bašīru?), Tell Munbaqa (Ekalte), Tell Hadidi (Azû), Tell el-Qiṭar (Til-Abnu?), Meskene (Emar), Tell Faq'ūs (Aštata?), and Tell Fray (Yaḥarišša) (Akkermans and

Schwartz 2003: 341–346; Sallaberger et al. 2006; Otto 2006a, 2009). Further east on the upper Balikh River are Tell Hammam et-Turkman and Tell Sabi Abyad. On the Habur River to the east are LBA sites such as Tell Brak (Nagar/Nawar), Tell Bderi (Dūr-Aššur-ketti-lēšer), Tell Taban (Ṭābatu), and Tell Sheikh Hamad (Dūr-Katlimmu).

The political history of the mid- to late second millennium makes it possible to loosely correlate the general geographic distribution of these sites with zones of political influence and outright control. For example, the Hurrian political entity Mittani had somewhat vague borders and zones of influence (Kühne 1999; cf. von Dassow 2008: 19–23). Even the dating of Mittani's rise is uncertain, but one can safely speak of its regional strength and subsequent decline in the 15th through early 14th centuries. Tell Brak is rightly considered to be firmly within Mittanian territory, which extended east to include Arrapha/Nuzi and perhaps as far south as Terqa. Sources from Alalah and Egypt suggest that the big bend of the Euphrates was its western border, but evidence of Mittani's reach is found in texts from Alalah, Umm el-Marra, and Bazi, pushing traces of its influence further west to the Orontes, Jabbul plain, and Middle Euphrates. Further south Qatna also exhibits some Hurrian influence in language and onomasticon, but so far there is no direct indication of Mittanian political influence there, in part because the richest textual finds date to a period when Mittani was moribund as a political actor. As noted already above, Thutmose III's triumphant boasts about reaching the Euphrates River should not be taken to mean that Egypt had any real control of that region during the 18th–20th Dynasties. On the contrary, New Kingdom Egypt's focus was primarily on southern and coastal Levantine areas, and Egypt's maximal reach never extended north of Ugarit or, more significantly, east of Tunip and Qatna (Morris 2005). The major campaigns of Ḫattušili I, Muṣili I, and later Šuppiluliuma I must have resulted in many of the destruction levels archaeologists have identified across Syria. After the Syrian campaigns of Šuppiluliuma I in the later 14th century, the Hittite empire's dominant role in northern Syria is amply attested in Hittite texts and material culture from a number of sites, including Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani, Alalah, Karkamiš (where Šuppiluliuma installed his son Šarri-Kušuḫ as the first of a series of viceroys), and Emar (Genz 2006). The primary indicators of the Hittite sphere of influence are the contents of non-Hittite texts (written primarily in Akkadian) and the presence of diagnostic Hittite material culture, consisting of tablets, stamp seals and sealings, cylinder seals and sealings, figurines, and reliefs. So far no demonstrably Hittite architecture has been found in the region, and in general official administrative

buildings in north Syria are difficult to identify. In contrast, the distinctive features of Middle Assyrian occupations at a number of sites—such as Sheikh Hamad, Bderi, Taban, Sabi Abyad, and Chuera—plot Assyria's late-14th and 13th century expansion across the Jezirah (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 348–350; Tenu 2006, 2009). Middle Assyrian administration of the Jezirah appears to have been centered in the lower Habur at Sheikh Hamad, ancient Dūr-Katlimmu, where excavators found a 13th-century archive of MA letters (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996). The Assyrian zone of control also contained numerous smaller sites in the upper Habur (e.g., Bderi and Taban) and extended west to the Balikh, where we find the furthest outposts, such as Chuera and Sabi Abyad. However, Assyrian influence along the Balikh may not have extended even as far south as the confluence of the Balikh and Euphrates Rivers (Luciani 1999–2001; Fales 2011).

As this short survey has sketched, the Middle Euphrates was situated such that it was influenced by each of the main regional actors of the LBA. Emar was probably subsumed under Mittani's sphere of influence in the early part of the LBA, though there is no direct evidence to support this supposition. In any case, it remained unambiguously beyond the zone of control of New Kingdom Egypt. Hittite domination of Emar and the Middle Euphrates is well documented in texts from both the Hittite capital and Emar itself. No Middle Assyrian settlement is known thus far from the Middle Euphrates, making that region outside of its imperial expansion zone. However, trade interests along the Euphrates would have made the Middle Assyrian polity keenly aware of what happened in the buffer zone beyond its line of settlements to the west of the Assyrian heartland.

The historical dynamics of the LBA must have had an impact on Emar's diviners, though the precise contribution of each particular episode is difficult if not impossible to track. Scholarly and scholastic texts, or more precisely specific copies of such texts, were transmitted across space via the mundane forces of travel for economic, military, or diplomatic purposes. Travelling scholars are also a hallmark of the LBA (e.g., Heeßel 2009), so it is appropriate to envision geographic networks of esoteric knowledge like divination, networks that transcend polity and even language. That divinatory texts crossed boundaries of culture and place likely contributed to their prestige and the prestige of those who could copy and read them. To understand the contexts in which these textual interactions occurred, it is necessary to look at the specifics: the archaeology of the site of Emar itself and the nature of the textual sources discovered there.

Early Exploration of Eski Meskene (1907–1931)

The earliest archaeological investigation of Meskene was prompted not by the Bronze Age remains but rather by the architectural surface remains of the site's Byzantine and Islamic occupations. Between October 1907 and March 1908, Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld (1911) undertook an extensive survey project to explore and document Islamic ruins in greater Mesopotamia. They set out from Aleppo and traversed about 104 km before reaching Eski Meskene-Bālis on 29 October 1907. There they produced a basic map of the site, documented its ample surface remains, and copied the visible building inscriptions. More than two decades later Georges Salles and Eustache de Lorey returned to the site in 1929 and again in 1931, but their results were never properly published (Raymond and Paillet 1995: 56–57). Before the site was almost completely flooded by the rising waters of Lake Assad, it was still possible to see the four long north-south trenches that Salles and de Lorey had cut across the center of Bālis (Raymond and Paillet 1995: 105; Geyer 1990: 111, fig. 3).

There are some hints that Bronze Age material culture was found among the Islamic levels of Bālis during the early survey and excavations, including “une plaquette en coquille gravée d'époque sumérienne archaïque” (Dussaud 1932: 112). However, this piece appears to remain unpublished. No further survey or excavation of significance is known to have taken place in the region until the Tabqa Dam building project was perceived as a potential threat to the region's numerous archaeological sites.

French Excavations at Emar (1970–1976)

The modern archaeological investigation of the Middle Euphrates began in 1963 with the salvage excavations prompted by the building of the Tabqa Dam, which was completed in 1973 (Bounni 1979; cf. Wirth 1971: 435–436). The Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas, under the direction of André Raymond, sought to investigate an Islamic period site in the Tabqa Dam impact area. Eski Meskene, also referred to by the Arabic name Meskene Qadime, medieval Bālis, was well known on account of its Byzantine rampart and Ayyubid minaret (Margueron 1975a: 202). As noted above, Bālis had been surveyed by Sarre and Herzfeld and hastily excavated by Salles and de Lorey in the first half of the twentieth century. Raymond and Lucien Golvin (1995) undertook their first campaign in the autumn of 1970 and conducted a total of four campaigns between 1970 and 1973. In the fall of 1971 Mohammed Roumi, the Syrian representative on site, pointed out a promontory a few hundred meters

west of Bālis proper, where the surface had been recently disturbed by robbers' trenches revealing a ceramic set that did not correspond with the Islamic pottery from Bālis (Margueron 1975b: 54). A sounding in this location resulted in diverse ceramic materials, the remains of terracotta house models (Muller 2002: 257–259, nos. 55–56), some beads, and a small cuneiform tablet (presumably *Emar* 22). Due to the presence of material culture that obviously predated the expertise of the Roman-Byzantine and Islamic specialists, the Syrian authorities invited Jean-Claude Margueron to oversee the French excavations of the earliest cultural levels discovered on the site. Thus, Margueron's team undertook a first exploratory campaign in November–December 1972, and a second campaign followed in June–July 1973.

When the first campaign began, the Bronze Age name of Meskene had yet to be determined. However, already in 1954 Georges Dossin had proposed identifying Meskene Qadime with ancient Emar (Dossin 1974: 26; see also Dossin 1961–1962: 199). Dossin had also noted that the ancient toponym may have been preserved in the name of the modern Arab village 'Amar on the left bank of the Euphrates River (Dossin 1961–1962: 199). This village must have been relocated or abandoned after the construction of Tabqa Dam. Despite the fact that Dossin's suggestion turned out to be correct, the precise identification remained unverified in the early 1970s. This was due in large part to the fact that various arguments had been put forward on the basis of inferences about historical geography gleaned from cuneiform and classical sources.¹²

The identification of the site came during the first season. On the fifth day of a three-and-a-half week season begun in November 1972, Margueron's team unearthed a jar (Msk 7238) in what later came to be designated Area A (see below). The jar contained thirteen cuneiform tablets (*Emar* 1–13) that allowed the epigrapher Daniel Arnaud (1973) to identify the site definitively as ancient Emar. This identification led Margueron to undertake to wide-ranging investigation of the site, looking especially for the EBA and MBA levels, which were already known from attestations of Emar in the tablet collections from Ebla and Mari. In all the French team conducted a total of six campaigns:

1. November–December 1972
2. June–July 1973

¹² E.g., note the suggestion proffered by Goetze (1957b: 26) that Emar should be located somewhere between Jerablus (Karkamiš) and Meskene.

3. March–April 1974 (Margueron 1976a: 80)
4. Autumn 1974
5. Autumn 1975
6. Autumn 1976

It was during the second, third, and fourth seasons that the excavators uncovered the monumental temples at the west end of the site, the so-called ‘temple of the diviner’ (‘Temple’ M₁), and more domestic architecture. Temple M₂ came to light during the fifth and sixth campaigns. French excavators identified only LBA architecture and material culture, a surprising result based on the ample documentation of EBA and MBA Imar/Emar in the late-third- and early second-millennium epigraphic record.¹³ Beyond the work at Meskene, in the autumn of 1978 the team excavated a nearby site not far to the south, Tell Faq’ūs, which Margueron (1982b) believed to be a garrison established in Aštata by the Hittite king Muṣili II (ca. 1320 BCE; cf. Ünal 1995: 437).

No final report of the French excavations has appeared. What results are available can be found in a series of preliminary reports (e.g., Margueron 1975a, 1975b, 1975c, 1976a, 1979, 1982c) and summaries (e.g., Margueron 1993, 1995), as well as an important edited volume commemorating ten years of work on the material excavated at the site (Beyer 1982a). In order to best understand the setting in which the ‘Temple’ M₁ tablet collection was found, it is first necessary to survey the nature and extent of the French excavations at Emar.

As with every project begun under the aegis of the Tabqa Dam salvage excavations, each campaign was seen as potentially the last. Because of that practical reality, the French team sought to open as many trenches as possible across as wide an expanse of the site as possible. A letter of the alphabet was assigned to each excavation area or ‘chantier’¹⁴ in the chronological order in which it was investigated, the first being A and the last Y (Margueron 1975b, 1982c). The presence or absence of significant finds determined whether excavators abandoned a given sounding or widened the investigation of that particular area (Margueron 1975b: 59). For this reason some areas were investigated only very briefly, while others saw constant work over a number of campaigns. Because there was no

¹³ On the discovery of earlier Bronze Age occupation at Emar, see the discussion of the German-Syrian excavations below.

¹⁴ The term ‘area’ is preferable to ‘chantier,’ which has an altogether different and inappropriate meaning as a loan into English.

topographical survey of the entire site, no rectilinear grid was established to direct the placement of soundings, but the balks of each excavation unit were oriented with respect to the points of the compass (Margueron 1975b: 60). It does not appear that balks were retained within a given excavation area, so excavators must have simply cleared contiguous units. Because of the absence of a grid, the placement of excavation units was essentially arbitrary, giving the appearance of having been strewn at random across the site (Fig. 1). However, there was some consistency with respect to the dimensions of each unit and the designations given to each unit (Margueron 1975b: 60 n. 1). The norm for the French excavations was the 10 m \times 10 m square, and the squares placed in a new sector of a particular area were referred to by the letter given to that area and sequential Roman numerals. For example, the first square opened in Area A was A I, the second square was A II, and so on. Each 10 m \times 10 m unit was subdivided further into four 5 m \times 5 m quadrants: NW, NE, SE, SW. Objects other than tablets were given additional Arabic numbers indicating the order in which they were excavated (Muller 2002: 31). Not every quadrant of every unit was excavated in its entirety, and units opened sequentially were sometimes but not always contiguous. To avoid potential confusion within this alphanumeric system no area was given the letter I (Margueron 1975b: 64 n. 1). The various areas investigated on the mound are represented in Fig. 1.

The following is an overview of the areas and soundings as well as the architecture and material culture discovered in the course of the French excavations.

Area A

The French excavations began where the first tablet had been found in 1971, the natural promontory to the northwest that rose some 29 m above the Euphrates River valley floor (Margueron 1975b: 58, 60). Area A was the longest area to remain open, for three campaigns in all (1972, 1973, 1974). Due to this long period of investigation and the nature of the finds from the area, Area A is one of the most important and most controversial sectors in Emar. On the summit and on the east and south sides of the northwest promontory the French team uncovered a large structure, which Margueron started to refer to as a palace. Due to the structure's placement on the promontory, the northern and southeastern extremes of this complex of rooms had eroded away down the side of the site. South of the large structure were five houses of various sizes, as well as streets and alleys that showed the first hints of the town's organization. Excavations

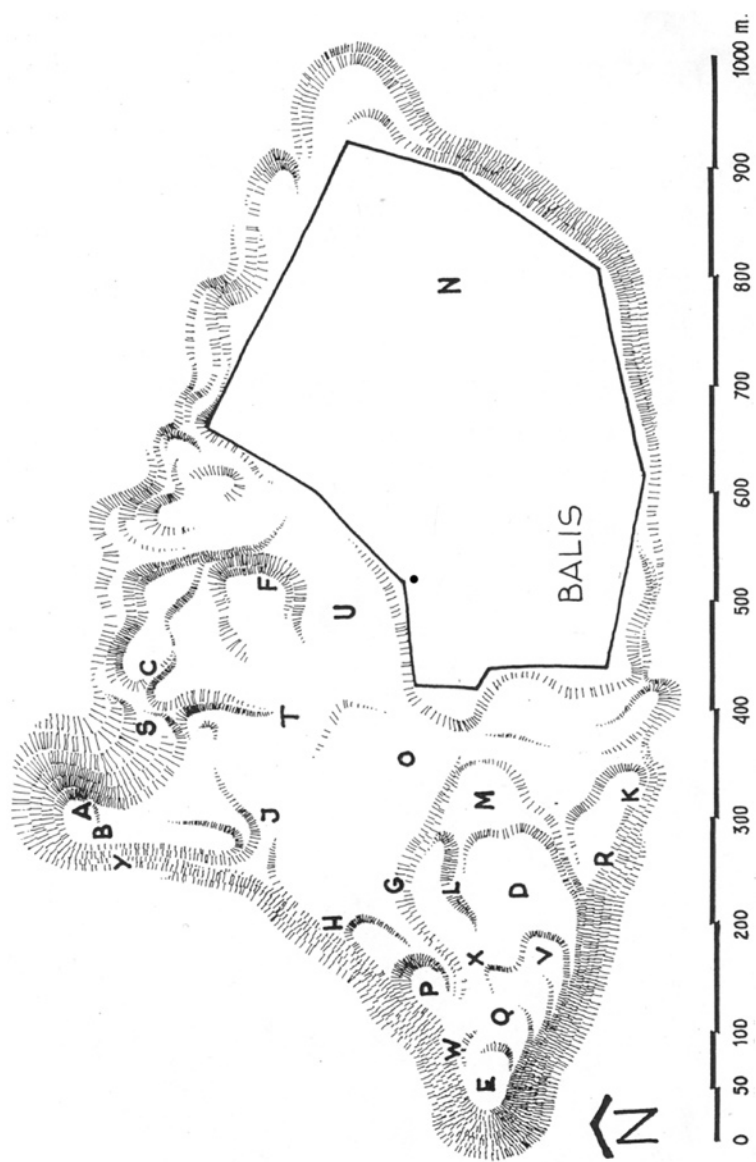


Fig. 1. Excavation Areas, Mission archéologique française de Meskéné-Emar, 1972-1976 (Margueron 1982c: 244, fig. 1) © Jean-Claude Margueron/Mission archéologique française de Meskéné/Emar.

uncovered abundant ceramics, as well as some tablets in both sectors of the area. In the so-called “palace” the French team found a jar, set in a niche obstructed by a wall, that contained a group of tablets. As noted already above, this find from the fifth day of work permitted the identification of the site as Emar. There is no published statement of which lot of tablets this was, but this must have been the tablets in jar Msk 7238 (see Appendix A), that is, the first tablets found in the 1972 Emar expedition. In the foundation of the east wall of one of the houses (Locus 18) excavators also found a house model of the tower type (Muller 2002: 31, 251, no. 45). To the east and the south of the so-called “palace” are approximately five separate domestic structures. All of these houses appear to have been built in the local front-room style (McClellan 1997: 33–34, 42).

The notion that the large structures in the northern part of Area A constituted a palace is already evident in Margueron’s early attribution to this structure of “une fonction importante d’ordre administratif, sinon même le considérer comme un véritable petit palais, siège de l’autorité centrale” (Margueron 1975a: 206). After the French excavations had finished, Margueron (1979, 1980, 1987) came to the conclusion that the two contiguous buildings that dominate the northern part of Area A constitute the earliest attestation of a Syrian building-type referred to as a *bīt ḫilāni* in Akkadian sources, most of which come from the first millennium (Novák 1996: 340–342). However, Margueron’s interpretation of the architecture preserved in Area A is difficult to maintain based on the published evidence alone and will need to be re-evaluated when the final publication appears (McClellan 1997: 30–31, 41; Genz 2006: 503; Otto 2006a: 292; cf. D’Alfonso 2008).¹⁵ The textual finds from this area are similarly difficult to reconcile with the view that this structure was the palace of Emar.

All that remains of Area A today is a small island separated off from what little of the site is still above water (Finkbeiner 1999–2000). Any attempt to investigate anew what is left of this area would encounter the water table just beneath the surface, so this sector of the site is effectively sealed by the lake (Fig. 2).

¹⁵ I am grateful to Ömür Harmanşah for discussing with me the art historical and architectural problems presented by the Area A “palace” and the *bīt ḫilāni* form more generally.

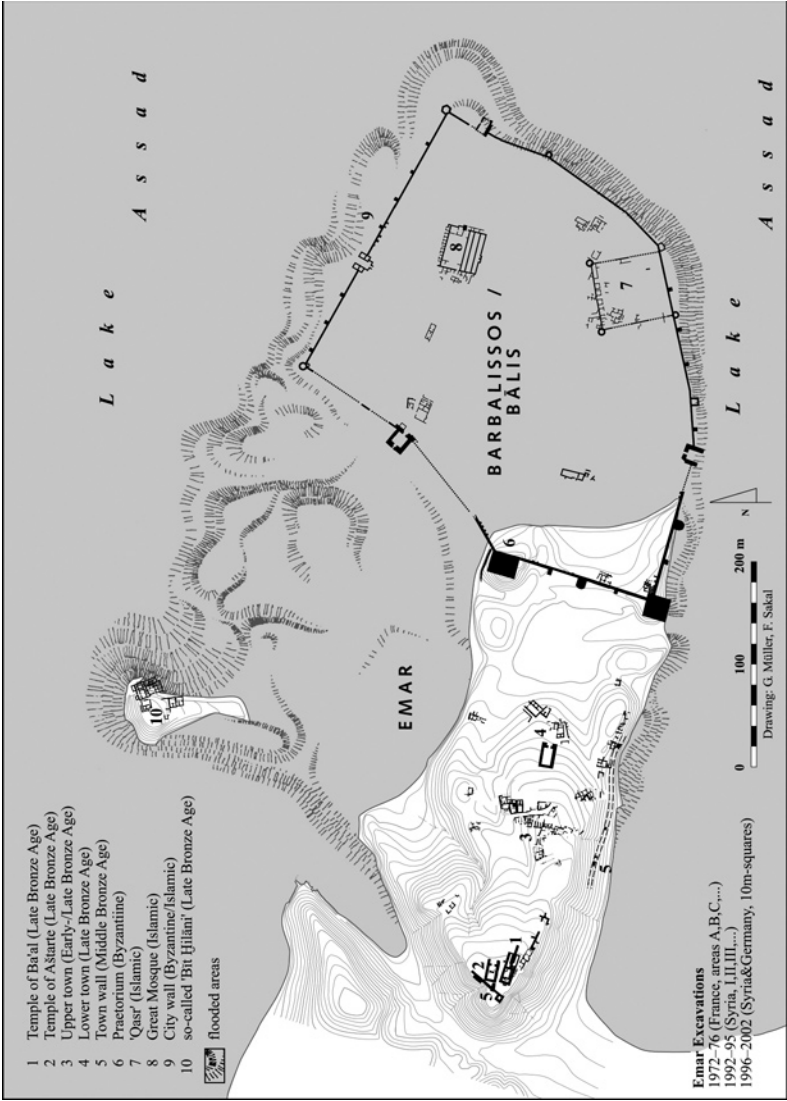


Fig. 2. Emar. Topographical Map with Flooded Areas and Excavation Sites, 1972-2002 (Finkbeiner and Sakal 2010: viii, fig. 1), courtesy of Uwe Finkbeiner and Ferhan Sakal.

Area A “Palace” Archive

The inscribed materials excavated from this area were among the first identified remains of the LBA (Margueron 1975b: 54). A “small tablet” was reportedly found during the very first test sounding conducted in 1971. It is likely that this piece is the tablet designated simply “R.” in the published catalogue of inscribed objects (Emar 6/1, p. 22). It was later edited as *Emar* 22. It was presumably during the first campaign (November–December 1972) that the tablets Msk 7222–Msk 72188 were found. Only the lower part of the “palace” was excavated in the first campaign, i.e., the rooms Locus 2, Locus 6, and Locus 4 (Margueron 1975a: 206). Thus all of the 1972 tablets must have come from the lower part of the structure. Locus 6 in the lower half of the structure presented evidence of remodeling, which is rare at Emar (Margueron 1975b: 61, fig. 2). Excavators found a niche, itself closed off from the room by a wall, in the southwest wall of the adjacent room, Locus 7. In that niche was a sealed jar containing tablets that allowed for the first positive identification of the site (Margueron 1975b: 76–77, figs. 9–10). As noted already above, this jar must have been Msk 7238, which contained the first lot of tablets found in during the 1972 expedition. Another tablet, Msk 7234 = *Emar* 21, found by itself in a small vase, attests to the existence of relations with Palmyra (Margueron 1975a: 205; Arnaud 1982a). The details about the tablet’s storage were not otherwise reported (cf. Emar 6/1, p. 7). Based on their excavation numbers the tablets Msk 7342–Msk 73280 were evidently excavated during the course of the second campaign (June–July 1973).

All of the tablets, with the exception of Msk 7355 = *Emar* 20, that were recovered from the Area A “Palace” were found stored in one of four jars: Msk 7238 (containing *Emar* 2), the jar that contained *Emar* 21 (no number was reported), Msk 7336 (containing *Emar* 14–16), and Msk 7340 (containing *Emar* 17–19). These jars are all a specific subtype that Caubet (1982a: 72, cf. 78, Msk 7336) refers to as “jarre à tablette.” With the exception of the two tablets *Emar* 18 and *Emar* 19 (D’Alfonso 2005), there are no discernible relationships among the tablets stored together in each jar. The royal family of Emar appears in several witness lists in Syrian-type documents from the “palace,”¹⁶ but a member of the royal family is a principal in only three documents from the building.¹⁷ A member of the royal family, Iššur-Dagān, appears as a principal in several real estate documents

¹⁶ See *Emar* 1–4, 8–11, 14, 17, 20, and perhaps 12.

¹⁷ Pilsu-Dagān: *Emar* 8 and *Emar* 10; Zū-Aštarti: *Emar* 17.

from ‘Temple’ M₁, but it is widely accepted that he was not an occupant of that building. There is thus no textual reason to associate the building exclusively with the royal family of Emar. Although large by the standards of the domestic architecture of the site and region, the so-called “palace” has few, if any, monumental features and nothing to distinguish it as royal. Points of comparison are admittedly few, and so far there is still no obvious candidate for a LBA palace in the Middle Euphrates region. The common domestic architecture specific to the region is comparatively modest, so it is perhaps inappropriate to compare the elite architecture of the Middle Euphrates with the palatial structures found at sites such as Alalakh and Ugarit to the west (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 334–338, figs. 10.5 and 10.8). Regardless, based solely on the epigraphic finds, Dietrich (1990: 30–31) has suggested that the so-called “palace” should be thought of instead as a “Gebäude für ‘öffentliche Angelegenheiten’” or “Verwaltungsbüro.” It is possible that monumental architecture was sealed under the later remains of Bālis (see Area N below).

Area A House A V Archive

House A V is a front-room house in the southern sector of Area A, consisting of Locus 18, Locus 19, and Locus 20 (Margueron 1975b: 61, fig. 2). There is no indication of precisely where in the house the documents were found. Arnaud (1975a: 90) suggests that the texts are the remnants of a family archive, “contenue originellement dans une jarre et dispersées au moment du sac de la ville.” It is not clear whether this observation was merely plausible conjecture or a supportable inference based on the excavators’ notes about where the tablets were found vis-à-vis the remains of a broken vessel.¹⁸ Three of the documents relate to the affairs of a husband and wife (*Emar* 23–25), who may have been the proprietors of the house (Dietrich 1990: 31–32). Regardless, almost all of the tablets from House A V display some foreign elements (Cohen and Singer 2006), such as the Babylonian personal names found in the texts (*Emar* 23–27), the metrology of one document (*Emar* 23), the Babylonian month names in three documents (*Emar* 24; *Emar* 26; *Emar* 28), and one tablet’s MB regnal date (*Emar* 26, Meli-Šipak 2).

¹⁸ Cf. the fragments and broken vessel found in the eastern most area of the first excavation trench in what was later recognized to be ‘Temple’ M₁ (Ory and Paillet 1974: 274).

Area B

In the first campaign in late 1972, the French team opened up Sounding B on the west side of the promontory where Area A was located (Margueron 1975b: 62). They found only a few foundations, and the trench was quickly abandoned. Sounding B is likely now submerged or partially submerged under the waters of Lake Assad.

Area C

Opened in 1972 and expanded in 1973, Area C was set on the eastern side of a small wadi that descended onto the interior plateau and then drained into the Euphrates River valley (Margueron 1975b: 62). Excavators found a series of small rooms aligned along the wadi, but none of the rooms obviously connected in any way. The architecture was not particularly well preserved. However, the presence of a large number of ceramics (Caubet 1982a: 72), some of high quality, and a few tablets suggest a storage area or magazine of some kind. Without the benefit of a published plan, it is difficult to evaluate this claim. A more recent view expressed by a member of the excavation team suggests that the 1973 campaign revealed the remains of domestic architecture (Beyer 2001: 8). Area C is now fully submerged underwater and thus impossible to explore further.

Area C Archives

It is unclear where precisely the tablets were found in Area C. Matters are complicated by the conflicting reports as to the nature of the architecture uncovered in this area. There is no discernable prosopographic unity among the various administrative and legal texts found in Area C. Two items merit specific mention, the inscribed 2/3 mina weight of a certain Dayyān-Marduk (*Emar* 38) and the only lexical text from Emar found outside of 'Temple' M₁ (*Emar* 39 = *Emar* 548 C, Hh 11). Dietrich (1990: 33) refers to "[d]er Raum, in dem die Dokumente gefunden wurden," but he does not cite any of the preliminary reports that provide what little evidence we have about the tablets' original find-spots. Other than the inscribed weight, there is little reason to suppose that all of the tablets belong to the archive of a Babylonian family (Dietrich 1990: 33), that is, the family of Dayyān-Marduk, whose weight may have arrived at the town by any number of means.

Area D

Placed on the southern slope of the tell on the middle slope of the long east-west ridge, Area D was first excavated at the end of the 1972 campaign, and the French team returned to this area again in 1973 and 1974 (Margueron 1975b: 62). Here excavators found a series of houses in the local front-room style, and just north of these houses a stratigraphic sounding was reported to have reached bedrock. Despite the fact that work continued here over the course of three campaigns, excavators found very little in the way of ceramics or material culture. Five house models were found in five separate domestic structures (Muller 2002: 31–33, 254–262, nos. 50–53, 59). Area D was most useful because of the insights it provided into architecture and building techniques used at the site (Margueron 1977).

Subsequent investigation of this locale revealed a dense cluster of domestic structures in the French Area D, which was deemed the Upper Town (*Oberstadt*) by the German excavators (see below).

Area E

Excavated in 1973 and in the spring of 1974, Area E is located on the highest point of the tell at the summit of the southwest promontory (Margueron 1975b: 62–63, fig. 3). Along with Area A and Area M, it is one of the three most significant excavation areas on the site. This sector is rightfully deemed the main temple precinct on account of its two temples and a monumental pathway leading in between them out onto the promontory to the west. This area west of the temples is an open space that is free of any discernable architecture. The only features found here were a series of small basins cut down into the surface, and it is not clear how this space was used. Its location on the high promontory and its proximity to the two temples suggest that it may have been a cultic installation, perhaps a garden (Beyer 1996). While clearing this cultic terrace, excavators discovered a fragment of a house model (Muller 2002: 267–268, no. 66).

The twin temples are *in antis* structures oriented such that their respective entrances face east. The North Temple, also known as the Aštar Temple, was the better preserved of the two, measuring over 20 m in length and almost 10 m in width (Werner 1994: 106–107, pls. 24–25). The walls of the North Temple were ca. 2 m thick, but they were only preserved in places. A bench was revealed along the southern wall, as well as six small column bases in the eastern part of the main hall. Perhaps these features were used to receive ritual objects or offerings (Margueron 1975a:

207, pl. VI-2) or served as the bases of pillars that are no longer preserved. An altar was situated in front of the back wall, which was buttressed and contained numerous podiums. The back wall, which also betrayed evidence of a series of repairs, was occupied by a small platform. In this platform was set the fragment of a large basalt stone basin, which bore the relief image of a hybrid figure whose upper half was that of a man and whose lower half was that of an animal (Beyer 1982c: 115, fig. 1). While excavating the back room excavators came across two fragments of one house model (Muller 2002: 267, no. 65), and fragments belonging to another were found in badly disturbed contexts elsewhere in the temple as well (Muller 2002: 268–270, no. 67). Near the entrance to the temple the fragmentary sculpted snout of a lion was found (Beyer 1982c: 116). It is unclear whether this piece joins the lion's body found by German-Syrian excavators in 1999 in the bottom of a robber's trench near this temple (Finkbeiner 2001: 42–43, fig. 1; Sakal 2007).

The South Temple, also known as the Baʿl Temple or the Temple of the Storm-god,¹⁹ was similarly a monumental structure about 20 m in length and 11 m wide. Its poorly preserved walls were some 2 m thick (Werner 1994: 107, pls. 24–25). Unlike the North Temple, the eastern part of the South Temple including the entrance was mostly destroyed. A large stepped mudbrick altar with a low platform in front of it was located in the middle of the main hall toward the back (Margueron 1975b: pl. VII-2). At the back of the hall excavators found an irregularly shaped bench with small platforms. On these platforms were small bronze figurines in the shape of bulls, as well as a bronze figurine depicting a male deity, whose arms must have originally been made of some perishable substance (Margueron 1975b: 72–74, figs. 7–8; Beyer 1982d: 116–117). In the main hall of this temple (E III NW 3) excavators also found a small, black stone, “Syro-Mittanian” cylinder seal (Msk 7386) with 14th- and 13th-century parallels from Ugarit, Alalakh, Ekalte, Cyprus, and Anatolia (Beyer 2001: 268–269, pl. 37c, F28). The violent fire that burned the temple appears to have melted certain temple decorations into an amorphous glass paste (Margueron 1975b: 69).

¹⁹ On the potency of storms in the region, see the early twentieth-century, purple-prose account of a torrential storm that flooded the Euphrates valley (Sarre and Herzfeld 1911: 120–121).

Both temples were found to contain cuneiform tablets (*Emar* 42–67, see Appendix A) and numerous beads (Caubet 1982d: 129–130).

The German-Syrian team returned to this temple precinct to undertake new excavations with significant results for the Bronze Age chronology of the site (see below).

Area E North Temple Archive (Temple of Aštar)

The north temple in Area E contained only a small collection of five fragments from what was probably originally five administrative documents, all written in the Syro-Hittite style (*Emar* 63–67). The tablets were found in the small room behind the wall at the back of the main hall (Margueron 1975a: 207). This room was accessible only by a small doorway, which appears to have been walled over in the later period. Although the temple is commonly called the Temple of Aštar, it must be noted that none of the texts identifies the god(s) worshipped in the temple. The supposition is that the cultic inventory of ^dINANNA URU^{ki} “Aštar of the city” (*Emar* 43) found in the south temple suggests the identity of the north temple’s principal deity. Dietrich (1990: 35) characterizes the major themes of this small archive as “Weihgaben und Tempelpersonal.” Although *Emar* 63 does mention several cultic officials (*wābil ilā’i*, *zābiḫu*, and another that is not preserved), the lists of personal names, two of which have numeric notations (*Emar* 64–65), are difficult to interpret. It is not a given that these texts are offering lists.

Area E South Temple Archive (Temple of the Storm-god/Ba’l)

The preliminary excavation reports provide no indication of precisely where the tablets were found in the Temple of the Storm-god. This is unfortunate because the tablets’ contents and types are mixed. Three kinds of documents support the identification of the god worshipped in this temple. First, two Syrian-type administrative tablets identify individuals who took weapons from the storm-god *Emar* 45 (line 1: *ṭup-pi₂ gi^{is}TUKUL.MEŠ ša dIŠKUR*) and *Emar* 52 (line 1: *ṭup-pi₂ LU₂¹.MEŠ ša gi^{is}PAN a-na E₂ dIŠKUR il-[qu]*).²⁰ Second, two of the four administrative documents from the temple concerning manufacture contain the phrase NIG₂ ^dU “property of the Storm-god” (*Emar* 57:3; *Emar* 58:6). Third, *Emar* 42

²⁰ For a recent discussion of the bow, see Civil 2003: 50–51.

contains copies of three votive royal inscriptions, all of which mention the storm-god ^dU (Yamada 2006b with previous literature). The small temple archive consists of documents that have cultic and administrative concerns (Dietrich 1990: 35; Schwemer 2001: 553).

Area F

Sounding F was opened in 1973 in close proximity to the western gate of Bālis (Margueron 1975b: 63–64). With the exception of the deep sounding in Area N, Area F constitutes the eastern most sector investigated by the French team. Excavators chose the site because aligned stones were visible on the surface, indicating the probable existence of walls. However, after having opened trenches there, the architecture was deemed to belong to the site's Islamic occupation, and a limited sounding indicated a thickness of two meters of deposition from this occupation. Although Sounding F was eventually abandoned by Margueron's team, the possibility remains that LBA levels were sealed beneath the medieval occupation (Margueron 1975b: 68). The point is now moot: no further work is possible because the site of Sounding F is now completely submerged.

Area G

In 1973 excavators opened Sounding G on the northern face of the one of the sizable southern hills on the site, between the interior plateau to the north and Area L to the south (Margueron 1975b: 64). Excavators looking for the Bronze Age quickly abandoned this sounding due to the discovery of an Islamic mosque built directly on the bedrock. Sounding G was the only trench that gave no hint of the existence of LBA levels (Margueron 1975b: 68).

Area H

In 1973 excavators opened Sounding H on the western edge of the tell, slightly south of the midway point between the two promontories, i.e., Area A to the north and Area E to the south (Margueron 1975b: 64). Work in Area H furnished some very poorly preserved remains of the LBA. Area H is now either completely underwater or so close to the lake's edge that it would be impossible to explore further.

*Area J*²¹

In 1973 excavators opened Sounding J in the central plateau in close proximity to a small wadi (Margueron 1975b: 64). There they unearthed a partially preserved house, the northern part of which had been eroded away by the wadi. Against what appeared to be the northeast external wall of Locus 3 they found a long plastered trough that contained a small tower model or “maquette,” which was almost complete, the headless stone statue of a seated figure, and a handful of ceramics (Muller 2002: 262–263, no. 60). The rest of the house was not completely excavated. Area J is now submerged underwater.

Area K

In 1973 excavators opened Sounding K on the southern edge of the mound west of Bālis (Margueron 1975b: 64). The aim of the work here was to expose the defensive fortification rampart on the southern edge of the tell. The limestone walls that were found at that time presented excavators with some interpretive problems. Based on the results from work in Area R (see below), which complements what was done in Area K, the remains belong to a defensive fortification of the city.

German-Syrian excavators explored the southern city wall further during their later work at the site (see below).

Area L

Area L was first investigated during the 1973 campaign, and work there carried over into the autumn of 1974 (Margueron 1975b: 64). This area, north of Area D and west of Area M, was situated on the edge of a wadi that descended along the southern hills and drained into the central plateau. The first level excavators encountered was probably Islamic, and that medieval level effectively sealed and, in places, cut into the LBA levels below. As with Area J, the wadi itself had been a destructive influence on this region of the site. One particularly interesting house, which was not completely preserved, held a very large quantity of ceramic materials in one of its rooms, where both open and closed ceramic forms were

²¹ The letter I did not get assigned to an excavation area in order to avoid confusion with the first square put in any given area, which was designated with the Roman numeral I (Margueron 1975b: 64 n. 1).

attested in great numbers (Margueron 1975c: 86, fig. 11; Caubet 1982a: 72; Margueron 1982c: 248, fig. 5). Fragments of four house models were also found in various disturbed contexts (Muller 2002: nos. 61, 70–72), and at least one of the house models (the three pieces of no. 61) appears to have fallen from the upper story of the house in which it was found.

Although Area L remains above the water level of Lake Assad, no further work has been carried out there so far.

Area M

A couple of weeks after the end of the Emar team's second campaign (autumn of 1973), excavators at Bālis made a new discovery. Solange Ory and Jean-Louis Paillet were exploring the large Islamic cemetery situated to the west of the town of Bālis. They had decided to work there because the first two campaigns by Margueron's team had revealed a number of finds dating to the Islamic period, such as inscribed stelae and the superstructures of tombs, some with partial inscriptions. Ory and Paillet's (1974) discovery of over 400 inventoried LBA objects inspired the Emar team to conduct their third campaign in the spring of 1974, followed by a fourth campaign in the autumn of the same year (Margueron 1975b: 55). This area was designated Area M. During the two campaigns of 1974, that is the third (spring) and fourth (autumn), excavators uncovered "un nouveau temple" (i.e., 'Temple' M₁) containing many tablets and fragments, and they also excavated a private house and the remnants of a terrace (Margueron 1975b: 65–66, with fig. 4). The large number of Islamic burials per unit area disturbed the LBA levels and compromised the inventory of material culture found in this area. A more detailed description of 'Temple' M₁ can be found in Chapter 3 below.

The fifth and sixth campaigns in 1975 and 1976 led to the discovery of another significant structure, Temple M₂, west of 'Temple' M₁ (Margueron 1982c: 238). As with the twin temples in Area E, the Temple M₂ is oriented east-west, with its entrance facing east. Temple M₂ was even more massive than its counterparts in Area E: about 23 m long, over 14 m wide, with walls 2–3 m thick (Werner 1994: 108, pl. 25). Two steps led up to the entrance, around which excavators discovered many terracotta nails of at least two different kinds, which likely acted as some kind of external adornment (Werner 1994: 163–164). As in the Area E temples, Temple M₂ contained numerous fine beads made of precious stones (Caubet 1982d: 129–130). Other prestige goods included unworked shells from the Mediterranean Sea and Persian Gulf as well as objects of bone and ivory, such

as incised covers for cosmetics boxes and a sculpted caprid's horn (Beyer 1982c; Margueron 1986a; Di Paolo 1997). At the entrance to Temple M₂ (M XV SE 57) excavators found Msk 764, a badly damaged cylinder seal (whitish frit with traces of a gray glaze) that had to be reconstructed from several pieces (Beyer 2001: 284, pl. 37d, J1). Although fragmentary, the stereotypical Kassite-period inscription and Middle Elamite iconography make this rare find datable to the 14th century. However, this seal was perhaps an heirlooms piece, and “[i]l est probable que ce cylindre faisait partie du trésor de la divinité anonyme de temple et qu’il n’a pas été utilisé par un habitant d’Emar” (Beyer 2001: 284). Another piece of the temple’s inventory is the inscribed votive bead that was found in Temple M₂ (*Emar* 68). A handful of cuneiform tablets and fragments were found here as well (see below).

The architecture articulated in Area M was later deemed by German excavators to constitute the Lower Town (*Unterstadt*), but thus far no subsequent work has been carried out there.

Area M Archives

Objects bearing cuneiform inscriptions, mostly tablets, were found in two structures in the Lower Town (Area M): ‘Temple’ M₁ and Temple M₂. Because it is the primary focus of this investigation, the discussion of ‘Temple’ M₁ is found in Chapters 3 and 4 below.

Temple M₂ Archive

There is no published account of where precisely the tablets (*Emar* 69–74), terracotta foot (*Emar* 220), and inscribed bead (*Emar* 68) were found in Temple M₂. Based on *Emar* 68 it is possible that the temple designated M₂ was dedicated to the god ^dPAP.NUN, the Mesopotamian vizier of the sun-god (Krebern timer 2004). The local reading of this DN is unknown. Based on ^dGa-an-du = MIN(^dPap-sukkal) in a first-millennium god list (An = *Anu ša amēli* 66), Dietrich (1990: 36) suggested that this votive bead was dedicated to the god Gaddu, who was thus the primary deity worshipped in Temple M₂.²² However, the epigraphic argument is not sound, since the sign is NUN and not SUKAL (Schwemer 2001: 553 n. 4415; Wiggermann 2001: 494). There is also no good reason to appeal to a Mesopotamian

²² For the structure called *bīt dGadda* in the Emar rituals and a circumspect view of Dietrich’s hypothesis, see Fleming 1992a: 115–116.

explanatory god list to interpret a Syrian votive inscription. Regardless of how we interpret the DN inscribed on the bead, the PN on the same bead, ¹*Qa-qu₂-lu*, is a hapax legomenon in the Emar onomasticon. Therefore, it may be necessary to entertain the notion that the votive inscription on this bead was originally meant for a Papnun/Bunene in a temple or shrine in another locale entirely.

Aside from the votive bead, the Temple M₂ archive is small and perplexing. Almost all of its documents were written in the Syro-Hittite style. There were three administrative fragments (*Emar* 71–73), as well as four legal documents, including one of the so-called feet of clay (*Emar* 220),²³ two testaments (*Emar* 69–70), and an uncertain, fragmentary contract (*Emar* 74). Dietrich (1990: 36) recognized that the testaments do not obviously belong to the temple as an institution and so may need to be ascribed to the temple's personnel. In short, with the exception of the votive inscription and possibly the administrative fragments, nothing internal to this archive distinguishes it as a temple archive per se.²⁴ The inscribed terracotta impression of a child's foot demonstrates an unambiguous connection between Temple M₂ and 'Temple' M₁, where the two other feet of clay were found (*Emar* 218–219, cf. 217).

Area N

The deep sounding in Area N was the only attempt to probe beneath the medieval and late-antique occupation of Bālis, which covers the eastern part of the site (Margueron 1975b: 66). After working through the later levels, excavators eventually found evidence of the LBA occupation. In one early account of this work Margueron (1975b) even suggested the possible presence of MBA architecture, but elsewhere (Margueron 1975a: 209–210) he was less sanguine about the existence of MBA material beneath the LBA wall. This area was largely inaccessible due to both time constraints and the vast amount of Islamic, Byzantine, and Roman material sealing the Bronze Age. A number of fosses, shafts, and late-antique/medieval cesspools also restricted the zone where excavation would have been profitable. Nevertheless, the trench reached a maximum depth of about 12 m. Beneath the Roman-Byzantine occupation was the corner of a LBA room,

²³ This piece was evidently unknown to Dietrich (1990: 35–36), who must have relied on the organization of the texts' provenience according to *Emar* 6/3, where *Emar* 220 is edited with the related texts from 'Temple' M₁.

²⁴ Personal legal documents were also found in sacred architecture at Nuzi (Jas 2000).

which was preserved from its foundation up the wall, reaching about three meters in height (Margueron 1975b: 67, fig. 5). Although very little of this LBA architecture was exposed in this sector, the Hittite letter (see below) and peculiar flooring material make it possible that the features belonged to a building or house associated with Hittites living in Emar (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 232, D. Beyer's comments in n. 44). Further exploration of Area N is impossible, since all but the western-most part of Bālis is currently underwater (Finkbeiner 1999–2000: pl. 86).

Area N Archive

The deep sounding in Area N did not yield much in the way of material culture or inscribed objects from the Bronze Age. However, the one and only find is highly significant in that it is the only Hittite text from the site that was found outside of 'Temple' M₁ (*SMEA* 45, 2; Salvini and Trémouille 2004: 230–232). This letter to a prominent local Hittite functionary may indicate that Area N was the location of some LBA structure whose inhabitants interacted directly with the Hittite state in Anatolia. There is no clear candidate among the buildings excavated by any team for a structure used by the representative referred to as the LU₂.UGULA.KALAM.MA, "Overseer of the Land," who is known to have witnessed numerous legal transactions in Emar (Heltzer 2001; Mora 2004a; Yamada forthcoming a).²⁵ It is plausible that the monumental Byzantine and Islamic period structures were built on top of an earlier building complex or series of complexes from the Bronze Age. If Emar's various royal families ever had a proper palace, it may be worthwhile to at least entertain the speculation that it was located in Area N.

The sole tablet from Area N is a fragmentary letter from the king, almost certainly the king of Karkamiš (Ini-Teššup?), to a certain Arma-nani, written ¹GE₆-[š]EŠ (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 231; cf. Pruzsinszky 2003: 255–257). Although virtually nothing is intelligible of the letter's contents, the preservation of the sender and addressee is significant. One Arma-nani rendered a legal decision in a text from Area C (*Emar* 33). That tablet also bears his seal, which gives him the title of prince (Beyer 2001: 107, A104). A divination expert and prince named Arma-nani appears in several Hittite documents alongside one Piḫa-Tarḫunta, whose seal appears in two legal documents from the diviners' archive in 'Temple' M₁ (*Emar* 211–212; Beyer 2001: 92–93, A75; Hazenbos 2007: 101–102). It seems inescapable

²⁵ The house of the Overseer, E₂ UGULA.KALAM.MA, may occur in *Emar* 321:5–7, one of the administrative documents from 'Temple' M₁ (Durand 1989a).

that there are LBA buildings sealed beneath Bālis that would give a fuller picture of the direct presence of Hittite officials in Emar.

Area O

In the spring of 1974 excavators opened Area O on the southern border of the central depression, northeast of Area M and just west of the fortification wall surrounding Bālis (Margueron 1975b: 66). The work here was prompted by the discovery of part of a LBA wall in one of the soundings initiated by Solange Ory in the large Islamic cemetery that stretched across the site. In fact, like Area M, Area O was badly disturbed by an extremely high concentration of Islamic burials, with over thirty individual inhumations in one 5 m × 5 m unit (O III SE) across a depth of only about 80 cm (Goffinet 1982: 137). The remains of the LBA consisted of three houses, one of which was almost complete. In addition to the houses themselves, architecturally rather simple, the relationships among the different buildings were significant in that they laid bare the practice of terracing used on the site. In Area O excavators also found a small ivory hand (Margueron 1982c: 239) as well as a LBA infant burial covered with fragments of a Nuzi ware vessel (Goffinet 1982: 139, O III SE, T28; Margueron 1975b: 68, fig. 6). Parts of three house models were excavated from Area O, frequently in disturbed or uncertain contexts (Muller 2002: 252–274, nos. 48, 54, 73).²⁶

Because of its location, today Area O is either submerged underwater or very nearly so. Further archaeological investigation of this area is not likely.

Area P

Area P was opened in the autumn of 1974 on a natural terrace formed by the western edge of the tell (Margueron 1975b: 66). Here excavators revealed only a partial plan of one house, a small section of a second house, and the remains of a retaining wall or foundation. No material culture was identified. There is no real Area P archive, since nothing has been published about where the surface find was made in Area P. Although evidently still above the water table, no further work has been done at this location on the mound.

²⁶ The object discussed as no. 62 (O II SE 10, Msk 749) in Muller 2002: 264–265 may not be a house model at all but rather a piece of an anthropomorphic terracotta figurine produced in the EBA (Sakal 2003).

Area Q

Sounding Q was opened in the autumn of 1974 midway between Area D and Area E, that is, between the Upper Town and the western temple precinct (Margueron 1975b: 66). Here the French team found only the remains of some houses that were not very well preserved, as well as a retaining wall. Only common LBA pottery was found in this sounding. Although still above the waters of Lake Assad, no additional work has been carried out here.

Area R

Excavators opened a trench in Area R in the autumn of 1974 (Margueron 1975b: 67). The purpose of this operation was to answer questions about the site's fortification rampart, which was first investigated via the sounding put down in Area K a short distance to the east. In Area R excavators uncovered walls with orthogonal foundations, in perfect conformity with the natural slope of the edge of the tell. Margueron interpreted these finds as the foundation, perhaps terraced, that would have supported the ancient rampart itself.

Nothing has been published about where precisely the Syrian-type letter from Area R was found. Although Arnaud originally edited *Emar* 536 as an OB letter from Emar, more recently Durand and Marti (2003a: 152–156) have argued that this letter belongs to the LBA text corpus.

Area S

In the autumn of 1974 Sounding S was opened on the northern edge of the site, between Area A and Area B to the west and Area C to the east (Margueron 1975b: 67–68, 1982c: 240). However, the trench in Sounding S was quickly abandoned because no LBA levels were found, though they may have been preserved beneath the medieval occupation. Area S is now submerged underwater, so no further work is possible there.

Area T

Toward the end of the autumn 1974 campaign the French team opened Sounding T in the middle of the plateau between Area J to the west and Area F to the east (Margueron 1975b: 68). This work was begun to enlarge the sounding started by Solange Ory in 1973, who was working on the cemetery from the Islamic period (cf. the exploration that led to the discovery of 'Temple' M₁). The few LBA architectural remains proved difficult

to articulate and interpret, but the remains of two domestic structures were isolated (Margueron 1982c: 240). In the northeast corner of the first house's main room Margueron identified two post-holes that he associated with a staircase leading to an upper story of some kind. In a destruction level excavators found some tablets (*Emar* 75–108). Area T is now completely submerged underwater and impossible to investigate further.

Area T Archives

Cuneiform tablets found in Area T were identified in one of two ways. Some were simply given the designation Area T, while others were documented as having been found in T I NE. There is only a meager, anecdotal account of precisely where the Area T tablets were found (Margueron 1982c: 240). In a destruction level in the northeast corner of the main room of the complete domestic structure excavators found some tablets in a jar, which also contained a small bronze vase. This must be Msk 74617 (Beyer 1982b: 119–120, with fig. 2). There is no indication of which tablets were found in this jar, nor is mention made of where any other tablets were found. One of the house models from Area T was also found with the tablets in a destruction level, but nothing more has been published about the context (Muller 2002: 265, no. 63).

Many of the documents from Area T cohere prosopographically (*Emar* 75–88), since the principals in these documents all come from the Hēma family (Dietrich 1990: 36–37; Skaist 1998: 52–53, 69; Di Filippo 2004: 195, 210, 212). The remaining documents from this area do not relate to one another in any obvious way. Most were written in the Syro-Hittite style; this is particularly true of those tablets that belong to the dossier of the Hēma family. In general, all of the tablets appear to belong to one domestic archive or another, since they are mostly legal texts that date toward the end of Bronze Age occupation at the site (i.e., they are written in the later SH style).²⁷

The excavation unit designation T I NE should provide a better sense of where the tablets were found. However, without a plan illustrating where excavators were working, the additional information is impossible to exploit. Perhaps these are the pieces found in a jar in the main house (Margueron 1982c: 240). As noted already above, there are prosopographic

²⁷ The one possible administrative text, *Emar* 99, is an upper right corner fragment that contains only a poorly preserved list of PNs. Its classification and significance are thus uncertain.

connections among the principals who occur in some documents found in T I NE and those who appear in many documents from Area T as a whole (i.e., the Hēma family).

Area U

In 1975 French excavators opened Sounding U in the depression running northeast to southwest along the northwest city wall of Bālis (Margueron 1982c: 240). Area U was situated south of Area F and southeast of Area T (Margueron 1982c: 244, fig. 1). After digging through about 6 m, they came upon an subterranean aquifer and abandoned the trench. It may be that this was a natural depression or an artifact of the building of the late-antique fortifications. Area U is now submerged underwater.

Area V

During the fall of 1975 excavators opened Area V between the southwest promontory (Area E and Area Q) and Areas R and K on the southern edge of the mound. There they found parts of three domestic structures that contained material culture (bronze armor, Msk 75171 and/or Msk 75172, see Beyer 1982b: 121; and various stone objects) and some cuneiform tablets (*Emar* 109–136) in a destruction layer (Margueron 1982c: 240). Scattered throughout two contiguous rooms of what appeared to be two distinct houses (as well as in a few other rooms), excavators found a badly broken house model in the destruction layer (Muller 2002: 265–267, no. 64, Msk 75281). The house model probably fell from its original location on an upper floor or terrace of the western house (Locus 2, Locus 6, and Locus 7). Like other areas on the site, such as Area M, the LBA levels of Area V were badly disturbed by medieval burials. No top plan has been published of Area V. While it should still be accessible, there is no indication that the German-Syrian expeditions ever resumed work there.

Area V Archives

Two contiguous units in Area V yielded inscribed materials, the southern quadrants of the first excavation square: V I SE and V I SW. However, the placement of these units within Area V is not clear at present, in large part due to the absence of any published top plan of the area and its architecture. Nevertheless, it is possible to attempt a preliminary differentiation between the tablets found in V I SE and those found in V I SW. Two conclusions can be derived from Muller's (2002: 265–266) discussion of the find-spots of the pieces of the house model from Area V. First, it

is apparent that V I SE contained Locus 1. Second, Locus 1 was located on the eastern side of a shared wall that separated two distinct domestic structures. It appears to be the case that the V I SE belongs to the eastern house uncovered in unit V I.

A number of texts from V I SE can be assigned to the dossier of the Milkī-Dagān family (Skaist 1998: 51–53, 71; Di Filippo 2004: 210, 212). Except for *Emar* 112 and *Emar* 114, which came from V I SW (see below), the tablets edited as *Emar* 112–121 all came from V I SE. Based on the observations above regarding the tablets' find-spots, it is likely that these pieces constitute a family archive that was kept in the family's house. Other tablets, such as *Emar* 109–111, may have been older chain-of-transmission documents that belonged to this archive as well. Other tablets, like the administrative text *Emar* 132 and the legal texts *Emar* 122–127, are difficult to integrate into a single dossier or archive. Perhaps all of these documents belonged to the Milkī-Dagān family archive. It is also possible that other rooms belonging to other structures were uncovered in unit V I SE.

As with unit V I SE, Muller's (2002: 265–266) discussion of the find-spot squares can inform a reconstruction of unit V I SW. Based on her account, it appears that V I SW contained Locus 2, albeit in a disturbed context due to the later burials, and Locus 6. Therefore, at least some of these tablets likely came from the western house of the two abutting domestic structures. This building apparent consisted of Locus 2, Locus 6, and Locus 7.

Two of the tablets from V I SW relate to the dossier of the Milkī-Dagān family (*Emar* 112 and *Emar* 114, see V I SE above). The rest of the tablets are difficult to assign to a particular dossier, and, in the absence of some knowledge of the architecture, it is difficult to speak of a distinct archive in V I SW.

Area W

In the fall of 1976 excavators opened Sounding W on the western edge of the site between Area E and Area P (Margueron 1982c: 241). The scant architectural remains and meager evidence for terracing led to the quick abandonment of Area W. Although it is still above water, there is no indication that the German-Syrian excavations have revisited this specific sector.

Area X

Sounding X was opened in the fall of 1976 to explore the southern part of the site further and document the extent of Area D (the Upper Town), Area Q

and, Area V near the side of the tell (Margueron 1982c: 241). Located near the midpoint of Areas D, V, Q, P, and L, Area X was badly eroded and, like Area W, contained only poorly preserved traces of architecture and terracing. It was summarily abandoned, and despite that fact that it is still above the water table, no further excavation has been carried out there.

Area Y

Area Y was where the French expedition opened its last trench of its final campaign to the site in autumn of 1976 (Margueron 1982c: 241). The rising waters of Lake Assad had eroded away more of the mound on the western flank of the northeast promontory, just below Area A and Area B. Area Y was positioned around a limestone feature of aligned stones that had been revealed by the lake. This appears to have been a well-preserved portion of the defensive fortifications that surrounded the Bronze Age town. Area Y is now completely submerged underwater, so it is impossible to compare the French team's (unpublished) findings with what the German-Syrian excavations have revealed on the southern edge of the mound (see below).

Uncertain and Surface Finds

Inscribed objects were also found on the surface. This group is heterogeneous for two reasons. First, as the excavation numbers illustrate, these pieces were found during different campaigns (1973, 1975). Second, these pieces were found in the vicinity of different excavation areas. If the joins proposed in Chapter 4 below (see also Appendix B) are confirmed, then at least some of these fragments (i.e., the lexical and ritual fragments) belong to the text corpus from 'Temple' M₁.

The find-spots of some inscribed objects are altogether uncertain. Tablets found in or around 'Temple' M₁ are not included here because they are integrated into the discussion of the uncertainty surrounding some of the areas where elements of the archive in 'Temple' M₁ archive were found (see Chapter 3 below).

Syrian Excavations at Emar (1992–1995)

During a hiatus of almost twenty years, only looters were actively digging at Emar. However, between 1992 and 1995 the Syrians once again permitted excavations at Emar, the first official project since the French mission (Finkbeiner 1999–2000: 5). This work took place mainly in 1992–1993 under the aegis of the Syrian Department of Antiquities and was directed by

Shawki Sha'ath and Farouk Ismail. They were prompted to excavate again at Emar on account of the robbers' trenches that had come to pock the site in the years following the French excavations. By all accounts these initial excavations were conducted on a relatively small scale (Fig. 2), but the excavators were able to open some nine trenches across the site, generally at the edges of what was left of the site or near the old trenches opened by the French (Area D and Area E).²⁸ According to a second-hand report, in some places on the site up to five meters of occupation were left undisturbed by looters, whose trenches were characteristically unsystematic and shallow (Finkbeiner 1999–2000: 5). At present it appears that the Syrian team has not yet published any of their findings. By 1995 the Syrian excavators decided to invite a German team from the University of Tübingen to collaborate with them on a more extensive excavation project.

German-Syrian Excavations at Emar (1996–2002)

Between 1996 and 2002 a German-Syrian team, under the direction of Uwe Finkbeiner, conducted five seasons of excavations at Emar (1996, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2002). A sixth study season took place in 2004. By the mid-1990s all that survived the inundation of Lake Assad was a natural hill running west to east covering approximately 10–12 ha. To the west a steep slope rose to a height of 327 m above sea level and then gradually descended to the Upper Town and the Lower Town, below which was a wide depression that led to what little remains of the western city wall of Bālis (Fig. 2; Finkbeiner 1999–2000: 6). These surviving regions of the site correspond with the major French excavation areas designated E (western temple precinct), D (Upper Town), and M (Lower Town). The basic topography of the site remained unchanged, such as its steep south and gradual north sides, but the wadi that drained the western part of the site to the northeast was occluded by the French excavation's dump. Only a small island preserves what was once the northwest peak of the site, which corresponds with the French excavation Area A. Too little is exposed to excavate further, and due to erosion no architecture remains. Therefore, no further investigation is possible of one of the most controversial architectural structures on the site, the so-called *bīt ḥilāni* or “palace” in Area A.

²⁸ The French team evidently did not do any conservation work, presumably because they had assumed that the rising lake would flood the site completely.

Since the German-Syrian project did not labor under the time constraints that faced the initial salvage operations, it was possible to set up the excavation properly. This began with conducting a topographical survey, establishing a grid, documenting what remained of previously discovered features, and situating those finds on the grid (Finkbeiner 1999–2000: 8). This allowed the team to produce a detailed topographical map of what was left of the site. The rectilinear grid consisted of 10 m × 10 m squares (9 m × 9 m excavated), the position of which was indicated on the grid (Finkbeiner 1999–2000: 9).

After having documented what remained of the French excavation areas, especially the twin temples that dominate the western-most precinct, the German-Syrian team took up the task of documenting the Syrian excavators' various soundings, some of which revealed several meters of Bronze Age occupation (Finkbeiner 1999–2000: 8). For example, in area IX of the Syrian excavations it was found that a small mosque was effectively sealing the LBA layers below (Finkbeiner 1999–2000: 9). In subsequent seasons of work the German-Syrian team undertook extensive excavations in the western temple precinct (French Area E), in the so-called Upper Town (French Area D), and along the edge of the site to the south and west.

Chief among the concerns of the German-Syrian excavations was addressing the diachronic and stratigraphic problems posed by the French excavators' interpretation of the site, namely, the alleged absence of the EBA and MBA. The results of the German-Syrian excavations have been published in a series of preliminary reports treating architecture, stratigraphy, ceramics, and small finds (Finkbeiner 2001; Falb 2001; Finkbeiner 2002; Finkbeiner and Sakal 2003), one volume of the final report (Finkbeiner and Sakal 2010), as well as specialized discussions of geological (Pustovoytov 2001), archaeobotanical (Riehl 2001) and faunal (Gündem and Uerpmann 2003) remains.

The results of the German-Syrian expedition have had far-reaching consequences on the chronology of Emar's Bronze Age occupation. Distinctive EBA domestic architecture and pottery (Falb 2001) were uncovered beneath the South Temple (Storm-god) and in the courtyard to the southeast of that temple (Finkbeiner and Sakal 2003: 65–90). The pottery and other artifacts, including terracotta figurines, were preserved on the floor of the earliest of three EBA occupation levels. Though modest, this find decisively contradicts the often-cited hypothesis that LBA Emar was a built on a new location by the Hittite conquerors of the region (e.g., Margueron 1993, 1995: 128–130, 1996). The EBA, MBA, and LBA pottery from the site has parallels in the Bronze Age ceramic sequence established for

north Syria (Finkbeiner 2002; Finkbeiner and Sakal 2003). The LBA pottery in particular exhibits forms known from several contemporary sites across Syria, including Munbaqa (Ekalte), Hadidi (Azû), al-Qiṭar, Bderi (Dūr-Aššur-ketti-lēšer), Bazi, Umm al-Marra, Alalaḥ, and Hama (Finkbeiner 2001: 63–73; Finkbeiner and Sakal 2003: 25–31).

A fortification wall about 2.5 m wide was uncovered west of the temple precinct. This citadel wall was dated to the MBA, since it appeared to relate to the floors uncovered beneath the North Temple (Aštar). MBA domestic structures were found in the Upper Town (French Area D) as well. The German-Syrian excavations also spent considerable time investigating the LBA occupation uncovered by the French and Syrian teams' trenches. They uncovered more domestic structures in the Upper Town. One LBA house (ca. 1400 BCE) contained animal horns and two elephant jawbones. Furthermore, based on the presence of stone tools and a cuneiform tablet mentioning grain rations, it is inferred that the rooms were used to process grain. Excavators found two additional LBA cuneiform tablets, but these texts remain unpublished at present. Excavators also articulated the building phases of the two LBA temples in the temple precinct at the western extreme of the site. On the south edge of the twin temple complex, excavators located a massive temenos and courtyard.

Cuneiform Tablets from the German-Syrian Excavations

In addition to refining the chronological depth of the Bronze Age occupation of Emar, the German-Syrian expeditions to Emar have revealed important architecture and material culture. However, they have found only three cuneiform tablets so far, all of which came from the 1999 season.

The epigrapher of the German-Syrian excavations, Betina Faist, has only published descriptions of the tablets (in Finkbeiner 2001: 103). The first, EM 99:150, was found in a robber's trench northwest of the so-called Temple of Aštar, that is, the north temple in what was designated Area E by the French team. The second, EM 99:200, came from a disturbed context caused by a Byzantine grave in the inner area of the Temple of the Storm-god, that is, the south temple in the French team's Area E. The third, EM 99:300, was found in a secure context. This unbaked Syrian-type tablet was discovered under a deposit of mud brick on the floor of a structure in the area Upper City I (*Oberstadt I*). The excavators assigned this find to building phase II, when the room appears to have been used for storage of tools and vessels used to process grain (Finkbeiner 2001:

56–60, Fig. 7, FS 15, cf. pl. 5a). This is consistent with the contents of EM 99:300, which is said to be a grain ration list. It appears to be the case that all of the more recently discovered tablets were written in the older Syrian style.

Summary: Architecture, Artifacts, and Chronology

The archaeological investigation of Emar has yielded extensive architecture and material culture (artifacts, cuneiform tablets) from the LBA. The French team identified only the LBA at Emar, which led them to certain interpretations of the history and chronology of the site as a whole. The Syrian-German excavations have revealed both the MBA and EBA, requiring significant revision of the Emar sequence. The following is a summary of the most important findings of the Emar excavations, with an emphasis on the architecture and artifacts found during the extensive salvage work by the French team in the 1970s.

The unambiguous types of buildings revealed at Emar can be divided broadly into monumental sacred architecture and domestic architecture. The sacred architecture is most clearly represented by the large *in antis* temples from Area E (north and south temples) and Area M (Temple M₂). All three of these temples are free-standing structures on the typical north Syrian model attested in the EBA (Chuera, Halawa), the MBA (Ebla, Tuttul, Qara Quzak), the LBA (Emar, Ekalte, Fray), and the Iron Age (Ain Dara, Karkamiš, Ta'yinat) (Werner 1994: 94–115). The domestic architecture revealed in Emar consists of some thirty individual structures, generally identifiable with the modest front-room and side-room layouts known from throughout the Middle Euphrates (McClellan 1997; Otto 2006a). These buildings typically had limestone foundations (set in foundation trenches), upon which were placed large conglomerate stones that were then topped with a mudbrick superstructure (e.g., Margueron 1975b: 79, fig. 12). As McClellan (1997) observes, there is a strong correlation between specific house types and specific sites, and the different types of structures differ considerably in size. For example, the modest front-room house is the most common identifiable domestic structure in LBA Emar, while the larger Alalah house is, as its name suggests, known only from that site. Wealth and status were probably factors that affected house size, with both wealth and house size being measured relative to local norms that probably changed over time. Production activities must have also been dependent on size and layout, but because of the wide variety of types of domestic production, it is difficult to make decisive statements in each instance about the relationship between architecture and production.

The excavators' interpretations of two structures at Emar have proven to be problematic. First, the so-called "palace" or *bīt ḫilāni* in Area A does not exhibit all the architectural features one would expect of a monumental Bronze Age palace. Two independent structures can be differentiated in the "palace," and it is not at all obvious that the abutting buildings communicated. The archives found in various contexts in the architecture are also questionable as a specifically royal archive. Second, excavators deemed 'Temple' M₁ in Area M a temple, but this interpretation is also beset with a number of problems. The architecture of 'Temple' M₁ is addressed in more detail in Chapters 3 and 5 below.

One architectural phenomenon detected by the French team may illuminate a problematic Akkadian expression found in certain legal texts from the site. Almost all of the excavation areas at Emar revealed the existence of large walls raised with the help of white limestone blocks, which had been crudely set in the soil beneath the floor. Curiously, some of these limestone walls were embedded in masses of earth and appeared not to relate to the walls of the nearest building, as though the foundations had been built and were then abandoned or simply were never integrated into the building (Margueron 1975b: 82). Another possibility is that these foundations represent earlier construction phases on the building site of a given structure. If Margueron's description is accurate, these features may represent what is meant by the unusual expression E₂-tu₄ qa-du^{na4} uš-še-šu.ĜI.A "a house together with its foundations," which occurs in some real estate transactions (e.g., *Emar* 20:1, 161:1, cf. 144:2). Since the sale of a house would naturally include its own foundation, perhaps this expression should be translated "a house together with its (extra/unused/adjacent) foundations."

In the preliminary reports of the French excavations there is no real discussion or presentation of the common pottery (e.g., Margueron 1975b: 70). A few years after the end of the French excavations a catalogue of the pottery appeared along with drawings of some thirty-two representative pieces, most of which conform to the standard LBA repertoire (Caubet 1982a). Most of the ceramics from the site were mass-produced and exhibit little variation in style. The predominance of traditional forms in the Euphrates region, some of which are attested from the end of the third millennium on, points to a basic conservatism in style and, perhaps, a persistence in certain modes of subsistence, production, and economic activity. A few forms look like those from northern Mesopotamia (especially Nuzi), but others have northern or southern Levantine analogues. A corollary of the general similarities among local forms is that the pottery

found in temples, the so-called palace, and domestic structures was all largely identical, making it necessary to use other means to differentiate among the various types of structures and the activities carried out in them (Caubet 1982a: 76). Be that as it may, there is some loose correlation between a few specific objects and their contexts, such as the “kernoi” found only in temples (Area E?) or the large series of vessels from Area L (Caubet 1982a: 74–76). It is also worth observing that, in contrast to sites like Ugarit and Alalah, very few obviously imported ceramics were found in Emar.

French excavators found around fifty-five stone objects, generally basalt, in domestic contexts on the site: mobile and immobile millstones used to process grain, pestles, mortars, grinders, polishers, and pierced rings (Nierlé 1982). Many of the largest mortars were evidently reused as door pivots. With the exception of the grind stone set from Tell Faqūs (Nierlé 1982: 132), no indication is given of where any of the stone industry objects were found in Emar. Sculpted stone objects are known from Emar’s temples (vessels) and at least one unspecified house (incised stone stela) (Beyer 1982d: 116).

The French excavations uncovered many terracotta objects and figurines, but the assemblage was not very diverse, and many pieces were found in disturbed contexts. Noteworthy were the numerous bull figurines and plaque models, which were found in various unspecified domestic contexts (Badre 1982). Seven fragmentary terracotta masks were found in some of the houses in Emar, but so far there is no further indication as to which houses in specific (Caubet 1982c). Several house models or “maquettes architectuales” were found in Areas A, D, E, J, L, M, N, O, R, and V, as well as on the surface (Muller 2002: 30–37, 251–279, nos. 45–85). The majority of pieces came from domestic contexts, but objects were also recovered from the north temple (i.e., Temple of Aštar) in Area E, the so-called “palace” in Area A, as well as in ‘Temple’ M₁ in Area M. The major types of “maquettes” found in Emar are the complex, stepped cuboid (type C, i.e., the classic stepped house model), the simple cuboid (type B), the vertical cuboid tower as well as the pyramidal tower (types D and F, sub-types of the common tower), and several fragments that are difficult to class decisively (Muller 2002: 75–80). Towers were found in Areas A, J, O, and T, that is, in zones that lacked explicitly sacred architecture. One highly fragmentary tower model may have been found in a disturbed context of the north temple of Area E. The distribution of stepped house models is particularly significant, since before the discoveries from Emar and the Middle Euphrates (Hadidi, Rumeilah) it was not

known that these objects generally occur in domestic contexts in the LBA (Muller 2002: 135, 141).

Faience and glass vessels and small objects are known from Emar, but, again, little has been published as to where they were found (Caubet 1982b). Glass vessels appear to have come from one or both of the temples in Area E (Caubet 1982b: 114), but without information about where the other forms were found, it is difficult to ascribe any particular significance to this information.

Given the large number of excavation units scattered across Meskene, it is noteworthy that, with the exception of Areas F, S, and G, all of the excavation areas in the western part of the site yielded some remains of the LBA occupation (Margueron 1975b: 68). Medieval remains were noted in Areas F and S, but in all likelihood the Bronze Age occupation was sealed beneath these later levels. The mosque in Area G was thought to have been built on bedrock. Only those areas that showed indications of an extremely violent conflagration produced inscribed objects (mostly tablets) and other material culture (e.g., Areas A, C, E, L, O, T, and part of M), and the houses that had not burned (e.g., in D, H, P, Q, and the house in M) hardly furnished objects of any kind, in most cases not even pottery (Margueron 1975b: 69). Thus, not surprisingly, there is a strong correlation between the destruction layers on the site and the preservation of material culture. However, the fire appears to have spared certain sectors of the town. Given the absence of any trace of reoccupation after the burn and given the rarity of objects in the areas unaffected by the fire, it may be that there was a partial abandonment of the city before the final catastrophe. The Iron Age is unknown at Emar, and the single Iron Age surface find, an alphabetic Aramaic inscription, should not be taken as an indication of a significant occupation in that period (Margueron and Teixidor 1983).

The French excavations at Emar resulted in two interrelated archaeological and historical conclusions about the site (Margueron 1975b: 82–85). First, beneath the LBA Margueron noted what he deemed to be merely the evidence of additional phases of the LBA occupation, which were followed by several meters in which very little or no material culture was found, leading eventually to bedrock. This led him to conclude that an earlier Bronze Age occupation, especially the so-called Amorite (MBA) occupation, was not to be found at Meskene. It should be noted that in the first published report from the field, Margueron (1975a: 211) entertained the notion that the MBA occupation may have been located under Bālis because of some uncertainty about the finds at the bottom of the small deep sounding in Area N. However, in subsequent publications

he abandoned his earliest hypothesis in favor of the idea that third- and early second-millennium (EBA-MBA) Imar/Emar was located somewhere on the valley floor, perhaps near a dead meander of the Euphrates River (e.g., Margueron 1990; cf. Geyer 1990). Because of the inundation of the lake, this hypothesis cannot be tested, and Margueron has not published anything further on this matter since the German-Syrian excavators' publication of EBA-MBA architecture and material culture found during the more recent work at Emar. Furthermore, this conclusion about the time-depth of the occupation at Meskene, coupled with the discovery of terracing across the site, produced the hypothesis that LBA Emar was a new town that Emar's Hittite overlords had created to ensure Hittite dominance in the region (e.g., Margueron 1980, 1988).

Tablet Types and Chronology in Emar

The internal chronology of the Emar tablets has been reconstructed using formal features of the tablets (e.g., S-SH tablet typology in which political elites appear at the beginning of Syrian-type witness lists), various synchronisms both internal and external, and generational counts coupled with assumptions about the average length of a generation. The results have been sound, but there is still some room for debate, particularly with regard to the number of local dynasties and the estimates as to the length of a generation.

Emar's archives are the focus of the end of Chapter 2 and all of Chapters 3 and 4, so the concern here will be to simply sketch the basic outline of the political players in LBA Emar as they can be distilled from the text corpus. According to *Emar* 26, the final destruction of the site must have occurred sometime after the second year of the Kassite king Meli-Šipak (ca. 1186–1172 BCE; Brinkman 1993), that is, sometime during the first quarter of the 12th century.²⁹ Emar's destruction ended the period of Hittite domination that presumably began with Šuppiluliuma I's late-14th-century campaign across north Syria. Emar's family archives typically mention between three and five generations, and about six generations of the last royal family are known (Fig. 3), though there is not universal agreement on all the details (Di Filippo 2004, 2008; Skaist 2005; Cohen and D'Alfonso 2008; Pruzsinszky 2009).³⁰

²⁹ For synchronisms between *Emar* 26 and other tablets found elsewhere on the site, see Cohen and Singer 2006: 131–134.

³⁰ If Durand and Marti's (2003a: 152–156) assumptions about the identity of Yaši-Dagān and Kaštiliaš in the Syrian-type letter *Emar* 536 are correct, then the last local dynasty

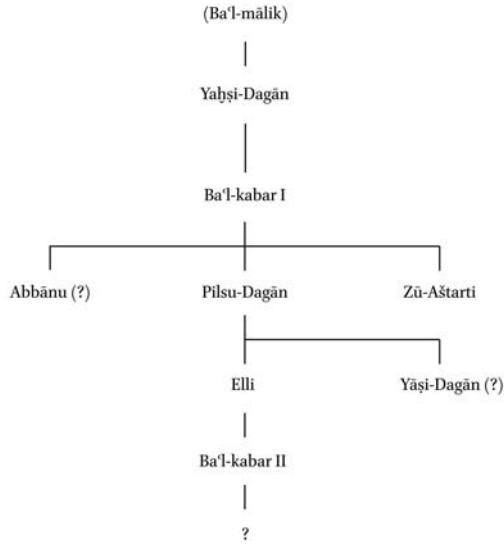


Fig. 3. Emar's 'Second Dynasty,' Male Members of the Family (after Cohen and D'Alfonso 2008: 11, Table 3).

The general assumption is that the Hittites installed the ruling family, but it is not clear whom exactly the new political elites replaced, with some scholars arguing for the existence of an older, 14th-century royal family (Fig. 4, Skaist 1998; Fleming 2000: 21–25).

Others argue that the two royal families were not chronologically separated by very much time (Di Filippo 2004: 196–200) or that the allegedly earlier dynasty was not a royal family at all (Pruzsinszky 2007, 2009). Almost nothing is known locally about Emar during the period when Mittani was dominant in the region, but certain Syrian-type documents record the attack of Hurrian troops (Astour 1996; cf. Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008: 94–95). The earliest documents that allude to the political situation in Emar point away from an autocratic kingship model of governance,

of Emar ruled between about 1250 BCE (cf. Kaštiliaš IV, ca. 1232–1225 BCE; Brinkman 1976–1980: 477) and about 1175 BCE (cf. Meli-Šipak, 1186–1172 BCE). However, neither the Yaḥi-Dagān nor the Kaštiliaš in this text is given any title, royal or otherwise. The PN Yaḥi-Dagān occurs often in the Emar onomasticon (Pruzsinszky 2003: CD 425, cf. 408–414 sub Iaḥṣi-Dagān), and Kaštiliaš(u), although primarily a Kassite RN, is attested as a PN in Kassite Nippur, at least in the forms Kaštili and Kaštili(y)aš (Hölscher 1996: 119). Without more data or a clearer context, it is unwise to use this letter alone as a means of synchronizing Emar's last dynasty with the royal families of Babylonia and, by extension, Assyria (cf. Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008: 98–99; Fleming 2008: 36–37).

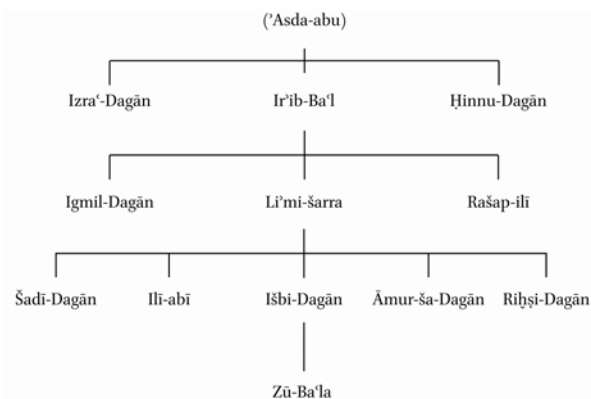


Fig. 4. Emar's 'First Dynasty,' Male Members of the Family (after Cohen and D'Alfonso 2008: 5, Table 1).

suggesting instead that various groups participated in making political decisions (cf. Fleming 2004a). Reflexes of similar dynamics are found in the LBA tablets as well, including the roles played by the town, the god written ^dNIN.URTA, elders, and the so-called "brothers," among others (Otto 2006a: 49–59; cf. Bellotto 1995).

PERSPECTIVES ON LATE BRONZE AGE EMAR AND ITS ARCHIVES

Excavations at Emar have uncovered evidence of occupation at the site throughout the Bronze Age, after which it was destroyed and abandoned until late antiquity. The French salvage excavations carried out in the 1970s focused solely on the extensive LBA occupation, leading its excavator (Margueron) to conclude that LBA Emar was a new town founded by the Hittites in the late 14th century or early 13th century. However, the systematic German-Syria excavations of the last decade have revealed a greater time depth of occupation than previously thought (EBA-LBA). Although no one would dispute the Hittite domination of LBA Emar, exercised primarily through nearby Karkamiš to the north, the view that LBA Emar was a Hittite creation is no longer tenable, and the relationship between its royal families and the Hittites remain difficult to track. Regardless, both French and German-Syrian excavations have articulated clear examples of sacred and domestic architecture that fit well within the LBA sequence. Despite the delay in publishing the results of the French excavations, it has been possible to reconstruct some distinguishing

characteristics of the standard sacred and domestic assemblages of the LBA. As noted in the discussions of Area E and Area M above, a number of prestige objects were found in Emar's three temples dedicated to the storm-god, Aštar, and the unknown deity of Temple M₂ (cf. also Margueron 1975b: 72–75).

Despite the fact that Emar is mentioned in texts from the mid-third and early second millennia, the excavated tablets date to the LBA, the late-14th through early 12th centuries. Not surprisingly, the majority of the documents date closer to the end of the site's occupation.³¹ As with some classes of uninscribed artifacts, there are basic patterns of distribution in the domestic and temple archives excavated at Emar. Although the texts from Emar refer to local dynasts, no good candidate for a palace archive has been found on the site. Most of the archives from Emar were found in domestic structures (Areas A, C, T, V; house in the Upper Town). The vast majority of documents from these archives are legal texts that document the affairs of the families that presumably inhabited the houses (see Appendix B.2). The identifiable temple archives are not very extensive. Only administrative documents are known from the twin temples in Area E, while administrative, votive, and, curiously, some legal documents were found in Temple M₂.

The social and political structure manifested in Emar corpus have significant bearing on the expected roles played by the town's diviners. If the *de facto* political authorities are more of a corporate body than a single individual, i.e., the person of the king, the relationship with knowledge specialists like the diviner would be quite different from what is observed elsewhere in Mesopotamia (e.g., the royal court dynamics in Mari or Nineveh). The older, Syrian-type documents offer hints of a relationship between the local dynasty and the diviners, while the more recent, Syro-Hittite tradition demonstrates clear connections between the family of diviners and external imperial powers. In the former instance, the relationship is akin to what is well attested elsewhere, with the diviner acting as an agent of the king, practicing divination to make decisions related to governance (*ASJ* 12, no. 7; Démare-Lafont 2008). In the latter instance the significance of the diviners to the external political elites is less obvious: the Hittite overlords and agents were clearly concerned with the family of

³¹ There appears to be a statistical correlation between tablet finds, destruction layers, and the end of occupation in any given structure or site (MSL 14, pp. 7–8; Civil 1991: 44, 46).

diviners (*Emar* 201; cf. *Emar* 264; Cohen 2005b), but it is not clear whether the diviners ever practiced divination on behalf of their Hittite superiors.

The interpretation of two of Emar's structures remains problematic: the so-called palace in Area A (see above) and 'Temple' M₁, "le temple du devin," in Area M. The architecture and tablet collection of 'Temple' M₁ are the subject of the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

'TEMPLE' M₁: MORPHOLOGY OF A TABLET COLLECTION

The diviners of Emar are known primarily from tablets found during the excavations that took place at the site in 1973 and 1974. In what follows I summarize the excavation of the building referred to as 'Temple' M₁, which contained this important cache of cuneiform tablets. The interpretation of the building itself as well as the material it contained has been a fraught topic. Here I will describe the discovery of 'Temple' M₁ and discuss the problems associated with its stratigraphy. I then present the building's architecture, critique the visual realizations of it in the archaeological literature, and then discuss the material culture found inside the building, including both the uninscribed and inscribed objects. The chapter concludes with an argument about how one might go about reconstructing the excavation squares and rooms in which the tablets were found. Such a reconstruction has important ramifications for the interpretation of the tablet collection as a whole.

DISCOVERY AND STRATIGRAPHY

The sole documentation of the earliest excavations of 'Temple' M₁ is the preliminary report published by the first excavators Solange Ory and Jean-Louis Paillet (1974).¹ During the 1971 campaign the excavators of the Islamic remains at Bālis began to take an interest in the zone west of the Byzantine rampart (Ory and Paillet 1974: 272). This led to the discovery of a number of small fragments of sculpted limestone monuments that excavators suspected of coming from Islamic-period burials. As a result Solange Ory opened two test trenches that eventually led to the discovery of a number of Islamic tombs, some of which were already in evidence on the surface, indicated by the presence of fragmentary, reused stone stelae. In September 1973 Ory and Paillet organized a wider investigation of the area around the test trenches. Their team put down fifty excavation squares in arbitrary locations and thereby confirmed the existence of

¹ For the background of the four campaigns to Bālis-Meskene between 1970 and 1973, see Chapter 2.

a large Islamic necropolis. The tombs themselves had been cut into the embankment deposited directly over the destruction layer that ended the LBA occupation of Emar. In the course of the excavation of the tombs in Square 35 of the Islamic necropolis, excavators came upon a group of cuneiform tablets and fragments.

In October of the same year the excavators opened a sounding in what was later designated Area M by the team investigating the LBA (Margueron 1975b: 65–66). Situated 135 m west of the town's western rampart, this trench, designated Square 35, measured 6 × 6 m (Ory and Paillet 1974: 272) and yielded six Islamic tombs that belonged to four of the seven types of burials provisionally identified by Ory and Paillet (1974: 276). In the course of excavating one of these tombs, the first cuneiform tablet appeared in the northeast corner of the square, at a depth of about 42 cm (i.e., Stratum 2, see below). Excavators immediately found seventeen more tablets and fragments. As news of the discovery spread, the excavators made the decision to work quickly in an attempt to protect the unit from looters. As is now well known, their fears have been more than justified by the extensive looting that has taken place at the site in the decades that followed.

The members of the Bālis team excavated using techniques appropriate to the investigation of the Islamic necropolis and compatible with the exigencies of a salvage excavation of the LBA remains disturbed by the Islamic burials. First, they sifted what had been removed preliminarily to excavate the tombs, and in so doing they recovered some small fragments of tablets from their dump. Second, the excavators created top plans and stratigraphic cuts permitting them to plot each find in three dimensions. The preliminary report includes a top plan (Ory and Paillet 1974: 274) and stratigraphic sections of the north and south halves of Square 35 (Ory and Paillet 1974: 275).

The stratigraphy of Square 35 was identical to what excavators identified in the other squares in various locations across the cemetery, but the strata were much thinner due to erosion, which explains why the Islamic period gravediggers had cut into the second-millennium levels here. The excavators defined the following stratigraphic sequence (Fig. 5; Ory and Paillet 1974: 272–273).

Stratum 5

Stratum 5 consisted of a beaten earth floor composed of clay. Right at its surface in the northwest quarter of the square was evidence of a circular

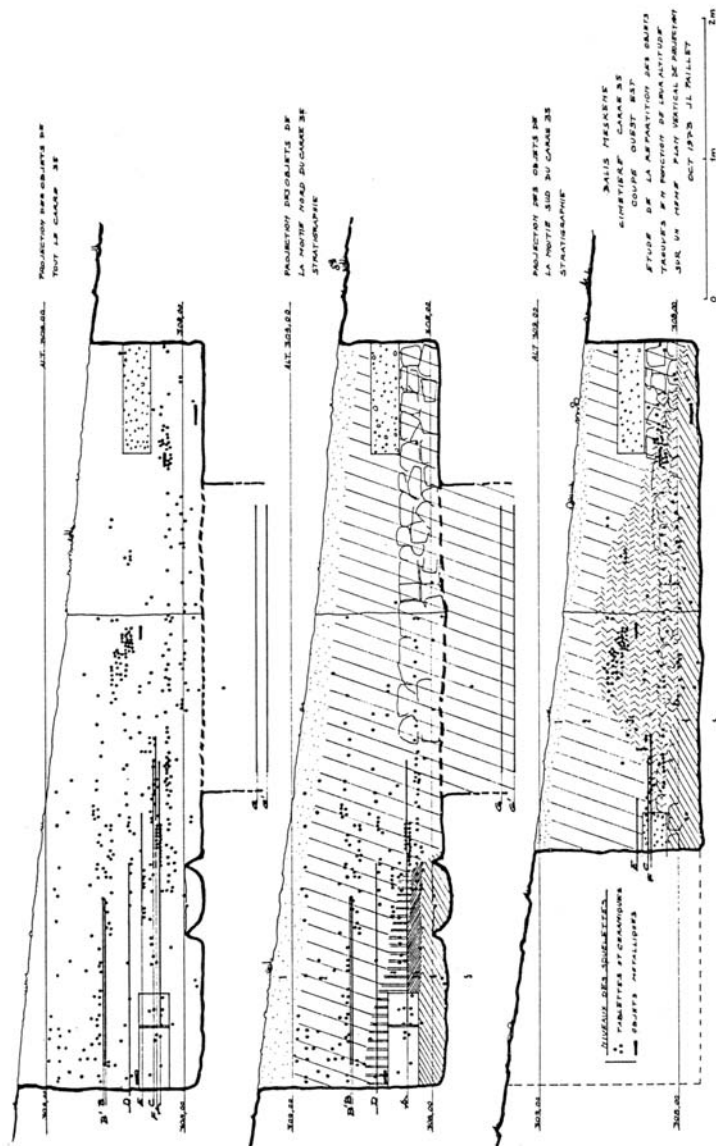


Fig. 5. Square 35 Section, October 1973 (Ory and Paillet 1974: 275), courtesy of S. Ory, J.-L. Paillet, IFEAAD, IRAA-CNRS, Aix-en-Provence.

hearth made of terracotta and flint. This level was otherwise sterile, and it was the last excavated.

Stratum 4

Stratum 4 was an undisturbed, homogeneous layer, yellow-orange in color, that corresponded to the last level of the LBA occupation. Here excavators uncovered the remains of leveled walls, made in the local style, with mud brick atop large blocks of limestone and roughly cut conglomerate. The floor was littered with potsherds, mortars and pestles, metal objects (daggers and spear heads), beads, fragments of an ivory necklace, and broken jars that had originally contained cuneiform tablets.

Stratum 3bis

Stratum 3bis, only 2–5 cm thick, was a homogeneous burn layer with very fine ash. This level was probably contemporary with the LBA destruction of Emar. It was very rich in archaeological material and in fragments of tablets that had been presumably blown apart by the fire that destroyed the building.

Stratum 3

Stratum 3 was 20–25 cm thick. This is what excavators designated the destruction layer of LBA Emar, where it had not been cut into and disturbed by the Islamic tombs or where it appeared in places between the inhumation pits. This level was generally compact and darker in color than the previous layers. It contained mud bricks, ash, numerous pot sherds, some cuneiform tablets, and fragments of stone tools, such as a basalt mortar and pestle set.

Stratum 2

Stratum 2 was 50–140 cm thick. This heterogeneous stratum was badly disturbed by Islamic burials, which had been cut into this stratum and into strata 3, 4, and 5. Stratum 2 was composed of aeolian deposits that had accumulated since the destruction and abandonment of the Bronze Age town. This level contained fragments of Islamic bricks, small sherds of pottery, as well as mud bricks, pottery, and cuneiform tablets from the LBA strata below.

Stratum 1

Stratum 1 was approximately 5–20 cm thick. This abandonment level appeared subsequent to the Islamic-period inhumations and was disturbed only by superficial plowing. This stratum was composed of powdery earth and contained some crudely cut flint, fragments of LBA pottery, and a few sherds of Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic pottery.

Collapse

Not all strata were equally represented throughout the square, for instance, Strata 2, 3 and 3bis were not found in the south half of Square 35 (Ory and Paillet 1974: 273, 276). There these levels were replaced by an enormous mass of highly compacted mud brick collapse. This mass contained very large numbers of scattered fragments of pottery and tablets, more or less embedded in the mass of limestone mortar and decomposed mud bricks. As noted already above, the Emar team's excavations in Area A and Area E revealed similar evidence of the intense conflagration that ended the Bronze Age occupation at the site (Margueron 1975b: 69). In any case, this mass above Stratum 4 in Square 35 was so compact and so dense that the Islamic period gravediggers could only begin to cut into it on its western side. Therefore, the LBA material culture contained in and sealed under the collapse was undisturbed.

The excavators' top-down plans and stratigraphic cuts permitted them, in theory, to plot each object in three dimensions. The most important result of this work was that it allowed excavators to study the groupings and dispersion of the LBA material culture in three major archaeological zones (Ory and Paillet 1974: 276): the pits created by the Islamic inhumations; the architectural features uncovered in the course of excavation (see below); and the mass of mud brick collapse indicated above. Two groups emerged from the data. First, in Stratum 2 they recognized an extraordinary dispersion of tablets and fragments that had been moved by the gravediggers. Second, they noted a relative horizontal grouping of material culture in Stratum 3bis, Stratum 4, and at the surface of Stratum 5, which was not excavated. The plan allowed them to establish that this material culture was divided between two zones situated on one side or the other of the walls that they had discovered.

Following these discoveries in the autumn of 1973, the commission of excavations requested that Margueron's team conduct another campaign in March and April of 1974, which was then followed by more work in the

autumn of the same year (Ory and Paillet 1974: 278). The continuation of research in Square 35 allowed the Emar team to clear a much larger area than what had been exposed in 1973. The two campaigns of 1974 revealed two buildings clarifying the architectural features uncovered in 1973. Margueron's team also discovered "un nouveau lot d'un millier de tablettes et fragments," which led excavators to the conclusion that "l'ensemble des tablettes découvertes par les deux missions constituait la bibliothèque d'un temple" (Ory and Paillet 1974: 278). Work continued in Area M from 1974 until the last campaign in 1976.

ARCHITECTURE

The first architectural features of 'Temple' M₁ uncovered during the 1973 excavations were difficult to interpret given the small size of the excavation area (Fig. 6). Nevertheless, excavators were able to distinguish two distinct spaces (Ory and Paillet 1974: 277). The first was delineated by two rectilinear walls, which ran northeast to southwest and northwest to southeast. The walls' rough-cut limestone foundations were preserved throughout. Two blocks of hewn conglomerate in the southwest corner and in the eastern balk of the square represented the only evidence of the walls' superstructure. This space is probably what was later called Locus 3, i.e., the southern most side room (Fig. 7). The second space was limited in the north² by another wall running along the northeast to southwest axis. All that remained of this wall was a single course of hewn white limestone blocks. These blocks were connected with clay and covered with a plaster of clay and straw, traces of which remained in the western balk. Situated between the two northeast-southwest walls was the circular hearth embedded in Stratum 5. This is the only architectural feature that is consistent with what is visible in the sole published photograph from the 1973 excavations (Ory and Paillet 1974: 279, fig. 1), namely, the "wall" located directly under tombs A, B, and B'. This feature, which extends out to the northeast from the western balk, is most likely the podium set in the southern end of the main room (Locus 1), which later excavators cleared in 1974.

² Ory and Paillet (1974: 277) curiously refer to this wall bounding the second space to the northeast. Something seems to be garbled here, since such a configuration would be impossible to square with their account and, more important, the top plan (Ory and Paillet 1974: 274). Perhaps "nord-est" is simply a typographical error for "nord-ouest."

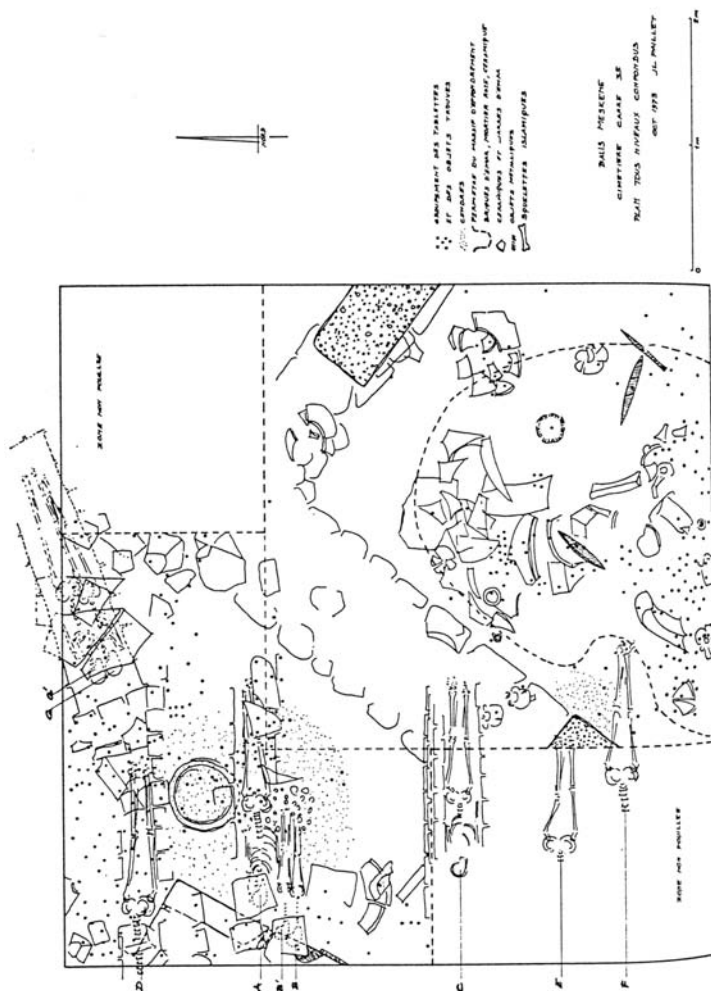


Fig. 6. Square 35 Plan, October 1973 (after Ory and Paillet 1974: 274), courtesy of S. Ory, J.-L. Paillet, IFEAD, IRAA-CNRS, Aix-en-Provence.

During the two campaigns of 1974 the Emar team excavated an area of approximately 362.5 m², revealing two adjoining buildings, 'Temple' M₁ and a domestic structure to the south (Margueron 1975b: 65–66). 'Temple' M₁ was oriented along a northeast-southwest axis, which explains the orientation of some of the internal architectural features uncovered during the 1973 campaign. Because of the natural declivity in Area M, the eastern part of the 'Temple' M₁ was badly eroded, and in places not even the foundations were preserved. In contrast, some elements of the superstructure were preserved in the western half of 'Temple' M₁. However, 'Temple' M₁ was "particulièrement troublé par les tombes d'époque musulmane, au point que celles-ci, enchevêtrées les unes dans les autres, avaient le plus souvent fait totalement disparaître le niveau" (Margueron 1975a: 208). Margueron's description is consistent with what the Bālis team recognized in their first investigation of the LBA levels in 1973.

The earliest published top plan of Area M (Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4) provides the best evidence of the external and internal architectural features around and in 'Temple' M₁ (Fig. 7). Although it is simplified, this plan is superior to subsequent stylized plans that depict the architecture in Area M. The first of such plans were made by the French team (e.g., Margueron 1982a: 31, fig. 7), but their representation of the architecture has since become canonical (Fig. 8). These later versions tend to remove architectural idiosyncrasies and anomalies and contain no data on elevations. The sole published photograph of 'Temple' M₁ was taken in 1974 from the northeast (Locus 8) looking southwest into the main room of the building (Margueron 1975b: pl. VI-4).

The architectural features external to 'Temple' M₁ are, with a few exceptions, not well understood. The space north of the building was not very well exposed, and all that the excavators identified was what they interpreted to be the entry into the main room of 'Temple' M₁ (Locus 8, elevation: 306.10). As noted already above, the areas to the northeast and east of 'Temple' M₁ were completely eroded away. An area to the southeast was identified as Locus 9 (elevation: 307.06) but not investigated further, probably due to the erosion down the slope to the east. To the south of 'Temple' M₁ was a domestic structure in the local front-room style (Loci 12, 13, 14, elevation: 307.08; cf. McClellan 1997: 42, fig. 17p). 'Temple' M₁ shared part of its southwestern outer wall with this house, whose entrance led out to an open space to the southeast (Locus 10, elevation: 306.90). To the southwest of 'Temple' M₁ was a terrace (Loci 4, 15, elevation: 308.77), which excavators identified as a "terrasse cultuelle," based solely on its proximity to what they deemed to be a cultic structure, i.e., the temple

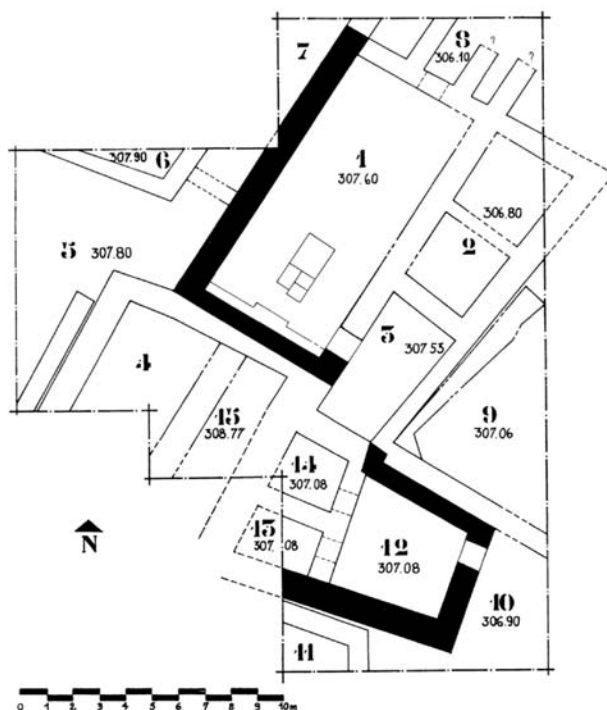


Fig. 7. Plan of 'Temple' M₁, 1974 (Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4) © Jean-Claude Margueron/Mission archéologique française de Meskéné/Emar.

itself (Margueron 1982a: 31). The Area M excavations in 1975 and 1976 revealed more domestic architecture and another *in antis* temple, Temple M₂ (similar in layout to the twin temples in Area E), to the southwest of 'Temple' M₁. Due west of 'Temple' M₁ was an open space (Locus 5, elevation: 307.80) that excavators followed a little more than 5 m west of the building itself. Connecting with this open space was a pathway a little more than one and a half meters wide (Locus 7). This pathway ran along the entire northwest outer wall of 'Temple' M₁. To the north of the pathway was some unidentified walled structure (Locus 6, elevation: 307.90).

Because excavators cleared the entire structure, the internal architecture of 'Temple' M₁ is relatively well defined. 'Temple' M₁ consisted of four rooms, a main room and three side rooms (Margueron 1975b: 80). The rectangular main room dominates the northwestern half of the building, with a length to width ratio of just over 2:1. The long axis of this room ran from the northeast to the southwest. At first the excavators reconstructed an entrance situated off center along the northeast wall, but by



Fig. 8. Schematic Plan of Area M / Lower Town, 'Temple' M_1 = 'temple du devin' (Finkbeiner 1999–2000: pl. 85), courtesy of Uwe Finkbeiner.

any standard this hypothetical entrance is rather narrow (Werner 1994: 109 n. 514). In the earliest plan, the foundations of a total of four protuberances are represented extending out from this northeast wall, but none of these features was preserved to its full extent. Subsequent renderings of these features reduced the number of protuberances to two, made their lengths uniform, and centered the alleged doorway (e.g., Margueron 1982a: 31, fig. 7, 1982c: 249, fig. 6). By one reckoning, the two middle protuberances were the foundation for a ramp or set of stairs leading into the main room (Werner 1994: 109). A bench ran along the back (i.e., southwest) wall of the main room, and a small projection stuck out from the middle third of that bench. In front of the projection stood a small platform, interpreted to be an altar, made of rectangular limestone blocks (Margueron 1975b: pl. IV-4). The existence of a platform akin to the altars found in the Area E temples persuaded Margueron (1975a: 209) that 'Temple' M_1 was also a temple. The three side rooms occupy the eastern half of the

building. Near the south corner of the main room was a doorway leading into south side room, the largest of the three. No doorways connect the middle and north side rooms with any other part of the building. Parallels suggest that, like the south side room, these rooms likely communicated with the main room (Werner 1994: 109; Otto 2006a: 10, 253, 259).

The excavators referred to the rooms of the building as *loci*. The main room was designated Locus 1, and its bottom elevation was 307.60. The south side room was designated Locus 3, which reached 307.53. The middle side room was designated Locus 2, for which no elevation is given. The hypothetical north side room did not receive a locus number, but the elevation of the eroded hillside was given as 306.80.

None of the buildings’ dimensions was published in the French team’s preliminary reports. However, some preliminary data on ‘Temple’ M₁’s dimensions are presented in more recent studies on domestic (McClellan 1997) and sacred architecture (Werner 1994) in Bronze Age north Syria. These data are inconsistent, particularly with respect to the length of the building’s exterior,³ so it is worthwhile presenting them together:

| | McClellan (1997: 53) | | Werner (1994: 109) | |
|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| | L × W (m) | Area (m ²) | L × W (m) | Area (m ²) |
| Architecture | | | | |
| Exterior | 13.3 × 10.6 | 141 | 15 × 10.6 | 159 |
| Room | | | | |
| Locus 1 (“Cella”) | 11.4 × 5 | 57 | 11.25 × 4.85 | 54.6 |
| Locus 3 (South) | 4.7 × 2.3 | 10.8 | 5 × 2.5 | 12.5 |
| Locus 2 (Middle) | 3 × 2.3 | 6.9 | 2.95 × 2.35 | 6.9 |
| North | 2.4 × 2.2 | 5.3 | 2.4 × 2.35 | 5.6 |

Until the final report on ‘Temple’ M₁ appears, these variant reckonings can be thought of as reasonable approximations based on the published plans. Even if the absolute measurements differ, the ratios of length to width are roughly equivalent. The walls of ‘Temple’ M₁ appear to have been not more than one meter thick, which is typical of single-story mud brick architecture in the region.

³ Perhaps Werner included the protuberances that extend to the northeast.

The argument for reconstructing a second story to 'Temple' M₁ began with the very first preliminary publication of the French team's finds (Margueron 1975a: 209):

Mais des tablettes on été retrouvées trop près de la surface et en lots trop homogènes pour qu'on les considère comme simplement déplacées par les fossoyeurs; ces ensembles sont très certainement, dans la phase finale de la destruction, tombés au moins d'une étagère élevées, et même très vraisemblablement, à croire d'autres indices, d'un étage.

The argument for the existence of an upper story is thus based on the distribution of tablets, which will be discussed in more detail below. The only archaeological feature that may speak in favor of an upper story is the mass of collapse encountered by the Bālis team. Margueron alludes to this phenomenon obliquely but never specified where his team encountered a similar mass. There is so far no indication of 'Temple' M₁ having the remains of a staircase, which are regular features in many of the LBA houses in Bazi (Otto 2006a: 76–77). However, even the presence of a staircase does not necessarily imply the existence of a complete upper story per se, since open-air rooftop spaces were often usable. Partial second stories are also possible, such as side room houses with a roofed second story over the side rooms and a functional open space on the roof covering the main room (e.g., Otto 2006a: 45).

There are a number of inconsistencies between the first published drawing of 'Temple' M₁ and its subsequent representations in various preliminary reports and studies. In addition to the modifications made to the alleged facade and entrance, several changes in the drawings of the building's plan made it appear to be more rectilinear and less asymmetrical. The most profound alteration in the plan was on Locus 3, the south side room. In the original plan, this room is shown to extend about one meter further to the southwest than Locus 1. In subsequent incarnations of the plan, the back walls of these rooms, and thus the back (southwest) wall of the building, align perfectly. The sizes of Locus 2 and the north room are also in question, since Locus 2 appears to be smaller than the north room in the first plan and larger than the north room in all subsequent plans. The final publication may resolve these inconsistencies. In the interim, since the original plan has never been deemed erroneous in any subsequent publication, it is taken here to be the least biased of the many representations of 'Temple' M₁. Despite these problems, the basic architecture of 'Temple' M₁ is far clearer than the material culture it contained.

ARTIFACTS

The excavators from the Bālis team found LBA objects both in disturbed and undisturbed contexts. None of the objects was individually drawn, photographed,⁴ or identified by its excavation number, though the excavators do provide an anecdotal account of their finds (Ory and Paillet 1974: 277). They recovered 407 objects that could be dated to the LBA, including ceramics, small finds, and cuneiform tablets.

The pottery assemblage is not well documented, but a few potsherds are visible in the only published photograph from the 1973 excavations (Ory and Paillet 1974: 279, fig. 1). It is unclear what kinds of vessels were present. Various ceramic vessels were found throughout the square, including plates, goblets, and an important lot of fragments belonging to jugs and jars (cf. Caubet 1982a). The top plan indicates that a number of vessels were found both in and beneath the collapsed mass described above (Ory and Paillet 1974: 274).

The small finds from Square 35 were diverse. In addition to common pottery, excavators also found large clay slabs. These are apparently not mentioned in any publication by the Emar team, unless they are pieces of the house model subsequently identified by Muller (2002: 271–272, no. 69). There were a few metal objects, including two metal spear points, two daggers, and fragments of a copper plaque. If the spear points were subsequently reassigned Msk numbers after the 1974 excavations, then perhaps these may be identified as Msk 73184 and Msk 73160 (Beyer 1982b: 121). Similarly, the daggers, one of which was reportedly very well made, may have been renumbered by the Emar team as Msk 73294 and Msk 73297 (Beyer 1982b: 121). Parts of two statuettes were found, one complete and the other missing its upper half, but nothing is said about their material, subject, or style (cf. Badre 1982). Excavators also identified beads of stone (or composite)⁵ and ivory, which they understood to be part of a necklace. Finally, the abundant stone industry remains included mortars and pestles, fragments of a basalt grindstone, and various smaller stone tools, both cut and rough (cf. Nierlé 1982).

⁴ The top of the foot of clay R. 78 was photographed (Ory and Paillet 1974: 280, fig. 2), probably because it was so unusual.

⁵ This is not specified, but it is a logical inference, since so many of the beads from LBA Emar were made of either some semi-precious stone or faience/frit (Caubet 1982d: 128).

The first wave of excavations in 'Temple' M₁ uncovered a number of cuneiform tablets and fragments. A total of 159 tablets and fragments were found in 1973 (see Appendices A and D). This includes one of the so-called feet of clay, lumps of clay bearing impressions of a juvenile's foot together with seal impressions and cuneiform labels for the sealings (see Appendix B.2.9.2). The account of these objects by Ory and Paillet (1974: 277) is somewhat confusing, since they mention "deux tablettes d'argile en forme de pied d'enfant." According to the excavation number assigned to the other foot of clay from 'Temple' M₁, Msk 74340, it was found in 1974. Perhaps Ory and Paillet were simply mentioning both pieces as a natural pair. The foot found in 1973 was the only individual object that has a published photograph from the first excavations (Ory and Paillet 1974: 280, fig. 2; cf. Emar 6/2, p. 749, R. 78; Beyer 2001: pls. 30, 31b-c).

This rich inventory of LBA material culture from the 1973 sounding stands in stark contrast to the paucity of uninscribed material reported from the second wave of excavations, i.e., the two campaigns of 1974. According to one early account (Margueron 1975a: 209), the Emar team found very few objects. Another preliminary report mentions two small triangular bronze plaques that had raised edges and perforations along the shortest side, as well as a small bronze needle (Margueron 1975b: 72). The triangular objects are particularly difficult to locate in later discussions of the material culture from Emar (Beyer 1982a, 1982b).

The two fragmentary "maquettes," or house models, found in 'Temple' M₁ are the only uninscribed objects from the building that have been properly published (Muller 2002: 270–272, nos. 68–69). Both no. 68 and no. 69 bear the excavation number Msk 749, but each of the four fragments of no. 68 has a distinct object number determined by the unit in which it was found:

| | |
|----------|-----------------|
| No. 68-1 | M I NW 31 |
| No. 68-2 | M IV SW 7 |
| No. 68-3 | M III NE 104 |
| No. 68-3 | bisM III NE 126 |

All four fragments came from the main room (Locus 1) of 'Temple' M₁ and were found in a burn level, perhaps Stratum 3 or 3bis, which was profoundly disturbed by the Islamic tombs. Their position above the floor and their distribution in the building may indicate, in Muller's view, that they came from a second story that would have risen above the three side rooms to the east. Two fragments were recovered near the proposed location of the entrance along the northeast wall, while the two others came

from the southwest part of the main room near the podium. The descriptions of these fragments' find-spots are essential for the reconstruction of the excavation units in 'Temple' M₁, a topic treated in greater detail below. In any case, both no. 68 and no. 69 are examples of the classic stepped house model found in LBA domestic contexts, and no. 68 parallels similar objects found in houses in Areas A and D. As noted already above, one of the pieces (no. 69) was found during the 1973 campaign and only identified later.

The composite picture of the second wave of excavations is confusing, since, according to Margueron (1975b: 65–66), one part of the main room (Locus 1) was spared by the medieval cemetery. It is rather implausible that only cuneiform tablets were found there in great numbers and that hardly any additional material culture was present anywhere else in the building. A comparison with the finds of the initial excavations in 1973 is instructive. As mentioned already above, the first excavators recorded 407 objects that could be dated to the LBA. Among those objects were 159 cuneiform tablets and fragments, leaving a total of 248 artifacts from the early sounding. This total stands in stark contrast to the four objects (two plaques, one needle, one house models) found by the subsequent Emar team. Only the final publication of the French excavations will resolve this conundrum.

Although cuneiform tablets belong to the assemblage as a subset of material culture, their numbers and distribution are such that they have been only mentioned in passing thus far. In what follows I discuss the inscribed objects in greater detail.

EPIGRAPHIC FINDS

Cuneiform tablets and fragments were recovered from 'Temple' M₁ during all three seasons of work in and around the building, and most of the inscribed objects have been published. However, the anecdotal accounts in the preliminary field reports provide little information about where precisely cuneiform tablets were found. The tablets, though numerous, were said to be in terrible shape, and some were thought to have been damaged in the course of the repeated reuse of the Islamic cemetery. No attempt was made to even estimate the total number of tablets and fragments (Margueron 1975a: 209). According to another early account, one part of the so-called cella (i.e., Locus 1) had been spared by the medieval cemetery, and it is here that excavators found hundreds of tablets broken

into numerous fragments (Margueron 1975b: 65–66).⁶ One of the original excavators of the building has observed more recently that “[l]es tablettes conservées à l’origine dans des paniers . . . ont été retrouvées sur le sol du temple [i.e., ‘Temple’ M₁], au fond de la cella [Locus 1] et autour de l’autel, mais aussi dans la salle adjacente [probably Locus 3]” (Beyer 2001: 8). Although tablet storage of this kind is plausible, no evidence is presented to support Beyer’s claim. The allusion to the main room or cella and the side room are helpful for situating the tablet finds within the key features of the structure, but this description is still imprecise.

Unlike other artifacts found in ‘Temple’ M₁, some information is available about what inscribed objects were found and where they were found. Arnaud used the publication of the texts as an opportunity to publish a catalogue that lists where each piece had been found. The find-spots are presented in accordance with the normative practices of the Emar team: area (here M), square (I–IV), quadrant (NW–NE–SW–SE). The quadrant is the highest degree of precision published for the tablets’ find-spots. Some pieces bearing the same excavation number are only differentiated with letters of the alphabet (a, b, c, . . . , z, aa, ab, etc.). It is plausible that such pieces were found together. At the very least they were inventoried together, but nothing has been published about the inventory process used by the excavators and epigrapher. There is some indication that pieces bearing the same number were actually found together.⁷

In order to exploit the opportunity presented by the ‘Temple’ M₁ tablet collection, it is necessary to determine as precisely as possible where the texts were found, what texts were present, and how many texts and tablets can be reconstructed from the building.

Archaeological Provenience of the Tablet Collection: Excavation Units

Although there are a number of studies that discuss the excavation units in ‘Temple’ M₁, none has dealt with the problem of mapping these excavation units onto the published top plan (Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4) or any of its subsequent stylized incarnations (e.g., Beyer 2001: 9, fig. 6). Pedersén’s (1998: 62–63) geographic and diachronic survey of archives

⁶ For the hypothesis that this was the western part of Locus 1, M III NE and M III SE, see below.

⁷ “Cet éclat [Msk 731089a] a été classé ici [as a fragment of a *tīrānū* omen compendium] parce qu’il a été trouvé avec le numéro précédent [Msk 731089b]” (Emar 6/4, p. 305).

and libraries provides the first discussion of the archive's archaeological distribution:

In Area M I..., essentially in Room 3,... the excavators found 225 clay tablets. Among these, 125 tablets constitute an archive of legal documents, and the remaining 100 tablets are a handbook library of liturgies and a selection of some other literary texts.... In Area M III, namely, in the western part of the cella and nearby, 740 Akkadian and Sumerian clay tablets and a large number of Hurrian and Hittite tablets were excavated.

Pedersén's survey has the benefit of partially correlating the excavators' find-spot squares (M I, M III) with room designations. However, the generic classification is vague and some instances erroneous (e.g., "[rituals for] the enthronement of the *entu*- and *muš'artu*(sic)-priestesses"), and there is no catalogue of tablets (cf. Pedersén 1985, 1986, 2005).

The only attempt to rationalize the find-spots of the inscribed objects from 'Temple' M₁ appears in Fleming's (2000: 18–21) book on the cultic calendars of Emar. Like Pedersén, Fleming catalogues the tablets according to find-spot square and genre, and Fleming is more specific than Pedersén about the number of pieces and the specific squares. However, Fleming makes no attempt to explain how the find-spot squares fit together. Moreover, with the exception of a handful of ritual texts, the specific discrete pieces and the texts subsumed under each genre likewise remain uninvestigated. The data and their contexts require a more methodical presentation.

Three pieces of information are vital for the reconstruction of the excavated areas in 'Temple' M₁: the top plan and photograph from the 1973 excavations; the preliminary top plan of the 1974 trenches; and the published descriptions of where the house model fragments were found (Muller 2002: 270–271).

The top plan of the trenches in Square 35 offers evidence of three distinct architectural features (Ory and Paillet 1974: 274). Two walls meet at a right angle, creating the north corner of the space the two walls partially delimit. The third feature runs parallel (northeast-southwest) to one of the other walls. Based on the earliest top plan produced during the 1974 excavations (Margueron 1974b: 65, fig. 4), there are only three candidates for the space delimited by the first two orthogonal walls: the main room (Locus 1), the middle side room (Locus 2), and the south side room (Locus 3). The corner in question cannot be the north corner of Locus 1 because material found in the northern part of the 1973 trench would then be outside of 'Temple' M₁. The north corner of Locus 2 is difficult to reconcile with the early plan due to the absence of any architectural features in

the space northwest of Locus 2 (i.e., the middle of Locus 1). By process of elimination, Locus 3 is the only remaining candidate for the space delineated by the orthogonal walls in the 1973 trench. The case for Locus 3 is buttressed by the presence in Locus 1 of the podium, which, therefore, must be the architectural feature first uncovered in western balk of the 1973 trenches. The remains of the podium are pictured in the only published photograph from the work in 1973 (Ory and Paillet 194: 279, fig. 1). The arrangement of material culture and cuneiform tablets is most easily reconciled with the arrangement near the western balk as depicted in the top plan.

The thorough publication of the house models or “maquettes” from Emar gives the first confirmation of this interpretation of the 1973 excavations (Muller 2002: 271, no. 69):

Le ‘carré 35’ de la mission Balis a été inclus dans le carré M I de la mission d’Emar, lequel est intégré dans le temple du Devin [i.e., ‘Temple’ M₁]. La mention ‘sous tablette’ qui figurait sur la fiche de la mission de Balis indique que le fragment [of the house model] a vraisemblablement été découvert dans la couche de destruction. Le carré en question recouvrait la partie centrale et orientale du Lieu Saint [i.e., Locus 1] ainsi que les deux pièces annexes méridionales. Il subsiste donc un doute sur la provenance de cet object [Msk 749 = AO 27.178]: Lieu Saint [Locus 1] ou pièce annexe [Locus 2, Locus 3]?

As we shall see, Muller’s confusion over the precise find-spot of the fragment holds for all the objects, including the tablets, that were found during the 1973 excavations. More to the point is Muller’s explicit acknowledgment that the first trench of the two 1974 campaigns was a continuation of precisely where the Balis team had been working. Muller’s account provides the additional piece of information that M I covered Locus 1, Locus 2, and Locus 3. However, attention to the architectural features uncovered in 1973 makes it appear that parts of only Locus 1 and Locus 3 were uncovered during that campaign. Therefore, the find-spot of the fragmentary house model, and any other artifacts, can be restricted to the northern corner of Locus 3 and the space between the podium in Locus 1 and the wall that separates Locus 1 from Locus 3.

Also informative is Muller’s (2002: 270, no. 68) description of the find-spots of the pieces of the other house model found in ‘Temple’ M₁ in 1974. Two fragments were recovered near the northeast wall of the main room, which is where excavators propose to locate the entrance. No. 68-1 was found against the north balk of square M I, in the northeast corner of the

northwest quadrant. Here the Islamic tombs disturbed the thick ash layer above the floor. No. 68-2 was likewise found in this ash layer in a pit situated orthogonally 0.5 m from the east edge and 0.6 m from the south edge of the southwest quadrant of square M IV. The two others pieces of this house model were found in the southwest part of the main room near the podium. No. 68-3 was recovered in the northeast quadrant of square M III between the northwest wall of the main room (Locus 1) and the podium. This piece came from a destruction layer that contained, among other things, a piece of the floor or the ceiling from the proposed second story, as well as cuneiform tablets. As with the other finds, Islamic period tombs disturbed this context. Also from the northeast quadrant of square M III, no. 68-3bis, which joins no. 68-3, was found near the southwest corner of the main room (Locus 1) in a burned layer, which, based on the presence of an Islamic period lamp (M III NE 162), had evidently been disturbed. The find-spots of the four pieces of this house model at opposite ends of the room is noteworthy:

| | | | |
|----------|-------------|---|----------------------------------|
| No. 68-1 | M I NW | = | near entrance, NE corner, N balk |
| No. 68-2 | M IV SW | = | near entrance, SE corner |
| No. 68-3 | M III NE | = | between podium and wall |
| No. 68-3 | bisM III NE | = | near SW corner |

Based on this information, the schematic representation below (Fig. 9) is the most plausible reconstruction of the 1974 trenches set down in Area M to clear ‘Temple’ M₁.

This arrangement overlaid on the schematic plan from the 1974 excavations (Fig. 7) gives the division of find-spot squares that are used to organize the textual finds in what follows (see also Appendix A, Area M, ‘Temple’ M₁).

M₁ R

One of the Bālis team’s soundings produced fragmentary tablets (Margueron 1975b: 55). However, it is not entirely clear whether these objects retained R excavation numbers or were renumbered with the other Msk 731000 pieces. The basic inconsistency is that none of the five legal documents published among R. 3–R. 139 is fragmentary. It may be that joins were made among these pieces prior to publication. Regardless, it is ultimately unclear why these pieces retained their original excavation numbers. The inscribed objects inventoried as R. 3–R. 139 probably came from some sector of what became M₁ I NW-SW.

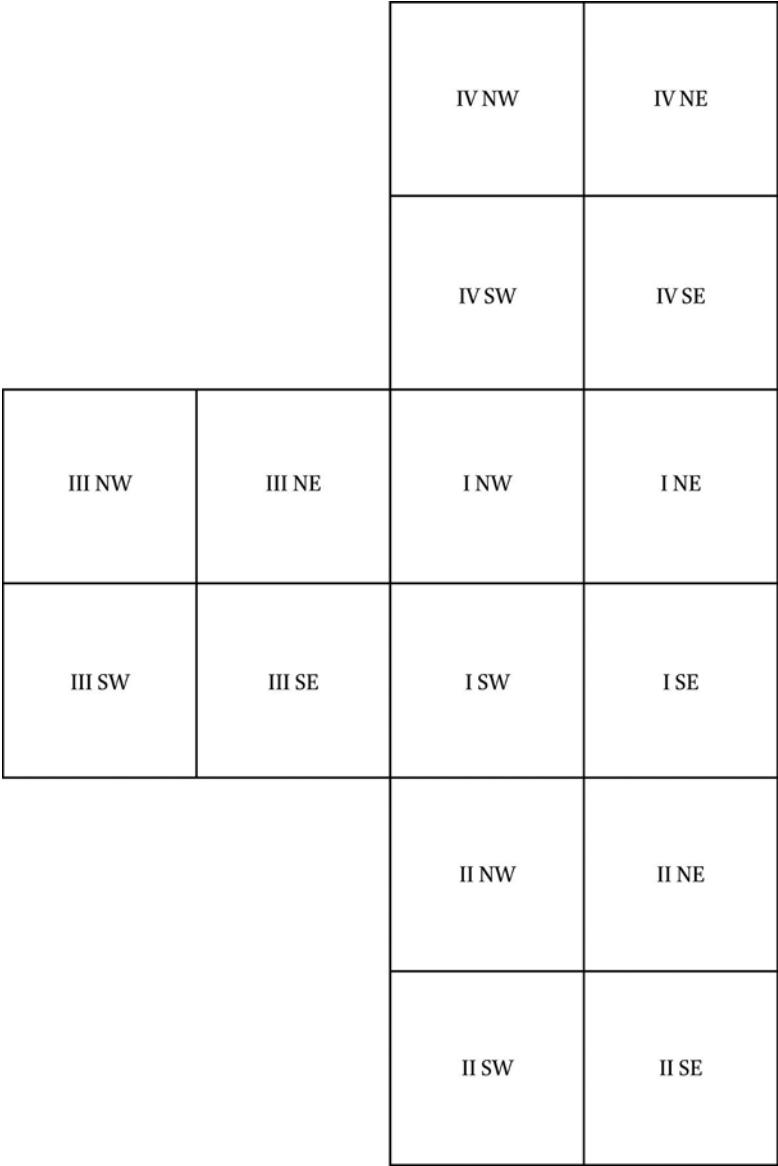


Fig. 9. Area M: Reconstruction of the ‘Temple’ M₁ Trenches (each quadrant = 5 × 5 m) (1974–1975).

M₁ (former R)

An expansion of the original trench produced more than 400 objects, both tablets and other objects that were found mixed up with the inscribed material (Margueron 1975b: 55). It is important to note that the series of field numbers Msk 731000–Msk 731095 is an old series of R. numbers that were later inventoried by Margueron’s team and subsequently assigned new numbers. It is unclear why only a very few objects retained R. excavation numbers.⁸ The tablets Msk 731000–Msk 731095 are all from the first exploration of what was later identified as ‘Temple’ M₁ (catalogued in Emar 6/1, pp. 8–9). It does not appear likely that it will be possible to correlate these objects with the published description, top plan, and sections of the excavations during the final weeks of 1973 (Ory and Paillet 1974). Without the original R. numbers even those tablets shown in the photograph from the first work in ‘Temple’ M₁ will remain difficult to place (Ory and Paillet 1974: 279, fig. 1). This is unfortunate because the photograph makes it appear that the tablets pictured (R. 335–337 and four others that are illegible) were all found in Locus 1. A total of only 154 cuneiform tablets and fragments have been published (see Appendix A), including representatives of all of the major genres found in the building. The majority of the artifacts remain unpublished.

Like the initial sounding that appears to have produced the R tablets, the tablets that were eventually reassigned Msk numbers most likely came from some region of what was subsequently dubbed M₁ I NW–SW. See Figs. 6–7 for the basic architectural features in the building as well as the reconstructions of areas M₁ M I NW (Fig. 10) and M₁ M I SW (Fig. 13). The M₁ (former R) sounding area visible in the published top plan (Ory and Paillet 1974: 274) maps reasonably well onto the architecture that was articulated later on. It appears that this initial sounding was placed right on the doorway that connects Locus 1 and Locus 3. The sounding probably also included the eastern side of the podium in the southwest region of Locus 1.

M₁ M I NW

Area M₁ M I NW represents the central part of Locus 1, the so-called “cella” of the structure. This area revealed most of the podium that Margueron

⁸ With the exception of O. tablets, which are held in Damascus, all of the documents are held in the Musée National d’Aleppo (Emar 6/1, p. 7 n. *).

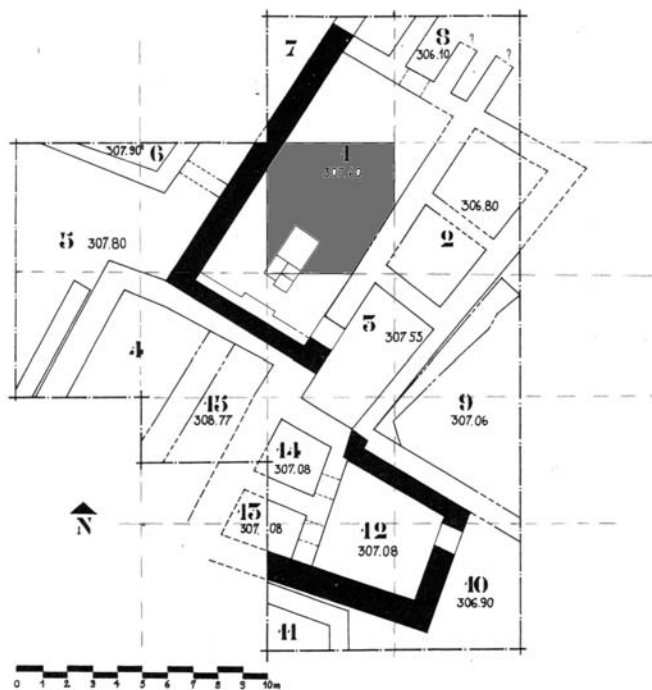


Fig. 10. 'Temple' $M_1 M I NW$ (after Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4).

used to interpret the building as a temple. See Fig. 10 for a reconstruction of this excavation unit.

$M_1 M I NE$

Area $M_1 I NE$ contained parts of at most three separate rooms, all from the eastern portion of the building. Excavation of this area uncovered one small strip along the south-east wall of Locus 1. The majority of the central side room, Locus 2, falls in this area. The third side room was largely eroded and did not receive a locus designation, but there may have originally been tablets there as well. See Fig. 11 for a reconstruction of this area.

$M_1 M I SE$

Area $M_1 I SE$ revealed parts of two distinct side rooms: the south corner of Locus 2 and the east corner of Locus 3. See Fig. 12 for a reconstruction of this area.

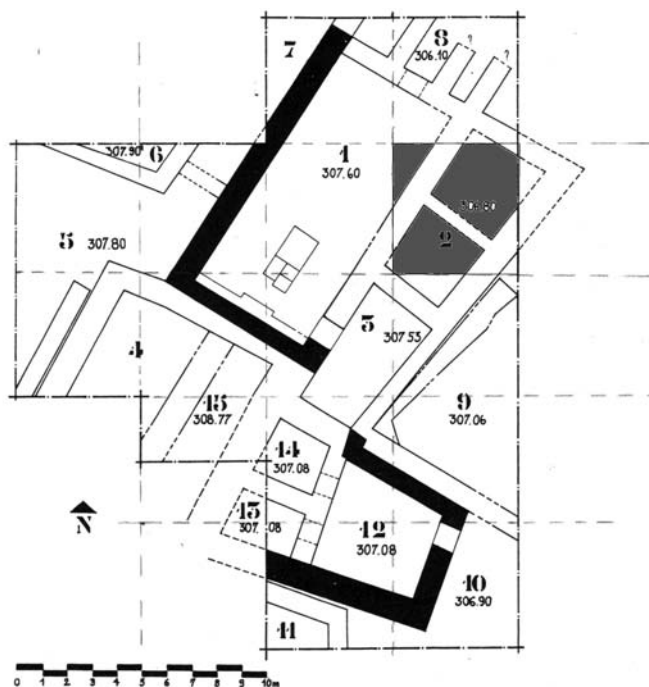


Fig. 11. 'Temple' M₁ M I NE (after Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4).

M₁ M I SW

Area M₁ M I SW revealed parts of two rooms and the doorway connecting them. The south corner of Locus 1, the so-called "cella," has both the southern continuation of the bench along the south-west external wall and the door to Locus 3 along the south-east internal wall. The majority of the southern-most side room, Locus 3, also falls within this area. Because this area covers two distinct rooms, the precise find-spots of the tablets will be necessary to give the archaeological description of the archive its most coherent form. See Fig. 13 for a reconstruction of this area.

M₁ M I SW-SE

The combined excavation units subsumed under the heading M I SW-SE fall within Locus 3. See Figs. 12–13 for a reconstruction of the two parts of this combined unit.

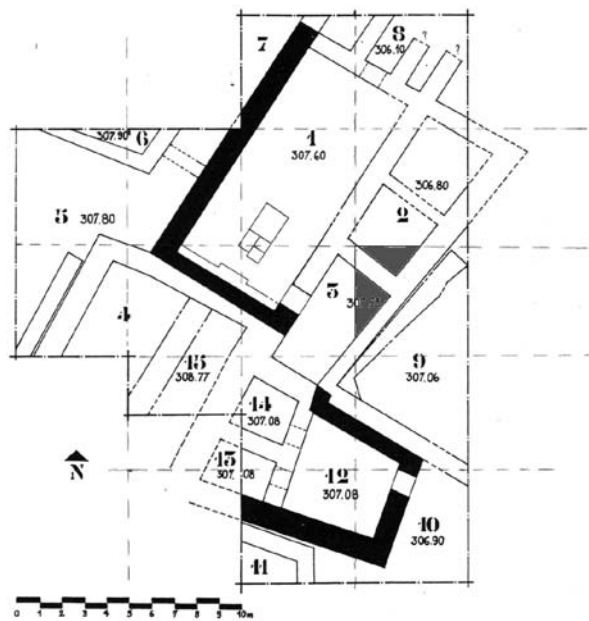


Fig. 12. 'Temple' M₁ M I SE (after Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4).

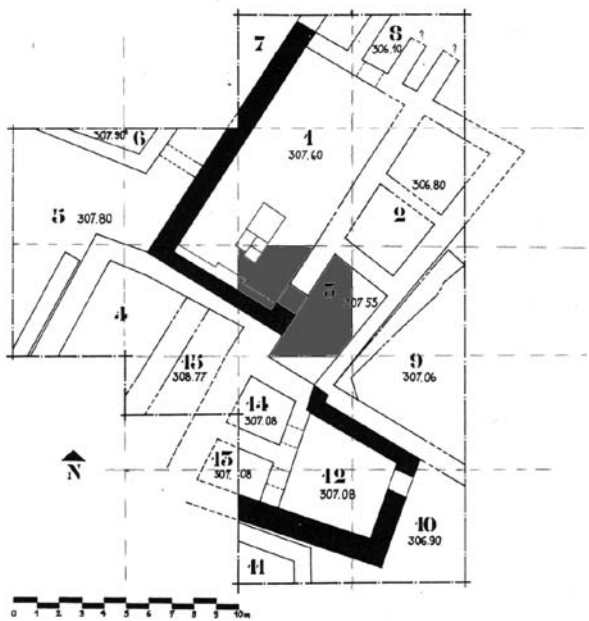


Fig. 13. 'Temple' M₁ M I SW (after Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4).

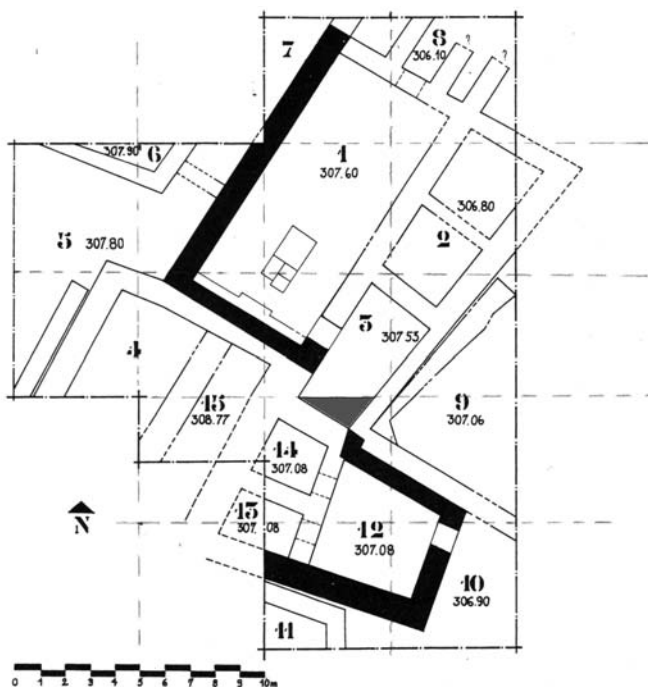


Fig. 14. 'Temple' M₁ M II NW (after Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4).

M₁ M I SW-II NW

The Areas M I SW and M II NW represent most of Locus 3. See Figs. 13 and 14 for reconstructions of the area covered by these two combined excavation units.

M₁ M II NE?

Area M II NE is the one excavation unit that is difficult to reconcile with the published top plan of the initial excavations (see Fig. 7). According to the understanding of the excavation units presented here, M II NE would have been in Locus 9, that is, outside of M₁. At other sites scholars have attempted to associate tablets found in the vicinity of a given building with that building and its function(s) (e.g., Pedersén 1985: 31–42, M₂; van Soldt 2000: 237–238). Regardless of the arguments for and against what is essentially a pragmatic approach, there is no indication in any of the published accounts that tablets associated with 'Temple' M₁ were found anywhere but inside the walls of the structure itself. Moreover, only one

fragment was reportedly found in M II NE, and it was joined by Arnaud to a fragment from the M_I (former R) excavations: Msk 731061 + Msk 74274 (*Emar* 369 D), one of the three copies of the ritual for the installation of the EREŠ.DINGIR priestess (see Appendix B.4.1). Since no ritual tablets were found in M I NE, it may be that M II NE in this instance was simply a typographical error for M III NE, where a large number of ritual fragments were found. The excavation area designated M_I M II NE is retained here, but the final report may vindicate the proposal to remove it from the discussion altogether.

M_I M III NE

Area M III NE was where almost two-thirds of the inscribed objects from ‘Temple’ M_I were found. The northwest external wall bounds the excavation unit to the north. The relatively small area in which the tablets and fragments were found was located in northern vicinity of the west corner of Locus 1, the so-called “cella.” See Fig. 15 for a reconstruction of this excavation unit.

M_I M III SE

Area M_I M III SE is bounded to the south by the southwest external wall, along the interior of which is the bench. The rest of M III SE exposed parts of Locus 15 and Locus 4, which together constitute the terrace to the southwest of ‘Temple’ M_I. See Fig. 16 for a reconstruction of this excavation unit in ‘Temple’ M_I.

M_I M III NE-III SE

Area M_I M III NE-III SE represents the west corner of Locus 1, the so-called “cella.” Since only three inscribed objects were given this find-spot designation, it seems likely that there was some confusion over precisely where they were found. See Figs. 15 and 16 for reconstructions of these excavation units.

M_I M IV SW (surface clearing)

Area M_I M IV SW revealed the north corner of Locus 1, the so-called “cella.” It is unclear whether all of the tablet finds from M IV SW were from surface clearing. Since much of the eastern part of the building was eroded, it is possible that only the northwest external wall was well preserved here. See Fig. 17 for a reconstruction of this excavation unit.

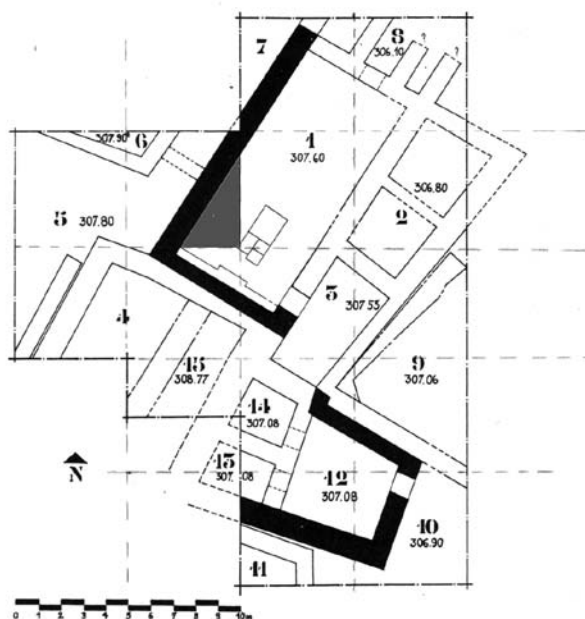


Fig. 15. 'Temple' M₁ M III NE (after Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4).

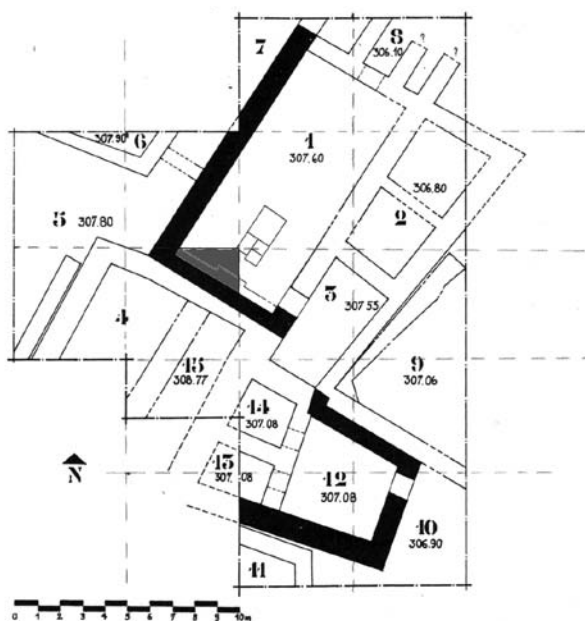


Fig. 16. 'Temple' M₁ M III SE (after Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4).

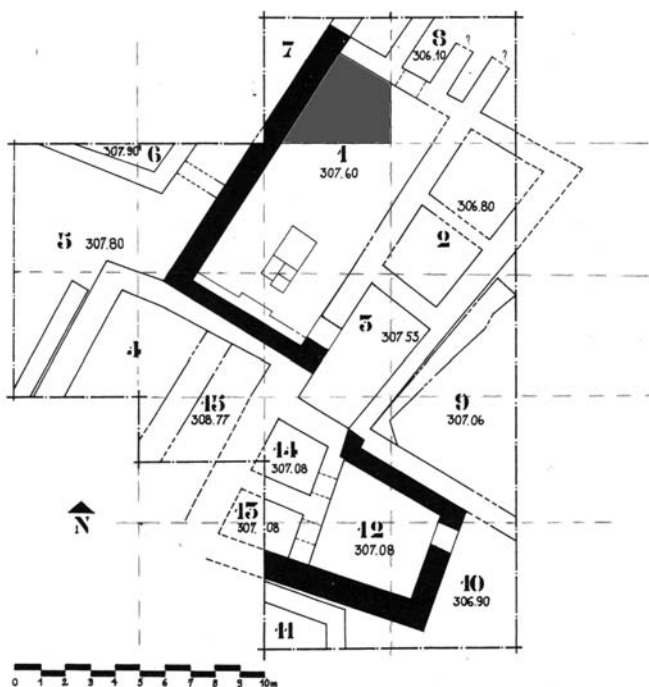


Fig. 17. 'Temple' M₁ M IV SW (surface clearing) (after Margueron 1975b: 65, fig. 4).

M₁ M IV NW

Area M IV NW presents problems with respect to the discussion of whether all the inscribed materials associated with 'Temple' M₁ were found inside the walls of the structure, in its general environs, or both (see M₁ M II NE above). Since the basic architecture was articulated by the end of the 1974 campaigns, M IV NW must have continued with the investigation of the extension of the north side of the alleged portico. This area would also eventually show that a street ran to the north of 'Temple' M₁, deemed Locus 7 in the report on the campaigns through 1974 (e.g., see Fig. 7). Only two lexical fragments are attributed to this area.

M₁ (clearing)

Three inscribed fragments were found in the course of clearing during one of the 1974 campaigns. No other information is provided as to where precisely the excavators were working, it is simply stated that they were found while clearing an area in or around the building.

M₁ NE

One ritual fragment was reportedly found in an area designated M₁ NE. It stands to reason that M₁ NE refers to Locus 1, the so-called “cella,” since the northern-most side room to the east was badly eroded.

M₁ surface

There were two fragmentary surface finds during the exploration of Area M and ‘Temple’ M₁ in 1975. Nothing else is reported about where these pieces were found.

M₁ unclear

The find-spots of two types of inscribed artifacts remain unclear. First, there are those published bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian, Akkadian, and Hittite objects for which no find-spot square is reported. Second, the only unpublished texts from the ‘Temple’ M₁ text corpus are the Hurrian omen compendia and the Hurro-Mesopotamia polyglot version of the Weidner God List (Laroche 1989). A few of these objects have been cited and partially published in the secondary literature, but nothing is said of where exactly they were found. The west corner of Locus 1 (i.e., M III NE, Fig. 15, and M III SE, Fig. 16) would be a reasonable guess for the Hurrian tablets (cf. Pedersén 1998: 62).

Summary: Excavation Units and Architecture

The find-spot information presented in this section raises the question of the relationships between the loci or rooms and the different find-spot squares. Because of the state of architectural preservation of ‘Temple’ M₁, only three of the four original rooms potentially held inscribed materials. Furthermore, because only find-spot quadrants have been published, it is necessary to map the excavators’ squares back onto the architecture of ‘Temple’ M₁. This process will make it possible to hypothesize certain correlations between the excavated tablets and the discrete rooms identified in the building. The excavators designated the main room or “cella” Locus 1. Moving from southwest to northeast in the room, all or most of M III SE, M III NE, M I NW, and M IV SW are in Locus 1. The southeast side room is Locus 3. M II NW is the only square to fall in this room only, and M II NW revealed only the south corner. However, designations like M I SW-I SE and M I SW-II NW can only refer to Locus 3. M IV NW should also be associated with ‘Temple’ M₁ Locus 1, but most of it lies to the north

of the building itself. Thus it is unclear where the objects from M IV NW were found. Two squares appear to bridge Locus 1 and Locus 3: M₁ (former R) and M I SW. Both cover an area around the doorway that connects the rooms. None of the tablets and fragments from either of these areas bears a further designation as to a find-spot locus. Ten legal and administrative documents bear the heading “(*cella*)” in Emar 6/3, but these are from M III NE (*Emar* 143, *Emar* 168, *Emar* 169, *Emar* 209, *Emar* 355), M III SE (*Emar* 188), or M I NW (*Emar* 162, *Emar* 190, *Emar* 231, *Emar* 232), i.e., clearly within Locus 1. Square M I SE covers both the east corner of Locus 3 and the south corner of Locus 2, the central side room to the east of Locus 1. There is nothing published that makes it possible to differentiate between objects found in one room or the other. Area M I NE covers a small sliver of Locus 1 along the east internal wall, as well as most of the north part of Locus 2. In theory M I NE also represents the room to the northeast of Locus 2, but this part of ‘Temple’ M₁ was very badly eroded.

The following is an overview of the generic distribution of finds that can be attributed to each locus.

Locus 1

Locus 1 or the so-called *cella* consists of three identifiable zones that can be differentiated because of the division into excavation unit squares. Three additional groupings of inscribed artifacts may have been associated with Locus 1, but nothing in the published records identifies these pieces with respect to the three main loci.

Locus 1 West

Table 1. Epigraphic Finds from ‘Temple’ M₁ Locus 1 West

| <i>M₁ Square</i> | <i>Adm</i> | <i>Leg</i> | <i>Let</i> | <i>Rit</i> | <i>Lex</i> | <i>Div</i> | <i>Inc</i> | <i>Lit</i> | <i>Un</i> | <i>Tot</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| III SE | 15 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 72 | 32 | 5 | 14 | 60 | 210 |
| III NE | 55 | 3 | 16 | 85 | 426 | 98 | 31 | 30 | 350 | 1094 |
| III SE-NE | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 70 | 4 | 16 | 96 | 498 | 130 | 36 | 47 | 410 | 1307 |
| % L 1 W | 5.4 | 0.3 | 1.2 | 7.3 | 38.1 | 9.9 | 2.8 | 3.6 | 31.4 | 100 |
| % M ₁ genre | 69 | 3 | 89 | 52 | 90 | 70 | 95 | 90 | 91 | 77 |

More than three-quarters (77%) of the total number of inscribed pieces from ‘Temple’ M₁ were found in the west corner of Locus 1. The majority of letters (89%), lexical texts (90%), literary texts (90%), and incantations (95%) were found in Locus 1 West. Most (92%) of the unidentified frag-

ments from throughout ‘Temple’ M₁ (about 30% of the pieces of Locus 1 West), come from this vicinity as well, an index of the degree to which many of the original tablets were badly broken in the final conflagration that likely created and sealed the deposit. Just over two-thirds (69%) of the administrative documents and omen texts from ‘Temple’ M₁ derive from this area. About half of the ritual tablets (52%) come from this vicinity. Significantly, very few legal documents came from Locus 1 West, 3% of the legal tablets from ‘Temple’ M₁ and only 0.3% of the collection from Locus 1 West.

Locus 1 Center

Table 2. Epigraphic Finds from ‘Temple’ M₁ Locus 1 Center

| <i>M₁ Square</i> | <i>Adm</i> | <i>Leg</i> | <i>Let</i> | <i>Rit</i> | <i>Lex</i> | <i>Div</i> | <i>Inc</i> | <i>Lit</i> | <i>Un</i> | <i>Tot</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| I NW | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 36 |
| % L 1 C | 6 | 11 | 3 | 6 | 42 | 17 | 0 | 3 | 14 | 100 |
| % M ₁ genre | 2 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 |

Only a small fraction of the total number of inscribed objects from ‘Temple’ M₁ were found in the central part of Locus 1. Almost two-thirds of these pieces were lexical texts, literary texts, or omen compendia, but no incantations were found in this area. The remaining practical documents and ritual texts are consistent with the other finds from Locus 1, particularly Locus 1 West. However, it is worth noting that as many legal documents were found in Locus 1 Center as in Locus 1 West, namely, four each.

Locus 1 North

Table 3. Epigraphic Finds from ‘Temple’ M₁ Locus 1 North

| <i>M₁ Square</i> | <i>Adm</i> | <i>Leg</i> | <i>Let</i> | <i>Rit</i> | <i>Lex</i> | <i>Div</i> | <i>Inc</i> | <i>Lit</i> | <i>Un</i> | <i>Tot</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| IV SW ⁹ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 16 |
| % L 1 N | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 13 | 63 | 0 | 6 | 13 | 100 |
| % M ₁ genre | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 5.4 | 0 | 1.9 | 0.4 | 0.9 |

About 1% of the inscribed objects from ‘Temple’ M₁ were found in Locus 1 North. No administrative texts, legal texts, or letters were found in Locus 1 North, and likewise no incantations were present in this area. Omens

⁹ Surface clearing.

constitute the only text type present in any significant number, still only about 5% of the total number of omen texts from ‘Temple’ M₁.

Locus 1 Uncertain

There is some uncertainty about the find-spots of three subsets of epigraphic data associated with Locus 1 in ‘Temple’ M₁: pieces that are difficult to associate with the architecture; pieces that came from either Locus 1 or Locus 3; and pieces that came from either Locus 1 or Locus 2.

Table 4. Epigraphic Finds from ‘Temple’ M₁ Locus 1 Uncertain, North

| <i>M₁ Square</i> | <i>Adm</i> | <i>Leg</i> | <i>Let</i> | <i>Rit</i> | <i>Lex</i> | <i>Div</i> | <i>Inc</i> | <i>Lit</i> | <i>Un</i> | <i>Tot</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| IV NW | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| % L 1 Unc. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| % M ₁ genre | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.1 |

Only two lexical tablets were found in M IV NW. The vast majority of lexical tablets were found in Locus 1, so this result is basically consistent with what else is known about Locus 1. Since trench M IV NW was opened after the main room had been defined and cleared, it is not certain where these pieces were found in relation to the architecture of ‘Temple’ M₁.

Table 5. Epigraphic Finds from ‘Temple’ M₁ Locus 1 Uncertain, Locus 1–Locus 3

| <i>M₁ Square</i> | <i>Adm</i> | <i>Leg</i> | <i>Let</i> | <i>Rit</i> | <i>Lex</i> | <i>Div</i> | <i>Inc</i> | <i>Lit</i> | <i>Un</i> | <i>Tot</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| Former R | 13 | 66 | 1 | 10 | 29 | 24 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 154 |
| I SW | 7 | 25 | 0 | 47 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 90 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 91 | 1 | 57 | 30 | 26 | 1 | 2 | 16 | 244 |
| % L 1–L 3 | 8.2 | 37.3 | 0.4 | 23.4 | 12.3 | 10.7 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 6.6 | 100 |
| % M ₁ genre | 20 | 71 | 6 | 31 | 5 | 14 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 14 |

M₁ (former R) and M I SW are the most problematic trenches for this analysis, since they fall in and around the doorway that connected Locus 1 and Locus 3. Until additional find-spot information is published, it will be virtually impossible to disentangle this sub-corpus, necessitating only vague comparisons with those groups of tablets that can be confidently assigned to one locus or the other. For example, since no letters, literary texts, omen compendia, or incantations can be assigned to Locus 3, it may be that these pieces were found in Locus 1. Similarly, only one lexical text was found in Locus 3, so perhaps the lexical tablets came from Locus 1. Since most of the administrative texts from ‘Temple’ M₁ were

found in Locus 1 West, the administrative documents, almost 20% of the total from ‘Temple’ M₁, may have come from Locus 1. The most significant problem here is that it is impossible at present to determine whether any of the pieces found in these trenches upset the general distributional trends for Locus 1 and Locus 3. Unfortunately, the majority (71.1%) of legal documents from ‘Temple’ M₁ were found in this area.

Table 6. Epigraphic Finds from ‘Temple’ M₁ Locus 2 Uncertain, Locus 1–Locus 2

| <i>M₁ Square</i> | <i>Adm</i> | <i>Leg</i> | <i>Let</i> | <i>Rit</i> | <i>Lex</i> | <i>Div</i> | <i>Inc</i> | <i>Lit</i> | <i>Un</i> | <i>Tot</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| I NE | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 12 |
| % L 1–L 2 | 25 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 8 | 100 |
| % M ₁ genre | 3.0 | 3.1 | 0 | 0 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 2.6 | 0 | 0.2 | 0.7 |

The contents of Locus 2 are the least clear of the three rooms, thus the only possible comparison is with the contents of Locus 1. It is likely that the omen compendium and incantation should be associated with Locus 1. The absence of any letters, literary texts, and ritual texts is noteworthy but may not be truly representative, since only twelve inscribed pieces were found in M I NE. It is unclear whether the administrative, legal, and lexical tablets should be ascribed to Locus 1 or Locus 2, but perhaps the lexical pieces belong to Locus 1 and the legal tablets to Locus 2.

Locus 3

Two groups of inscribed artifacts can be associated with the south side room, Locus 3. The first group can be confidently attributed to Locus 3. The second group consists of tablets and fragments that may have been found in Locus 2 or Locus 3 as well as those that may have been found in Locus 1 or Locus 3.

Locus 3

Table 7. Epigraphic Finds from ‘Temple’ M₁ Locus 3

| <i>M₁ Square</i> | <i>Adm</i> | <i>Leg</i> | <i>Let</i> | <i>Rit</i> | <i>Lex</i> | <i>Div</i> | <i>Inc</i> | <i>Lit</i> | <i>Un</i> | <i>Tot</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| I SW-SE | 4 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 20 |
| I SW-II NW | 1 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 20 |
| II NE? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 5 | 12 | 0 | 19 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 41 |
| % L 3 | 12 | 29 | 0 | 46 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 100 |
| % M ₁ genre | 5.0 | 9.4 | 0 | 10.3 | 0.2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.9 | 2.4 |

Almost half of the inscribed artifacts that can be safely attributed to Locus 3 are ritual texts (46%), about one-tenth (10.3%) of the total number of ritual tablets from ‘Temple’ M₁. The only other genre present in any quantity (29%) here are legal tablets, again almost one-tenth (9.4%) of the total number of legal tablets from ‘Temple’ M₁.

Locus 3 Uncertain

Table 8. Epigraphic Finds from ‘Temple’ M₁ Locus 3 Uncertain, Locus 2–Locus 3

| <i>M₁ Square</i> | <i>Adm</i> | <i>Leg</i> | <i>Let</i> | <i>Rit</i> | <i>Lex</i> | <i>Div</i> | <i>Inc</i> | <i>Lit</i> | <i>Un</i> | <i>Tot</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| I SE | 1 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 18 |
| % L 2–L 3 | 6 | 39 | 0 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 22 | 100 |
| % M ₁ genre | 1.0 | 5.5 | 0 | 3.3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.9 | 1.1 |

Locus 2 and Locus 3 both fall in M I SE. Although only eighteen inscribed objects were found in M I SE, the contents are basically consistent with what can be attributed to Locus 3, that is, mostly legal and ritual documents.

See Table 5 above for a summary of the inscribed artifacts from the excavation units that overlap both Locus 1 or Locus 3.

Locus 2

The contents and character of Locus 2 are ill defined. Based on the reconstruction suggested here, none of the excavation squares fell only in Locus 2, so there is nothing with which to compare the finds that can be safely ascribed to Locus 1 and Locus 3. Moreover, only thirty inscribed objects were found in M I NE (twelve) and M I SE (eighteen) combined, that is, not even 2% of the excavated corpus from ‘Temple’ M₁. See Table 6 for the epigraphic finds from either Locus 1 or Locus 2. See Table 8 for the epigraphic finds that may be attributed to Locus 2 or Locus 3. These may derive from Locus 3, so it may be that Locus 2 originally did not hold any tablets at all.

Appendix A summarizes the excavation areas and architecture in which all of the inscribed pieces from Emar were excavated, and Appendix D.2 summarizes the number of pieces of each genre found in each find-spot in ‘Temple’ M₁.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERPRETING THE 'TEMPLE' M₁ TABLET COLLECTION

The first published descriptions of the textual finds from 'Temple' M₁ refer to a temple housing "la bibliothèque d'un devin de la fin du Bronze Récent" (Margueron 1975a: 209). This proposition lays bare certain assumptions about the textual genres found in the building as well as the dossier(s) that can be isolated within the texts. The genres and dossiers found in the tablet collection from 'Temple' M₁ thus merit a careful re-examination.

Having presented the archaeological provenience, basic contents, and macrostructure of the 'Temple' M₁ archive by excavation unit and locus in Chapter 3, the following chapter examines the specific genres and dossiers found in the archive, as well as the essential data needed to estimate the total number of tablets and fragments that make up the collection as a whole. This assessment of the contents and structure of the 'Temple' M₁ text corpus will in turn result in a useful framework for assessing the possible factors and dynamics at work in the formation of the tablet collection.

GENRES FOUND IN THE TABLET COLLECTION

In order to appreciate the significance of the archaeological distribution of find-spots discussed in the previous chapters, it is necessary to examine the specific genres found in the excavated text corpus from Emar in general and 'Temple' M₁ in particular. For each genre and subgenre, or text, different pieces can be identified as tablets and fragments. For the purposes of this study, the end result of this classification is twofold. First, this classification allows for a total description of the excavated tablets found at Emar. Second, the resulting catalogue makes it possible to approximate a minimum number of individual tablets for each genre and text as well as the minimum number of individual tablets found in 'Temple' M₁ and, therefore, the Emar text corpus as a whole.

The discussion below will present several different facets of each genre and text. Pertinent elements include:

1. The characteristics of the specific genre and subgenre or text; as in previous chapters, the genres are: Administrative Records, Legal Documents, Letters, Public Ritual Texts, Lexical Texts, Divinatory Texts, Incantations and Rituals, Literary Texts, and Uncertain Texts; the subgenres/texts are listed in Appendix B.
2. The total number of individual inscribed objects after joins from each excavation area and/or building, i.e., the minimum number of individual tablets.
3. The typology of the tablets, with an emphasis on the scribal school that produced the tablet, primarily Syrian, Syro-Hittite, and uncertain.
4. The areas and loci (i.e., rooms) where the pieces were found and the units between which joins were made; for 'Temple' M₁ this is based on the reconstruction of the areas and loci in Chapter 3 (see Figs. 5–17).
5. At the end of each section devoted to a specific genre, sub-totals of tablets and fragments organized by tablet type and text (Tables 9–17).

As indicated in Chapter 3, in 'Temple' M₁ some correlation is observed between the excavation areas and the genres present. Nevertheless, joins can be made between fragments found in a number of different excavation units and rooms.¹

Before examining the various genres present in the Emar text corpus, I will briefly define what is meant by tablet and fragment for the purposes of the catalogue found in the appendices and the statistics presented here. A 'tablet' represents an identifiably discrete, recoverable manuscript or some fragment thereof. In other words, for the purposes of this catalogue a tablet need not be entirely or even significantly preserved. When a fragment cannot be identified as an obviously distinct source and cannot be joined to one of the identified tablets, then it is referred to as a fragment. This distinction is particularly relevant for lexical texts, for which it is possible to discern different tablets (i.e., copies) by the existence of duplicates. It must be kept in mind that, based on these criteria, it is only the minimum number of separate objects that can be reconstructed. It is entirely possible that each fragment represents a separate original source, thus the sum of the number of tablets and the number of fragments is the maximum number of possible separate objects. These lower and upper bounds are useful indices of the possible size and composition of the

¹ Note the possibility of a similar situation in ceramic analyses, e.g., instances where potsherds found in different adjacent rooms all belong to one vessel (Otto 2006a: 17).

tablet collection at the time it took its final frozen form. Due to the large number of extremely small unidentifiable fragments, the actual number of tablets from the 'Temple' M₁ text corpus was probably closer to the total number of tablets, i.e., the minimum number of individuals. However, even this number is only an approximation of the number of tablets in storage, use, or circulation at the time of the catastrophe that effectively sealed the preserved portion of the tablet collection.

The data discussed and elaborated upon below are also presented in Appendix B, which in turn is keyed to the elements of this section.

Administrative Records (Appendix B.1)

The administrative texts from Emar have received the least systematic attention since the discovery of the site (Faist 2008). This is due in large part to the specific difficulties posed by these often laconic texts. In order to grasp the live, active economic existence preserved in the 'Temple' M₁ archive, it is necessary to look at the different types of economic transactions that were recorded.

The range of administrative activities is illustrative. The records from across the site as a whole refer to transactions involving animals (sheep-goats, oxen, equids), cultic offerings, grains, cultic inventories, receipts for manufacture, possible memoranda, metals, persons, real estate, tags, textiles, various items, vessels, weapons, and weights. A number of uncertain texts and fragments are difficult to integrate into these groups.

Animals

These texts record transactions involving male and female sheep-goats, lambs, equids, and oxen. Other texts that mention animals are the administrative texts that deal with various items and the ritual texts that have schedules of animal offerings. In virtually every instance that a tablet is completely preserved these documents contain numbers of the animals present and personal names. This indicates that the texts related to donations that are the responsibility of the named individuals (e.g., *Emar* 323) or distributions received by those individuals. These lists may have had a cultic dimension. In instances where the cultic element is explicitly stated, the tablets are catalogued with other texts dealing with the administration of the cult (e.g., *Emar* 381).

'Temple' M₁ contained a total of six tablets and eight fragments, including an additional fragment that I identified: Msk 74234f. All of these tablets and fragments were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE and M III SE). These

tablets are all SH, except for those few instances where the type cannot be identified with certainty. None of the tablets was sealed.

One tablet was found in Area V (*Emar* 132), so it cannot be said that this subgenre is present only in temple archives.

Cult

A few tablets pertain to the administration of the cult. These texts recount the gifting of various goods either to the gods generally or to specifically named gods. In this way they are similar to the offering lists found in the ritual corpus. The goods include various vessels of wine, birds, breads, and animals. Some lists do not mention the item. Instead they contain numbers before each DN (e.g., *Emar* 382) or simply a list of DNs (e.g., *Emar* 378). The short memorandum *Emar* 367 appears to offer a small insight into the redistribution of offerings and thus provides information on how the cult administrators provided for themselves; however, other interpretations of this text are possible (cf. Seminara 1998: 242). In one tablet (*Emar* 63) that may belong to this subgenre various cultic functionaries receive a given number of shekels, presumably silver, as the GARZA = *paršu* of . . . (*Emar* 63:2'; cf. CAD P 199–200).

'Temple' M₁ contained ten tablets and four fragments, most of which came from Locus 1 West (M III NE, one fragment M III SE). Two tablets were found in Locus 1 Center (M I NW), and one fragment was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW). The tablets are either SH or uncertain. Two short records of vessels of wine given to the gods bear the seal used by the diviner Ba'l-qarrād (A62; *Emar* 363, *Emar* 364; cf. Cohen 2009: 155–156). There is no indication of whether subsequent diviners used this seal for administrative purposes, but that cannot be ruled out as a possibility. If some later diviner such as Ba'l-mālik used this seal, that would account for why ephemeral records like *Emar* 363–364 survived in the archive after Ba'l-qarrād's death, which is mentioned in *Emar* 212.

One tablet (*Emar* 63) was found in the North Temple in Area E (= Temple of Aštart).

(See also Animals, Inventories.)

Grains

These texts pertain in some way to the receipt or distribution of grain products, typically simply ŠE or ŠE.MEŠ. One SH tablet (*Emar* 319) documents loans (ŠE.MEŠ ša i-na ħu-ub-te-ti na-ad-na) of grain (4–20 *parīsu*) to

fifteen individuals.² The first person named among the recipients is one Zū-Ašarti, son of Ba'l-qarrād, who was perhaps the diviner by that name (cf. *SMEA* 30, no. 7:4). Other lists of grain (*Emar* 279; *Emar* 312, mostly given to women) may be interpreted as distributions, or perhaps as loans. However, a short memorandum points to grain given out *a-na* šU PN 'to the hand of PN' (*Emar* 316). On the other hand, it is possible that such unlabeled records refer to the receipt of grain. Another text indirectly documents the grain coming in, probably as offerings: a total of nine PNs are followed by the statement LU₂.MEŠ *ša* še.MEŠ *la-a id-di-nu* "those who did not give grain," and the total šU.NIGIN₂ 34 E₂.ĜI.A "Total: thirty-four house(hold)s" (*Emar* 320:11–13). This total seems to imply that some or all of the individuals named were either exempted from or very much responsible for providing grain on behalf of more than one household. One highly fragmentary tablet documents grain given to various unnamed officials, such as the overseer of scribes, UGULA LU₂.DU[B.SAR.MEŠ] (*Emar* 315).

'Temple' M₁ contained seven administrative tablets dealing with the receipt or distribution of grains. Five tablets came from Locus 1 West (M III NE), one tablet was found in Locus 3 (M I SW-SE), and one tablet came from the first excavations in 1973 and thus from either Locus 1 or Locus 3. These tablets were either Syro-Hittite or uncertain in type, though the uncertain tablets may well be Syro-Hittite as well. The one document from Locus 3 was sealed with an otherwise unattested Mittanian-style seal (E71).

In 1999 the German-Syrian excavations uncovered a Syrian-type tablet relating to grain distribution. This tablet remains unpublished, but it was found in a domestic setting that would be consistent with grain processing (Faist in Finkbeiner 2001: 103).

Inventories

The texts categorized as inventories are inventories of a specific kind, namely, inventories of cultic objects associated with a specific god or gods. Because of their distinct textual characteristics, the cultic inventories are kept separate from the other texts dealing with the administration of the cult. However, a proper reckoning of the administration of the cult

² On the *parīsu* measure at Emar and elsewhere, see Westenholz 2000: xiv; Zeeb 2001: 133–134, 200–205; CAD P 186 sub *parīsu* B.

as documented in the ‘Temple’ M₁ tablet collection would have to include administrative records dealing with animals, the cult proper (primarily offering lists), and the inventories. Some of the inventory texts employ the term *šukuttu* (*Emar* 282; *Emar* 288; *Emar* 43), another uses the term *unūtu* (*Emar* 284), others bear no identifying rubric at all (*Emar* 287; *Emar* 289).³ These texts list precious metals and stones that were used to adorn cultic statues and other sacred objects. One inventory (*Emar* 282) has an appendix with a list of fourteen stones. This list, which does not indicate any quantities, has a few entries that correspond with items in the inventory. It may have been an aide-mémoire or even a short scribal exercise.

Seven tablets, two highly fragmentary, were found in ‘Temple’ M₁. Five were found in 1973 in either Locus 1 or Locus 3, and the other two were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE). The tablets that can be typed are Syro-Hittite, and the others that are uncertain may well be Syro-Hittite as well. *Emar* 287 bears the sealings of the diviner Baʿl-mālik (A69) and the Hittite official Kili-Šarruma (B64; cf. Cohen 2009: 114). An inventory looted from Emar is likewise impressed with both of their seals (CM 13, no. 29).

Sealings demonstrate a connection between the diviner’s of ‘Temple’ M₁ and one of the Area E temples. *Emar* 43, an inventory from the south temple, the Temple of the Storm-god, bears the sealings of Kāpī-Dagān, diviner, Baʿl-mālik, who did not (yet?) have the title of diviner, Ari-Šarruma, scribe, and one Abunni.

Other inventories probably looted from Emar have surfaced on the antiquities market (e.g., CM 13, nos. 25–29, and perhaps no. 30).

(See also Cult.)

Manufacture

A small number of texts refer to the delivery of silver and gold for manufacture, (*ana*) *epēši nadānu*. Only four texts of this kind are known, and all were found in the southern temple in Area E, i.e., the Temple of the Storm-god. Three of the texts (*Emar* 56–58) state that quantities of the metals

³ The term *šukuttu*, meaning “jewelry” (CAD Š/3 237–239), “Ausstattung, Schmuck” (AHw. 1266–1267), is used for objects belonging to both humans and divinities (for the latter in the Neo-Babylonian period, see Beaulieu 2003: 8–14). The closest parallels to the present text are found in the late-OB inventories from Qatna: *ṭuppi šukutti ša* ^dNIN.E₂.GAL *bēlti* ^{un}*Qatna*^{ki} (Bottéro 1949: 138, lines 1–2); *ṭuppi šukutti ša* DINGIR.MEŠ *šarri* (Bottéro 1949: 174, line 1; pp. 33–34 for the interpretation of DINGIR.MEŠ as singular). In contrast, *unūtu*, “utensils, furnishings, vessels, belongings” (CAD U/W 176b sub *unutu*), has relatively fewer cultic connotations per se (cf. AHw. 1422–1423).

are given to someone named Ḫaya, who lacks a title. One text (*Emar* 56) contains the name of the man who gave the silver, and two texts (*Emar* 57–58) end with the expression NIG₂ ^dU “property of the Storm-god.” The one text not associated with Ḫaya (*Emar* 51) has one hundred shekels of silver going to one Ipqi-Dagān, and an unnamed priest (zā[biḫu]) is responsible for the sum.

Seals of two diviners are present on two separate tablets. *Emar* 57 bears a sealing by Bēlu-qarrād (B4), son of Kāpī-Dagān, diviner, while *Emar* 56 was sealed by the diviner Baʿl-mālik (A69). These four small tablets were probably written in the Syro-Hittite style.

Memoranda

Although a number of texts could be characterized as memoranda dealing with other specific items, one tablet from House A V is difficult to classify (*Emar* 27), so it is catalogued as simply a memorandum. It may be a short letter report.

Metals

Two tablets (*Emar* 366; *Emar* 368) deal specifically with the metals designated ZABAR “bronze” and URUDU “copper.” Both contain the problematic term *ku-ba-di* that has been understood to refer to metalwork(ers) (Durand and Joannès 1990) or some cultic ceremony (Pentiuc 2001: 106–107). Both of these lists contain PNs. One list gives specific amounts (50 or 70) of ZABAR (*Emar* 366), and the other mentions amounts only sparingly (25 URUDU.MEŠ, *Emar* 368:9–10, cf. 13).

Both tablets were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE) of ‘Temple’ M₁ and were written in the Syro-Hittite style. *Emar* 366 bears an impression of a seal used by the diviner Baʿl-qarrād (A62).

Persons

Lists of persons are an extremely common type of administrative document from LBA Syria and ancient Mesopotamia more generally. Some of these documents bear rubrics or other distinguishing features that specify the reason for the list, such as a record of payment or receipt of payment, a list of workers or work responsibilities, and the like.

One large tablet (*Emar* 336) is simply a list of names (PN, son of PN₂) with some titles and no identifying features that would give some sense of why the text was written. In contrast, a small memorandum (*Emar* 311)

mentions various numbers of men (ERIN₂.MEŠ) to be supplied by four different individuals, and all of the men are entrusted to Baʿl-mālik, probably the diviner by that name from the penultimate generation documented in ‘Temple’ M₁. At least one tablet (*Emar* 277) seems to record payments of silver coming in ([x] GIN₂ ša PN DUMU PN₂) and going out (n GIN₂ a-na PN; in one instance a-na GN = Qadesh).

One tablet (*Emar* 275) and one fragment (*Emar* 351) were found during the 1973 excavations and so can be assigned to either Locus 1 or Locus 3. Based on the joins to be made among the pieces, *Emar* 277 can be assigned to Locus 3 (M I SW-II NW, as well as the ambiguous square M I SW). Another tablet (*Emar* 276) and fragment (*Emar* 281) cannot be confidently assigned to either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW). The remaining tablets (*Emar* 338, 336, 311) and fragments belong to Locus 1 West (M III NE, some fragments M III SE). All of the tablets and fragments that can be confidently typed belong to the Syro-Hittite tradition.

The only tablet that bears a seal impression comes from ‘Temple’ M₁: *Emar* 275. *Emar* 276 is a fragmentary administrative record that is similar to *Emar* 275 in that both name various cultic officials,⁴ some of whom appear in both records, and both have four-part divisions. In *Emar* 275 the diviner Baʿl-qarrād, son of Zū-Baʿla, is designated as the overseer⁵ over seven houses, perhaps temples, and PNs (Fleming 1992a: 84–86). The PNs listed in *Emar* 275 are further designated *ellūtu*, literally “pure,” which carries the connotation of “free = non-slave” in Hittite texts from the Empire period (Yamada 1995a: 299–301, 312–313). *Emar* 276 also mentions the weapon of the EREŠ.DINGIR-priestess (*Emar* 276:6, 8, 14?).

Tablets with PN lists were also found in Temple M₁ (one), Area C (two), Area T (one), and the Area E temples (north: two; south: one). One fragmentary tablet was found during the German-Syrian excavations in 1999.

Properties

Lists of properties are rare in Emar. ‘Temple’ M₁ furnishes one tablet (*Emar* 168) and two fragments. The two fragments may belong to *Emar* 168 or be

⁴ The titles include *zābiḫus* or slaughterers of Baʿl, Dagān, and Ninurta (Pentiuć 2001: 193–194), the EREŠ.DINGIR of Baʿl/the Storm-god, and the otherwise unknown *wābil ilāʾi*, literally one who carries the gods (Pentiuć 2001: 82–83).

⁵ For the construction UGULA PN, see CAD A/1 277b, 280b and AuOrS 1, 98:12–13, a tablet from the LBA Middle Euphrates.

from a similar text. *Emar* 168 appears to be a land registry. It is possible to identify contracts from the ‘Temple’ M₁ archive that describe the same properties that are listed in *Emar* 168:

Lines 4’–7’ =⁶ CM 13, no. 8⁶

Ba’l-qarrād, son Zū-Ba’la, diviner, purchases orchard, 30 shekels silver.

Lines 8’–12’ = *Emar* 206

Ba’l-qarrād, son of Zū-Ba’la, diviner, purchases orchard.

Lines 24’–28’ = *Emar* 137:22–33

Iššur-Dagān, son of the king, purchases field, 30 shekels silver.

This correspondence shows that tablets like *Emar* 137 acted as part of the title, that is, the tablets forming the chain of transmission that could be used to document property rights (cf. Di Filippo 2008: 57–61).

The tablet and fragments were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE). *Emar* 168 and *Emar* 169 are both written in the Syro-Hittite tradition, and *Emar* 170 is uncertain.

Tags

Two tags were found in the south temple of Area E, i.e., the Temple of the Storm-god. These short tags would have been used to identify the contents of a container or basket, Akkadian *pisannu* (CAD P 420–423). Written in the Syrian script, *Emar* 62 is a tag for a basket used to store tablets, ^gPISAN / ša *ṭup-pu* (CAD P 422b; cf. *pisanduppu* CAD P 420b). It may be that some of the tablets from the south temple in Area E were found near *Emar* 62. On the other hand, the contents of the basket are unknown, but its tag, the Syro-Hittite tablet *Emar* 61, bears the seal impressions of Šadiya (C5), the diviner Ba’l-mālik (A69), the Hittite official Kili-Šarruma (B63).

Textiles

Only two tablets have been found that deal primarily with textiles. The first is *Emar* 22, probably the first tablet to be found at the site in what was later identified as the Area A “Palace.” A small fragment from Temple M₂ lists a few garments as well. Neither was sealed, and *Emar* 22 appears to have been written in the Syro-Hittite script.

⁶ CM 13, no. 8 may have been looted from ‘Temple’ M₁ (Fleming 2002: 365–366).

Various Items

Some administrative records deal with a number of different items, such as precious metals (silver, gold), metal tools and implements, textiles, vessels, animals, weapons, and other mobilia, such as furniture. Two such tablets dealing primarily with weapons refer to a *riksu* (*Emar* 285, *Emar* 290), a packet or bundle (CAD R 350b). These texts both mention that the contents were not recorded on a writing board, indicating the widely recognized existence of a parallel, more perishable record-keeping system. One memorandum deals with grain, and the sale of six equids for one shekel of silver (*Emar* 317). *Emar* 321 refers to ninety-two animals (forty-seven ANŠE.EDIN.NA and forty-five MAŠ.DA₃) in association with PNs and institutions, such as the palace (lines 1–4: *an-nu-tu*₄ *ša* E₂.GAL-*li*₃) and the overseer of the land (line 7: 2 MIN(ANŠE.EDIN.NA) *a-na* E₂ UGULA KALAM. MA *il-qu*).

The seven tablets from ‘Temple’ M₁ were all found in Locus 1 West (five in M III NE, two in M III SE). One fragment was found during the first 1973 excavations, and another fragment came from Locus 1 Center (M I NW). All but one of the tablets can be confidently identified as Syro-Hittite in style.

Only two documents are sealed: *Emar* 285 and *Emar* 290. The sealing on *Emar* 290 is the only attestation of that seal (B49), a situation that is unfortunately rather common in the corpus. *Emar* 285 bears two impressions from two seals, namely, an otherwise unknown seal (B47) and the seal of Baʿl-mālik, here referred to as “son of a diviner.” This is a significant piece of information because the text of *Emar* 285 refers to the seal of Kāpī-Dagān, diviner, having been used to seal a *riksu* (*Emar* 285:11–12). Presumably this sealed bundle of silver goods came into ‘Temple’ M₁ and was then inventoried in *Emar* 285.

The Syro-Hittite tablet *Emar* 71 from Temple M₂ is included here because the item it refers to as simply DIN remains unidentified. Arnaud proposed that the DIN was “un objet en forme d’ankh” (Arnaud 1986: 80), which is highly suspect.

Vessels

These texts refer to the receipt or distribution of vessels. Two texts mention groups (*Emar* 283, LU₂.MEŠ ŠU.SILA₃.DU₈¹; *Emar* 306, LU₂.MEŠ *tāḫazi* ZI (= *nashūti*?), also LU₂.ME *ša illati*), while others contain PNs (*Emar* 305, *Emar* 307; cf. also *Emar* 306). The vessel types are difficult to match with what little is known about the LBA ceramic sequence from Emar and the Middle Euphrates more generally.

All four tablets from 'Temple' M₁ were written in the Syro-Hittite style and were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE). Only *Emar* 305 was sealed, and it bears three impressions of the seal used by Ba'l-mālik (A69).

The one tablet written in the Syrian style was found in the southern temple in Area E, the Temple of the Storm-god (*Emar* 50).

Weapons

Administrative records dealing solely with weapons are known principally from the south temple in Area E, the Temple of the Storm-god. These texts account for various types of weapons such as ŠUKUR, ^{gis}PAN, and simply ^{gis}TUKUL, as well as the syllabic terms *katappu* and *kattinnu* (Vita and Watson 2002). Two tablets actually state that they are records of weapons being taken from the Temple of the Storm-god (*Emar* 45; *Emar* 52).

All of the tablets are written in the Syrian style, including an unpublished tablet found in 1999 by German-Syrian excavators.

Weights

Only one inscribed weight was found in Area C at Emar (*Emar* 38). It was inscribed in a lapidary script, which is typical of inscribed weights from other sites and periods. A number of texts refer to different standards of weights and measures employed in Emar. The local standard was referred to as *i-na* NA₄.MEŠ ^{uru}*E-mar* (*Emar* 75:3; cf. CM 13, no. 4:8; see Westenholz 2000: xiv). *Emar* 38 appears to be a foreign import based on the Babylonian PN Dayyān-Marduk in the inscription: 2/3 MA.[NA] / ša DI.KUD-^dAMAR.[UTU].

Uncertain Tablets and Fragments

A small group of what appear to be administrative texts are difficult to assign to a particular category. Two of the three tablets appear to be memoranda of some sort (*Emar* 278; *Emar* 309). *Emar* 361 stands out as peculiar, since it mentions the note of transfer of servants, animals, garments, grain of P[N], the LU₂.UR₃.RA of the queen from Qadesh (Qissu) to Šatappi, the town near Emar that has yet to be identified and may now be submerged beneath the waters of Lake Assad.

All of the uncertain pieces come from 'Temple' M₁. Two tablets were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE), and one tablet came from either Locus 3 or Locus 2 (M I SE). A fragment was found in 1973, and two fragments came from either Locus 2 or Locus 1 (M I NE) and one from Locus 1 West (M III SE). All three tablets were written in the Syro-Hittite style.

Table 9. 'Temple' M₁: Administrative Records, Genre by Tablet Type

| <i>Administrative</i> | <i>Tablets</i> | | | | <i>Fragments</i> | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Animals | 0 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Cult | 0 | 8 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Grains | 0 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Inventories | 0 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Metals | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Persons | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 8 | 5 | 13 |
| Properties | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Various | 0 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Vessels | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| Uncertain | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 0 | 44 | 9 | 53 | 0 | 11 | 30 | 41 |
| % Genre | 0 | 83 | 17 | 100 | 0 | 27 | 73 | 100 |

Some fourteen other fragments may be from administrative texts, but they are difficult to identify any further. Nine came from 'Temple' M₁: one recently published fragment bearing an Egyptian scarab seal (K₁) was found in 1973 (Msk 731080v; Beyer 2001: 284–285, pl. 37), two came from Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW), one from Locus 3 (M I SW-II NW), and the rest were from Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE). Fragments were also found in the south temple in Area E (Temple of the Storm-god), Area T, and Area V.

Legal Documents (Appendix B.2)

The legal texts from Emar and the Middle Euphrates are arguably the most well-studied genre from the site and region (e.g., Westbrook 2003; Démare-Lafont 2010). The legal arrangements that are documented include adoptions, court cases and the resolution of legal disputes, loans, marriages, pledges and security for debt, ransoms, transactions (sales, divisions, transfers, exchanges) involving a variety of types of real estate (houses, lots, fields, vineyards, orchards), royal grants, sales of slaves, and testaments.

Adoption

Only two tablets from Emar can be thought of as dealing primarily with adoption, though adoptions are amply documented in other genres, such

as in testaments (Bellotto 2004, 2008, 2009; cf. Seminara 1998: 6). Based on its witness list, *Emar* 256 dates to the reign of king Zū-Ašṭarti, son of Baʿl-kabar I. It is not clear why it was present in 'Temple' M₁. The one Syrian type tablet from 'Temple' M₁ was found in 1973 in either Locus 1 or Locus 3. An adoption contract was also found in House A V in Area A (*Emar* 29).

(See also Testament).

Dispute/Litigation

Court cases generally appear before the king, the elders of the city, and the Hittite overseer of the land (UGULA KALAM.MA) (cf. Démare-Lafont 2006). All five of the Syro-Hittite tablets from 'Temple' M₁ were found in 1973. Only two of the five documents can be related easily to other records in 'Temple' M₁: *Emar* 205 (Ibni-Dagān, son of Zū-Baʿla, diviner) and *Emar* 212 (Baʿl-mālik, diviner; affair of Baʿl-qarrād). Tablets recording legal disputes were also found in two jars in the Area A "Palace," in House A V in Area A, in Area C, and in Area T.

Loan

The majority of documents that have survived are records of the repayment of a loan, typically between two and a half and 272 shekels silver (Ono 1997). Similar texts can be found under Pledge/Security below. The one tablet from 'Temple' M₁ (*Emar* 200) was written in the Syro-Hittite style and was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW). This text documents the repayment of a loan of thirty shekels silver made to Zū-Baʿla, presumably the diviner, and that loan was subsequently repaid by his son Baʿl-qarrād.

Three documents recording loans were found in House A V in Area A, among them the dated tablet *Emar* 26 (Meli-Šipak 1, 2nd Ulūlu = ca. 1186 BCE, see Brinkman 1993), which can be synchronized with the other archives in Emar (Cohen and Singer 2006). Tablets were found in both Area T (two) and Area V (two).

Marriage

The only document that deals solely with marriage is *Emar* 124, a Syro-Hittite tablet from Area V. Other texts, such as Adoptions, Pledges, and Testaments, also refer to marriage arrangements.

(See also Adoption; Pledge/Security; Testament.)

Pledge/Security

This group of texts deal with the various means of establishing security for an unpaid debt in LBA Emar, including pledge (i.e., property or family members given to the creditor), surety (i.e., third party guarantee), distraint (i.e., seizure of pledge), and perhaps antichretic pledge (i.e., pledge to guarantee the payment of interest) (Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1991; Skaist 2001). Two tablets were found in 'Temple' M₁, and both are Syro-Hittite. *Emar* 209⁷ was found in Locus 1 West (M III NE), and the fragmentary *Emar* 210 was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW). Both relate to Ba^l-qarrād, son of Zū- Ba^lla, diviner.

Ransom

One Syro-Hittite tablet was found in the "Palace" in Area A. This text (*Emar* 21) records an individual's payment of sixty shekels silver as his ransom (*ip-te₄-ri-šu*) along with fourteen shekels silver for some garments. The silver was paid to another man's servant. The most significant features are the use of metrology of Amurru (*i-na* NA₄.MEŠ KUR *A-mur-ri*, *Emar* 21:3–4) and the labeling of two of the witnesses as being from Palmyra (LU₂ ^{um}*Ta-ad-mi-ir*; *Emar* 21:16–18; see Arnaud 1982a).

Real Estate

A large number of types of legal texts from Emar deal with real estate transactions (e.g., Lipiński 1992; Fijałkowska 2007). Documents most often refer to the sales of houses (E₂-tu₄) and other buildings (*ḥablu*, *tugguru*, and others),⁸ lots (*ki-ir-ši-tu₄* / KI.er-še-tu₄ / KI^{er-še-tu₄}), fields (A.ŠA₃), vineyards (^{giš}KIRI₆.GEŠTIN), and orchards (^{giš}KIRI₆.NUMUN).⁹ The majority of documents are sales (Beckman 1997), but divisions, transfers, and exchanges of real estate are known as well (*Emar* 8; *Emar* 10; *Emar* 159). Although there are real estate documents from Emar written in both the Syrian style and the Syro-Hittite style, over 70% of the real estate documents from 'Temple' M₁ are Syrian (see Appendix B.2.7).

Of the tablets found in 'Temple' M₁, nineteen were found in 1973, fourteen Syrian and five Syro-Hittite. One Syrian type tablet (*Emar* 161) was

⁷ Cf. Skaist 2001: 241, not *Emar* 205.

⁸ On the *ḥablu*-building, see Mori 2003a; for the *tugguru*-building, see Mori 2003b: 65–70.

⁹ For a survey of the terminology, see Mori 2003b.

found in either Locus 1 or Locus 2 (M I NE), and one Syrian-type fragment (*Emar* 162) was found in Locus 1 Center (M I NW). Three Syrian tablets were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW): *Emar* 149; *Emar* 163; *Emar* 187. One Syrian tablet can be confidently assigned to Locus 3 (M I SW-II NW): *Emar* 186. One anomaly is the Syro-Hittite tablet that can be assigned to Locus 1 West (M III NE): *Emar* 143.

Two Syrian-type tablets provide joins between pieces excavated in 1973 and pieces in either Locus 2 or Locus 3 (M I SE): *Emar* 138; *Emar* 253. Another Syrian-type tablet (*Emar* 146) provides a join between a piece excavated in 1973 and one from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW).

Royal Grant

Only one Syrian-type tablet was excavated from the Area A "Palace" (*Emar* 17). This text is important for understanding the history of the royal family in Emar, since it documents a thwarted coup d'état (Durand and Marti 2003a: 142–145; Yamada forthcoming b). The purpose of the text appears to be to bestow a royal grant on the individuals who were loyal to the king. It is the only excavated tablet of its kind, but other examples from the Emar corpus were looted from the site (e.g., GsKutscher no. 6).

Slavery

All of the slavery documents from Emar were written in the Syro-Hittite style. Pieces of all seven Syro-Hittite tablets from 'Temple' M₁ were found in 1973. The sole fragment, uncertain in type, was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 2 (M I NE). One tablet (*Emar* 216) consists of two pieces, one from the 1973 excavations and one from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW).

Three terracotta objects from Emar bear impressions from the feet of juveniles (*Emar* 218–220; Leichty 1989; Zaccagnini 1994; Cohen 2005c). Each also has a short inscription that identifies the child by name, and in addition each object has between four and seven seal impressions (Beyer 2001: pls. 29–32).¹⁰ Two additional documents provide the background. Under some unstated financial burden, a woman attempted to sell her daughter to another woman (*Emar* 216). However, the buyer evidently did not pay, leaving the parents of the girl to sell her along with her two

¹⁰ A few of the photographs of the sealings are not accurately labeled in Beyer 2001: pl. 31a is *Emar* 220; pl. 31b bears an impression of A70 (A69 and A70 are confused elsewhere in the volume, probably as a result of a renumbering that was not propagated through the text); pl. 31c is *Emar* 219.

brothers and her infant sister to the diviner Ba'l-mālik for sixty shekels silver (*Emar* 217). The text explicitly refers to the parents impressing their children's feet in clay.¹¹ Four children were sold, but only three foot impressions were found. Perhaps the infant was too young, or the object simply did not survive in the archaeological record. The symbolic act of impressing the foot in clay is associated with outcast infants, foundlings who were then adopted and raised by their finder (Malul 2001).¹² On the identity of the children and possible connections with the other documents from 'Temple' M₁, see the discussion of the titles I₃.ZU and I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR below.

One object was found in 'Temple' M₁ in 1973, and the other from the same building came from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW). Interestingly, the third object in this group was found in Temple M₂.

Testament

The testaments or wills are particularly abundant in the corpus of texts from the LBA Middle Euphrates region (Undheim 2001). They generally contain the term *šimtu* and deal with the division of real estate and mobilia, as well as with adoptions, marriages, and care of the testator or the testator's spouse and/or children. The documents were written in both the Syrian and Syro-Hittite styles, and some of the latter were written in Karkamiš before the king.

Fifteen tablets were found in 'Temple' M₁, eight Syrian-type tablets and seven Syro-Hittite-type tablets. Six of the Syrian tablets were found in 1973, i.e., in either Locus 1 or Locus 3. Of the other two, one (*Emar* 180) was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 2 (M I NE), and one (*Emar* 185) was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW). During the 1973 excavations five of the Syro-Hittite tablets were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3. Another tablet was found in either Locus 2 or Locus 3 (M I SE; *Emar* 203), an additional tablet came from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW; *Emar* 213).

Testaments were also found in the so-called "Palace" in Area A (in two separate jars), in Area C, in Temple M₂, in Area T, and in Area V.

¹¹ The expression is: GIR₃.MEŠ-šū₂-nu . . . i-na IM.MEŠ iš-ku-nu "(the parents) set their (the children's) feet in clay" (*Emar* 217:9–10).

¹² Malul (2001: 362–364) suggests that the lifting of the foot symbolizes relinquishing control, since the footprint is left behind. Taking control of the footprint thus marks taking control of that which has been relinquished.

Table 10. 'Temple' M₁: Legal Documents, Genre by Tablet Type

| <i>Legal</i> | <i>Tablets</i> | | | | <i>Fragments</i> | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Adoption | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dispute | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Loan | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Pledge | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Real Estate | 21 | 8 | 0 | 29 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 16 |
| Slavery | 0 | 7 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Feet of Clay | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Testament | 8 | 7 | 0 | 15 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 7 |
| Uncertain | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 17 | 6 | 26 |
| Fragments | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 30 | 33 | 0 | 63 | 21 | 24 | 10 | 55 |
| % | 48 | 52 | 0 | 100 | 38 | 44 | 18 | 100 |

Uncertain Texts and Fragments

A number of fragments appear to belong to legal texts but cannot be confidently assigned to a particular subgenre. One uncertain Syro-Hittite-type legal tablet from Locus 1 West (M III NE) may be a witness list (*Emar* 254). 20 fragments came from Locus 1 or Locus 3, 3 fragments from Locus 1 Center, 2 fragments from Locus 2 or Locus 3, 5 fragments from Locus 3, and 1 fragment from Locus 1 West.

One fragmentary tablet with unusual legal phraseology was found in Temple M₂. Four excavation numbers from the excavations in the "Palace" in Area A designate what appear to be legal fragments, but one of these actually consists of many tiny fragments; the total appears to be 67. Fragments were likewise found in Area P, Area T, and Area V.

Letters (Appendix B.3)

Letters pose specific archaeological problems because they are documents whose purpose was to communicate over space, that is to say, implied in the very nature of letters as textual artifacts is movement. Thus, documents from diverse locales with radically different concerns can be found in the possession of the recipient. To further complicate matters, it is also possible that copies were kept of letters that had been sent. In such a scenario multiple recipients can appear in the same archive.

Of the sixteen letters found in 'Temple' M₁, fourteen were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE). The one letter from 'Temple' M₁ written in Hittite

Table 11. ‘Temple’ M₁: Letters, Genre by Tablet Type

| Letter | Tablets | | | | Fragments | | | |
|--------|---------|----|-----|-------|-----------|----|-----|-------|
| | S | SH | Un. | Total | S | SH | Un. | Total |
| Letter | 0 | 13 | 3 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 0 | 13 | 3 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| % | 0 | 81 | 19 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 100 | 100 |

was found in 1973. One fragmentary letter was found in Locus 1 Center (M I NW). The cumulative evidence suggests that the Hittite letter should also be associated with Locus 1 and not with Locus 3.

None of the letters from ‘Temple’ M₁ was written in the Syrian style. Most of the letters can be identified as Syro-Hittite in style, but two fragmentary tablets are not conclusive. The Hittite letter was written in an altogether different script, since it came from Ḫattuša itself.

Letters were also found in House A V in Area A, as well as in Area R and in the deep sounding in Area N in Bālis. The tablet from Area R is significant, since it is the only Syrian-type letter excavated from the site. The letter from Area N was written in Hittite, thus it is the only other setting in which a Hittite text was found outside of ‘Temple’ M₁.

Public Rituals (Appendix B.4)

Among the most discussed documents from Emar are the local rituals recorded in Akkadian. This unique text corpus bears witness to a variety of local religious customs. These texts are laconic records of the activities associated with public festivals and initiation rites. They involve various offerings, processions, gifting, and other public rites.

Installation

One set of texts has rituals for the installation of two different female cultic functionaries, the EREŠ.DINGIR (or NIN.DINGIR) of the storm-god and the *maš’artu*. These rites of passage were not tied to the calendar and agricultural cycle, rather they appear to have taken place only when the need arose to install a new priestess in office after the previous occupant had died. Arnaud identified six pieces of the installation ritual for the EREŠ.DINGIR (*Emar* 369) and one large manuscript of the installation ritual for the *maš’artu*. I have identified an additional fragment of the main copy of the ritual from the installation of the *maš’artu*-priestess (Tablet 4), Msk 74293k.

The most complete installation ritual is for a priestess referred to as the EREŠ.DINGIR of the storm-god (composite text *Emar* 369; Dietrich 1989; Fleming 1992a; Schwemer 2001: 555–558). The ereš-dingir is known from throughout greater Mesopotamia from the Sargonic period on (Steinkeller 1999: 120–124) and is even attested in Hittite Hattuša and Kizzuwatna (Taggar-Cohen 2006).¹³ The local Syrian reading of the title is unknown, but one Akkadian rendering from Emar suggests a reading *ittu* or *ettu* for standard Akkadian *entu* (Fleming 1990). However, this gloss is from a school text, specifically an extract (Sumerian, syllabic Sumerian, Akkadian) of Hh 19 (see above), which may not be the most reliable guide.¹⁴ The text describes a ritual that takes place over the course of seven days with numerous actors involved in a number of offerings, processions, gift exchange, and other activities. Specific gestures such as being anointed with oil fit into the late-second-millennium symbolic vocabulary of marriage, and the installation ritual as a whole is suffused with other marriage symbolism. The ritual here seems to play a mediating role in the uneasy moment of equating the storm-god's divine consort, ̜ebat, with the human consort, the EREŠ.DINGIR-priestess. Moreover, a critical element of the ritual process is the transfer of obligations incumbent on the new priestess as she leaves her father's house and becomes a part of the house/temple of the storm-god. In this context the ritual activity is integral to marking the change in the status of this woman, a status which necessarily implied new religious and social obligations.

There are a total of three Syro-Hittite-style manuscripts of the installation ritual for the EREŠ.DINGIR. Tablet 1, *Emar* 369 A: Msk 731027 + Msk 74245, is the main manuscript for the ritual (Fleming 1995b: 141 photo). The text is written in a single column across the tablet, and most of the text is preserved except for a large gouge out of the upper right quadrant of the obverse.

¹³ Note that the Emar rituals for the installation of the EREŠ.DINGIR-priestess are not from "Emar of the Middle Bronze period" (Taggar-Cohen 2006: 317).

¹⁴ This caveat holds for the reading EREŠ.DINGIR of the sign combination NIN.AN as well, since the same source has the syllabic rendering gada-...-ereš-dingir-ra = ka-ad-...-i-ri-iš-ti-gi-ra = ...*i-ti* (*Emar* 556:43', 47'). For evidence of the early readings nin and ereš of the sign NIN, see Marchesi 2004: 186–189. Fleming (1992a: 80 n. 40) is mistaken that the Emar writing "appears to indicate the Sumerian genitive" that is not present in the normative Mesopotamian writings. The Sumerian genitive is present (as is the Akkadian genitive) in each of the examples from Hh 19 ereš-dingir because it is the *nomen rectum* of a genitival construction, for which the correct Auslaut is still -ra.: (garment)-ereš-dingir-ra = [pronounced] (garment)-i-ri-iš-ti-gi-ra = (garment) *i-ti* "(garment) of the EREŠ.DINGIR-priestess."

Tablet 2 is *Emar* 369 B: Msk 731042 (+) C: Msk 74286a. The left edge and the lower left corner are all that remains of B, and C is the upper half of the tablet. Sallaberger (1996: 142–143) plausibly suggested that these pieces probably belong to the same manuscript. Particularly compelling is the fact that the last line of text on the left edge of Tablet 2 starts on the left edge of C and continues on B with only a few signs missing in the break (*Emar* 6/2, p. 596; *Emar* 6/1, p. 123; cf. Fleming 1992a: 29–30, lines 91, 94). The holes that dot both fragments B and C are a further physical characteristic that the two pieces have in common. These “firing holes” penetrate the whole thickness of the tablet (Fleming 1992a: 31). The text of Tablet 2 is shorter than that of Tablet 1, since Tablet 2 omits certain episodes.¹⁵ At one point the texts of the two copies diverge irreconcilably (Fleming 1992a: 16–17, 37–38, lines 31–36). Other noticeable differences are more minor, such as certain minor additions to the text of Tablet 2 (Fleming 1992a: 28, 46, line 83). Finally, Tablet 2 also exhibits some variant orthography and phraseology, though Tablet 1 has relatively more scribal errors (Fleming 1992a: 11).

Tablet 3 is *Emar* 369 D: Msk 731061 + Msk 74274 (+?) *Emar* 402 = Msk 74286e. Sallaberger (1996: 143) proffers that these pieces may belong to the same source, but the case here is less compelling than with the pieces assigned to Tablet 2. D represents only the lower right corner of Tablet 3.

Unlike the office of the EREŠ.DINGIR-priestess, which is known from elsewhere in Mesopotamia, the *maš’artu*-priestess is so far unique to the *Emar* text corpus. The etymology of the title is still uncertain (Pentiuć 2001: 116–117). Her function in the cult of *Emar* is also not clear beyond the ritual for her installation and her involvement in that of the EREŠ.DINGIR (Fleming 1992a: 98–99). Some legal documents seem to indicate that the *maš’artu*-priestess had children (*Emar* 124:25–26; perhaps AuOrS 1, 80:19). Regardless, the installation ritual, like that of the EREŠ.DINGIR, took place over the course of seven days.

Tablet 4, Msk 74293k + *Emar* 370 = Msk 74303a, is the only manuscript of the installation ritual for the *maš’artu*-priestess. Only the lower left half of a large tablet remains. The new fragment Msk 74293k unfortunately requires a revision of Arnaud’s lineation of the text:

¹⁵ E.g., the procedure used to select of the candidate for the office of EREŠ.DINGIR from among the populace (Fleming 1992a: 10, 32).

Msk 74293k (Emar 6/2, p. 620) + *Emar* 370 = Msk 74303a

1' *i-n[u]-m[a']*

2' EZEN *ta-ha[-zi*

3' 2^{ninda} *nap-ta-nu* 2 dug[

(ruling)

4' *i-na u₄-mi qa-ad-du-ši* [

5' ^dIŠTAR(U+DAR) ^rME₃^{v1} *u₂-še-šu-ni* [

6' EGIR-ša DU-ku *u₃ ki-i* [

etc.

...Wh[en(?)...] the festival of batt[le?¹⁶...] two *naptanu*-breads, two vessel[s...]. On the day of consecration [...], they bring out Aštar of Battle [...] goes behind her, and according to [...] etc.

This new piece confirms the correction and restoration of the line (here line 5') suspected already by Fleming (1992a: 173 n. 300).

Two additional fragments appear to show some connections with the two known installation rituals. Arnaud identified *Emar* 371 = Msk 731081 and *Emar* 372 = Msk 74298f as fragments of the installation ritual for the *maš'artu*-priestess. However, these fragments are difficult to place, and they actually have more in common with the installation ritual from the EREŠ.DINGIR-priestess (Fleming 1992a: 209–210).

All of the pieces of installation rituals from Emar were found in 'Temple' M₁. Four fragments were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973. One fragment came from Locus 1 Center (M I NW), and five pieces were excavated from Locus 3 (4, M I SW; 1, M I SW-II NW). One other piece may have been found in Locus 3, but its precise find-spot square is somewhat unclear (1, M II NE). Three of the pieces found in 1973 join or probably join fragments from subsequent excavation at the site. These joins suggest that it may be possible to be more precise about the find-spots of the 1973 finds. Thus, Tablet 1 may come from Locus 1 Center, while Tablet 2 and Tablet 3 most likely come from Locus 3.

zukru

Two texts are subsumed under the rubric of the *zukru* rituals from Emar.¹⁷ The *zukru* festival was a massive social and economic event ostensibly

¹⁶ This rubric is otherwise unknown in Emar, where the designation EZEN is applied to the *zukru* rituals (e.g., *Emar* 373; Fleming 2000: 238, line 38) as well as the *kissu* rituals (e.g., *Emar* 385:1). The sign ME₃^v (KA×ERIM) is a variant of ME₃ (AG×ERIM) that is attested elsewhere in the same source (*Emar* 370:20'; Borger 2004: 260, no. 53, cf. 276, no. 129).

¹⁷ The term *zukru* appears to be a *purs* nominal form derived from one of the common Semitic roots *ḏ-k-r* 'name, mention, remember,' or, less likely, *z-k-r* 'male' (Fleming

in celebration of Dagān's regional supremacy. In its expanded form, this festival took place every seven years (the so-called 'seventh-year *zuku*ru') and required a full year of preparation in the year preceding the festival proper (Fleming 2000: 48–98). The central event of the *zuku*ru festival was the procession to *sikkānu*-stones¹⁸ outside the city walls, where there was then feasting for all of Emar's inhabitants. These *sikkānu*-stones were then anointed with oil and animal blood before the images of the gods were brought back into the city in the evening. In its abbreviated form the older tradition of the ritual is known as the so-called 'annual *zuku*ru' festival (Fleming 2000: 98–140).

Arnaud correctly identified three tablets and two fragments of the *zuku*ru ritual texts (*Emar* 373–376). Fleming (2000: 233–303) subsequently made a number of joins, new identifications, and collations, differentiating five separate tablets and four fragments. I have identified a possible fragment of one of the annual *zuku*ru ritual texts: Msk 74177f.

Tablet 1, *Emar* 373 A+: Msk 74292a+, is the only copy of the seventh-year *zuku*ru (Fleming 1995b: 144 photo). Fleming (2000: 294) identified that the fragment *Emar* 376 = Msk 74297c belongs to the obverse of this manuscript. Written in the Syro-Hittite script, Tablet 1 has two columns per side. A few other fragments are related to this text, namely, *Emar* 424 = Msk 74289c and *Emar* 425 = Msk 74289d (Fleming 2000: 99). Fleming (2000: 72, 89, 99) identified another fragment similar in content to the seventh-year *zuku*ru, *Emar* 374 = Msk 74292d. Based on the layout and content (cf. Fleming 2000: 250, lines 197–205) I tentatively assign this piece to the bottom of columns iii and iv on the reverse of Tablet 1. The text of the right column of *Emar* 374 appears to precede the events found at the top of column iv (Fleming 2000: 246). The mention of Dagān with the epithet EN *bu-ka-ri* "Lord of the Offspring(?)" (Feliu 2003: 239) in the left column of *Emar* 374 is strongly suggestive of the *zuku*ru tradition, since that is the

2000: 122–123; cf. Pentiuc 2001: 197–198). Assuming that the former is more likely, the term should bear some relation to concepts like 'invocation, commemoration, etc.,' which probably implies some spoken element of the festival that is either not marked or not preserved in the written sources.

¹⁸ These unworked stone monuments are known from throughout Bronze Age Syria, including objects from Hūra, Ebla, and Ugarit, and textual references from Ebla, Ugarit, Emar, and Ekalte (Durand 2005a). I plan to discuss their significance in greater detail elsewhere. For a discussion of the term itself, see Pentiuc 2001: 156–159.

primary way that Dagān is referred to in the festival text (Fleming 2000: 88–91, 242, lines 76–77, 248, lines 169–170).¹⁹

Tablet 2, *Emar* 375 A: Msk 74298b (= *Emar* 448 A) + *Emar* 428 = Msk 74287b, is the main source for the annual *zukru* (join Fleming 2000: 259, A, 295). The left edge is missing, but the tablet is otherwise well preserved. Interestingly, Tablet 2 is the only source for the *zukru* ritual that was written in the Syrian style (Fleming 2000: 109–113). Based on the reconstructed text (Fleming 2000: 264, lines 49–52) and the existence of only one Syrian-type manuscript, I propose that the small fragment *Emar* 401 = Msk 74286c may join the middle section of the obverse of Tablet 2 (*Emar* 6/2, p. 634; see Fleming 2000: 260, lines 12–13).

Only a fragment remains of Tablet 3, *Emar* 375 B: Msk 74146l (Fleming 2000: 259, B). Written in the Syro-Hittite style, this piece preserves the upper edge of the tablet. Tablet 3 is a duplicate of Tablet 2, the main manuscript of the annual *zukru*.

Tablet 4, *Emar* 375 C: Msk 74303f (= *Emar* 449) (+) *Emar* 448 B: Msk 74303c (Fleming 2000: 258–259, C), consists of two Syro-Hittite fragments: the upper right corner of the tablet and a piece from the bottom half of the reverse. Tablet 4 duplicates both Tablet 2 and Tablet 3.

Tablet 5, *Emar* 448 C: Msk 74289b, is preserved only as a fragment of the left edge on the reverse (Fleming 2000: 258–259, D). Tablet 5 is a duplicate of Tablet 2, but it is unclear why it is differentiated from Tablet 3 and Tablet 4. There is no textual reason why this piece cannot join Tablet 3 or Tablet 4, but it is possible that some physical or paleographic feature made Fleming (2000: 258–259) keep them separate. One orthographic feature peculiar to Tablet 5 is the use of the LUM sign for /lu/ (Fleming 2000: 262, line 32: *lu₄-bu-uš-ma*, line 34: *i-sa₃-lu₄-su₂*).

All of the pieces of the *zukru* ritual come from 'Temple' M₁. Six pieces were found in Locus 3 (M I SW-SE), and eight pieces came from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW). Most of the pieces of Tablet 1 came from Locus 3, and one piece of Tablet 2 came from Locus 3 as well. That correlation may imply that the other fragments that were found in M I SW should be ascribed to Locus 3. However, it must be noted that two fragments were also found in Locus 1 West (1, M III NE; 1, M III SE).

¹⁹ It must be acknowledged however that the mention of the *nuppuḥannū*-men in *Emar* 374 would be unique in the *zukru* tradition. For references to this group, see Fleming 2000: 146 n. 23, 150–151; Pentiuc 2001: 136.

Calendar

A collection of ritual texts give important evidence for the local cult and its calendar. Unlike the *zukru* with its seven-year and annual formulations, the present group of texts describes ritual events for specific months.

Tablet 1, *Emar* 446 = Msk 74280a + Msk 74291a, is a large two-column tablet written in the Syrian style (Fleming 2000: 268–281). Most of column ii is not preserved, and the bottom of column iii is likewise missing. The diviner is particularly prominent in this ritual, referred to as the “Text for Six Months” because it revolves around six months of the local calendar: [Zarati], ^dNinkurra, ^dAnna, ^dAdamma, Marzaḥāni, ^dḤalma (Fleming 2000: 143–173). An additional fragment written in the Syrian script, *Emar* 447 = Msk 74303j, describes a related ritual for the month of Zerati, which figures prominently in Tablet 1.

Tablet 2, *Emar* 452 = Msk 74146b, is a single-column, Syro-Hittite ritual tablet for the month of Abu (Fleming 2000: 280–289). This text is concerned with rituals for the one month with special emphasis on the middle and end of the lunar cycle (Fleming 2000: 175–189). Particularly important were rites associated with the *abû* shrines, for which the month was evidently named, but the nature of the *abû* is unclear. They may have been pits where offerings to ancestors were made (Loretz 2002–2003). The 26th day of the month is referred to as the barring of the doors (“they bar the doors” ^{giš}IG.MEŠ *e-da-lu*), which connects this text with the following ritual (*Emar* 463). It is unclear what gate this was exactly, but it likely functioned to block movement between the town and the cemetery during darkness of the new moon (Fleming 2000: 194).

Tablet 3, *Emar* 463 = Msk 7468, is the upper half of a Syro-Hittite ritual tablet that begins “on the day of the opening of the doors” *i-na u₄-mi pi₂-it-ḥa* ^{giš}IG.MEŠ, connecting it with *Emar* 452 (Fleming 2000: 290–293). The opening of the passage between the town and the cemetery would thus have coincided with the reappearance of the moon (Fleming 2000: 192–195).

All of the calendar rituals come from ‘Temple’ M₁. Six pieces, including Tablet 1, were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW), while one fragment was excavated in Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973. Two small fragments were excavated in Locus 3 (1, M I SW-SE; 1, M I SW-II NW). Seven pieces, including Tablet 2 and Tablet 3 and several minor fragments, were found in Locus 1 West (5, M III NE; 2, M III SE). Another piece was a surface find from 1975.

kissu

Another cluster of rituals unique to Emar bear the designation *kissu* (*Emar* 385–391).²⁰ Arnaud (1975–1976: 225) first took note of the term *kissu*, suggesting that it may be Hurrian in origin. However, the general consensus is now that *kissu* is a regional variant of Akkadian *kussû* “chair, throne” (Fleming 1992a: 258–260; Penttinen 2001: 102–103).²¹ There are several short copies that document these rituals, which were celebrated in honor of a number of deities including Dagān (Feliu 2003: 220–222), Ereškigal, Ea, Išhara and Ninurta, and Ninkur, and other deities who appear throughout. The structure of the *kissu* texts is similar to that of the installation rituals, and the *kissu* is referenced at the end of the ritual for the installation of the *maš’artu*-priestess (*Emar* 370:113; Fleming 1992a: 255–257). Despite the large number of copies and the parallels with other non-calendrical rituals in Emar, the interpretation of the collection of *kissu* rituals remains obscure (Fleming 1992a: 255–263). It is possible that they constitute a set of enthronement rituals, where a deity was recognized on his/her throne (*kissu*), thus (re-)establishing the deity’s authority. Regardless, the *kissu* rituals are connected with the town of Šatappi, the precise location of which is unclear. It should probably be located somewhere on the Middle Euphrates near Emar, since Šatappi figures in a number of documents of different genres (Belmonte 2001: 267).

One recent proposal merits consideration here. Gallagher (2003: 179–180) has suggested that the copies of the *kissu* rituals are merely scribal exercises, fanciful creations meant to at once educate and amuse young scribes during their arduous training. While it is plausible that ritual texts were copied in the scribal school, the evidence Gallagher adduces is too limited. First, she argues the texts are exercises because they are short, and, second, she argues that they were humorous because a chair (*kissu*) is ascribed royal or divine status. The text of the *kissu* rituals is short compared to the length of the installation, *zukurru*, and calendar rituals. However, some individual months of the calendar ritual “Text for Six Months” are very short on their own (e.g., Adamma, Marzaḥāni, and Ḥalma, see Fleming 2000: 274). The length of a text is not a valid criterion for deciding why it was produced. Humor can be challenging to comprehend or even detect across cultures, making it necessary to establish clear criteria

²⁰ The most explicit heading is: *ṭup-pi₂ par₂-ši^{ezēn} ki-is-si₂ ša^{uru} ša-tap-pi₂* “Tablet for the rites of the *kissu*-festival of the town of Šatappi” (composite, *Emar* 385:1).

²¹ Cf. Ugaritic *ks’u* / *ks’i* / *ks’a*, Hebrew *kissē*.

based on the value system of the culture being analyzed. Given the size of the cuneiform text corpus, it is not surprising that humorous elements have been identified in a few texts (Foster 1974; George 1993). However, in ancient Mesopotamia there are certainly examples of inanimate objects imbued with significance in religious texts.²²

Arnaud originally identified fourteen sources for the *kissu*, which are all listed under *Emar* 385 A–N. He then edited the rituals as four separate composite texts (*Emar* 385–388), addressing the numerous textual difference between sources in the critical apparatus or not at all (e.g., see Tablet 3 below). Another fragment (*ASJ* 14, 49) was looted from the site and plausibly joined to an excavated tablet (see Tablet 7 below).

Tablet 1, *Emar* 385 A: Msk 74287a, is basically complete except for a gouge out of the left edge. The reverse is mostly blank. Separate sections of the *kissu* for Dagān are separated by rulings, and the *kissu* for Ereškigal comes after a double ruling. The heading of Tablet 1 appears to mark the first in what appears to be a related cycle of ritual texts, though it would be an overstatement to refer to the collection as a series.

Tablet 2, *Emar* 385 C: Msk 731060, is represented by a large fragment from the left edge. Tablet 2 is a duplicate of Tablet 1, similarly describing the celebration of the *kissu* rituals for Dagān and Ereškigal.

Tablet 3, *Emar* 385 D: Msk 74303d, is an upper right corner fragment from a smaller tablet with only approximately three to four signs missing from the upper left corner of the obverse. The text of Tablet 3 duplicates that of Tablet 1 but also exhibits several curious additions following the opening lines of the text of the *kissu* in honor of Dagān (*Emar* 385:1–3, cf. *Emar* 6/4, p. 382). The end of the fragment does not square well with the specifics of any section of the text, and Arnaud neither places nor edits its contents, which read:

Msk 74303d rev. (*Emar* 6/2, p. 648)

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1' | [| LU ₂ .MEŠ šar-ru na-di-nu q]i ₂ -da-ši |
| 2' | [| LUGAL KUR LU ₂ .HAL u GAL]DUB.SAR.MEŠ |
| 3' | [| nap-t]a-nu |
| 4' | [|]i-laq-qu |

²² E.g., CT 15, 3–4 (BM 93828), an OB hymn to Adad that bears the heading ŠER₃ *ku-um-mi a-na* ¹IŠKUR “Song of the holy chamber, to Adad” (Groneberg 2003: 59), has a line that reads *pa-aš-šu-ru lu-u₂ li-ri-iš u₂-um-šu* “may the (offering) table indeed rejoice daily” (CT 15, 3–4 col. ii 11; Römer 1967: 186, 198). No element of humor is detected here, and none should be attributed to the text simply because the notion of a happy chair tickles the modern reader’s sensibilities.

| | | | |
|----------|---|--|---------|
| 5' | [| | k]AŠ ŠE |
| 6' | [| |] |
| (ruling) | | | |
| (blank) | | | |

Despite the fact that they are not duplicates, Tablet 3 is kept separate from Tablet 2 and is given a designation as a distinct source here on account of Tablet 3's peculiarities.

Tablet 4, *Emar* 385 E: Msk 74283b, is represented by a large fragment that has the right edge of the original source. Tablet 4 is also a duplicate of Tablet 1, and a number of textual and physical features make it a distinct source. In what is preserved of Tablet 4 there is only a *kissu* ritual in honor of Dagān.

Tablet 5, *Emar* 385 F: Msk 74286b(+) (= *Emar* 386 F = *Emar* 387 F = *Emar* 388 F), is of interest because it is the only source that appears to be a collective of *kissu* rituals. With two columns per side, Tablet 5 has *kissu* festival texts honoring Dagān, Ereškigal, Ea, Išḫara and Ninurta (Prechel 1996: 81–83, 247–248), and Ninkur.

Tablet 6, *Emar* 385 G: Msk 74276 (= *Emar* 395), is a difficult fragment from the left edge. While the reverse has a text that strongly resembles the *kissu* for Dagān, the obverse and left edge have a different ritual that is difficult to place (*Emar* 395).

Excavators found only the upper right corner of Tablet 7, *Emar* 385 Hii: Msk 74298c (= *Emar* 386 Hii), which appears to join the looted piece edited as *ASJ* 14, 49 (Tsukimoto 1992b: 299–303, 310). This source has the *kissu* rituals for Ereškigal and Ea.

Tablet 8, *Emar* 385 I: Msk 74280c (= *Emar* 386 I; *Emar* 388 I), is only a fragment from what appears to be the lower edge. However, the copy is confusing, since it seems to mark the edge twice (*Emar* 6/2, p. 591). The *kissu* rituals preserved here are those dedicated to Ea and Ninkur.

Tablet 9, *Emar* 385 J: Msk 731035 + Msk 74316b (= *Emar* 387 J = *Emar* 388 J), is nearly complete. Only the left corners of this small Syro-Hittite tablet are damaged. The text of Tablet 9 contains the *kissu* in honor of Išḫara and Ninurta (Prechel 1996: 81–83, 245–246), as well as the *kissu* for Ninkur.

Tablet 10, *Emar* 385 L: Msk 74288 (= *Emar* 388 L), is largely preserved, except for the lower right quadrant, which is missing. The text follows that of the *kissu* for Ninkur.

All of the sources for the *kissu* rituals were found in 'Temple' M₁. Four pieces came from Locus 3 (2, M I SW-SE; 1, M I SW-II NW; 1, M I SW-SE).

This includes Tablet 1 and a fragment that duplicates Tablet 1 but is difficult to join to any of the other manuscripts. Three pieces were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973, including Tablet 2 and pieces joined to Tablet 5 and Tablet 9. Ten more pieces were subsequently excavated from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (10, M I SW), including pieces of Tablet 3, Tablet 4, Tablet 5 (+ 1973), Tablet 7, Tablet 8, and Tablet 10. One piece came from either Locus 2 or Locus 3 (1, M I SE), i.e., Tablet 9, which joins a piece found during the 1973 campaign. Fragments were found in Locus 1 Center (1, M I NW) and Locus 1 West (3, M III NE). The find-spot of one fragment (here Tablet 6) is uncertain (1, M NE).

Anatolian

A unique subset of Akkadian-language rituals from Emar are referred to as “les rituels anatoliens,” but this designation is somewhat misleading. These texts are probably local compositions and not copies of Hittite originals, since they lack obvious Hittite parallels (Fleming 1992a: 203; cf. Laroche 1988; Prechel 2008). These texts describe offerings to gods of Anatolian origin or use technical ritual terminology that suggests an Anatolian origin (Fleming 1992a: 266–268), such as the Hurrian ritual terms *keldi* and *ambašši* (Schwemer 1995: 109–110). The order of the DNs, many of which are Luwian or Hurrian, suggest that the texts date to the time of Ḫattušili III/Tudḫaliya IV, i.e., the 13th century (Lebrun 1988; Haas 1994: 569–570).

Some copies of so-called Akkadian Anatolian rituals were looted from the Middle Euphrates region and are not included in the present text corpus, since they cannot be securely connected with the tablet collection from ‘Temple’ M₁ (*Emar* 471 = ME 110; CM 13, no. 31).²³ Since ‘Temple’ M₁ in Emar is the only Syrian locale to house such material, it is possible that these sources came from that building as well, but the tablets’ archaeological context cannot be inferred. *Emar* 471 (ME 110) is almost perfectly preserved and is given the rubric *ṭup-pu par₂-ši ša DINGIR.MEŠ KUR Ḫa-at-ti / URU.MEŠ AN.TA u₃ KI.TA an-nu-um-ma* “Tablet of the rites of the gods of Ḫatti, the upper and lower cities are thus” (*Emar* 471:1–2).

Tablet 1, *Emar* 472 = Msk 74176, has a large gouge missing from the upper half of the obverse, but the reverse is perfectly preserved. First noted by Arnaud (1975–1976: 226), Tablet 1 appears to have been written

²³ Arnaud refers to a mysterious volume nine of *Recherches au pays d’Aštata* (*Emar* 6/3, p. 457) for the looted texts from the Middle Euphrates region. Some of these tablets probably appeared in *AuOr* 5, *AuOrS* 1, and *SMEA* 30.

in the Syro-Hittite style. The text consists of a number of offerings separated by rulings. The damaged beginning of the text may mention one Eḫli-Te(ššup), who, unfortunately, is rare in the Emar onomasticon (Pruzsinszky 2003: 227, CD 309, see *AuOr* 5, no. 11:12). An Eḫal-Teššup, diviner of Aleppo (LU₂.ḪAL ^{umu}Ḫal-pa) is known from a handful of Hittite sources found in Ḫattuša, including tablet catalogues and a ritual fragment (KUB 30, 51+, Dardano 2006: 130, 143; KBo 53, 41), but this may be only a coincidence.

Tablet 2, *Emar* 473 = Msk 74102e, is represented by a large fragment that constitutes the lower half of the original manuscript.

Tablet 3, *Emar* 476 = Msk 74298d, is known only from a fragment with the upper left corner. The rulings and layout of Tablet 3 is incommensurable with the missing section of Tablet 1. While the text does not duplicate that of Tablet 2, the repetition of deities suggests that Tablet 2 and Tablet 3 must be kept separate.

Tablet 4, *Emar* 479 = Msk 74304a,²⁴ is only known from a small fragment, but the small size of the original tablet and the layout of the text do not fit with any of the other identified tablets. Only the lower edge and lower left corner are preserved of Tablet 4, but the layout is basically clear, a DN followed by a simple offering, e.g., ^dGIR₃-eri₁₁-gal 1 UDU (*Emar* 479:2').

All of the Anatolian ritual fragments were discovered in 'Temple' M₁. Thirteen pieces were found in Locus 1 West (10, M III NE; 3, M III SE), including Tablet 1 and Tablet 2. One fragment was excavated from Locus 3 (M I SW-II NW), and five more pieces were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW), including Tablet 3 and Tablet 4.

Miscellaneous Rituals

Four miscellaneous rituals do not have evident points of contact with other rituals in the text corpus. Tablet 1, Msk 731031 = *Emar* 394, has two rituals for the well-being(?) of the oxen. The script and tablet type are uncertain. The first ritual (*Emar* 394:1–25) is largely broken, but it appears to document the presentation of food offerings as well as the distribution of the various parts of the sacrificial animal. The second ritual (*Emar* 394:26–44) involves the two-day consecration of the *ḫenpa* (meaning unclear) of the

²⁴ Note that Msk 74304a (*Emar* 6/2, p. 652) = *Emar* 479 must be differentiated from Msk 74304a', which evidently joins Msk 74290d, since both are copied together (*Emar* 6/2, p. 608) and edited as *Emar* 373 B (*zuku*).

cattle (*he-en-pa* GUD.MEŠ), which refers to offerings to Dagān and the distribution of goods to the king, the diviner, and the chief scribe.

Tablet 2, Msk 74132j + Msk 74174b = *Emar* 392, is the upper left corner of a Syro-Hittite-type tablet with a ritual for the *imištu* of the king of some locale, whose name is not preserved. If the term *imištu* can be derived from *namāšu*, “to depart, set out,” then perhaps it means something like “outing, excursion” or the like (Fleming 1992b: 62–63). In any case, the king’s role is significant in this text, since royal involvement is rather limited in the Emar ritual corpus, at least in comparison with Ugarit. As with *Emar* 394, the temple of Dagān figures prominently in this fragmentary text.

Tablet 3, Msk 74140a = *Emar* 460, is written in the Syro-Hittite style and contains a ritual for the consecration of Aštar of Battle, written ^dINANNA ME₃ and ^dINANNA *ta-ḥa-zi* (*Emar* 460:1, 6). The tablet is heavily ruled. The text appears to consist of offerings and their redistribution to various deities (e.g., ^dINANNA *a-bi*) and professions, such as diviner (LU₂.ḪAL), Overseer of the Land, smith, potter, and singers.

Tablet 4, Msk 74289a = *Emar* 393, is a fragmentary Syro-Hittite style tablet with a ritual that involves the enigmatic god ^dAr-*u₂-ri*. Arnaud’s view that this text is a “rituel des pierres oraculaires” is difficult to maintain without internal evidence to support such an interpretation. *Ar-u₂-ri*, written both with and without the divine determinative, receives his/her own offerings, has a his/her own female herald (ⁱna-*gir-ti*, *Emar* 393:6), and appears to be associated with Ninkurra (cf. Fleming 2000: 161–162), whose name could be read ^dNIN.KUR.RA = Bēlet-māti, perhaps Dagān’s consort Šalaš (Cavigneaux and Krebernik 2001a).

The miscellaneous ritual texts from Emar were excavated from ‘Temple’ M₁. The three pieces that make up Tablet 2 and Tablet 3 all came from Locus 1 West (M III SE). One piece (Tablet 4) was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW), and another (Tablet 1) came from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973.

Votive

Although not ritual texts per se, votive inscriptions document the presentation of gifts in relation to the temple or cult. Two types of votive texts were excavated at Emar.²⁵

²⁵ The looted tablet CM 13, no. 24 is probably from Emar, but it is excluded from the catalogue of archaeologically provenienced tablets and objects.

Object 1, Msk 761 = *Emar* 68, is the votive bead found in Temple M₂. Its contents and the context in which it was found are discussed in Chapter 2.

Tablet 1, Msk 73112 = *Emar* 42, was found in the temple of the Storm-god in Area E. It is unique in the Emar text corpus in that it contains copies of three votive inscriptions of the local 'Second Dynasty' kings Elli and Pilsu-Dagān by the scribe Ea-damiq (Zaccagnini 1990; Yamada 2006b). The scribe Ea-damiq is known to have written Syrian-type legal tablets during the reigns of those kings (Pruzinszky 2003: 36). However, *Emar* 42 appears to be a Syro-Hittite copy of Syrian-type originals, the script of which the copyist attempted to imitate. Hence the error in writing the ḪAR sign in *Ḫur-ri* (which looks somewhat like *KI-ri*, see Arnaud's edition),²⁶ since the ḪAR sign was markedly different in the Syrian (ḪI×AŠ₂) and Syro-Hittite (ḪI+AŠ₂) schools (Rutz 2006–2007).²⁷

Miscellaneous Ritual Tablets and Fragments

A large number of fragments probably have ritual content, but they are too fragmentary to place with a specific text. I have identified additional ritual fragments that cannot be readily joined to one of the known sources, the tiny fragments Msk 74122az and Msk 74307c.²⁸

Tablet 1, *Emar* 462 = Msk 74237a, is known only from a large fragment that preserves the left edge. The text consists of a series of ruled sections between one and seven lines in length (most are between one and three), and in these sections are strings of offerings that employ Hurrian/Hittite-influenced language (Fleming 2000: 180). However, the structure of the text and its pantheon (especially Dagān) are distinct from the Anatolian rituals, which are unambiguously non-local. Based on content and layout a number of other unassigned fragments probably belonged to Tablet 1, but no specific joins are obvious.

All of these pieces were recovered from 'Temple' M₁. Most of the fragments (sixty-five) were excavated in Locus 1 West (63, M III NE; 2, M III SE). Four pieces were found in either Locus 2 or Locus 3 (M I SE), among

²⁶ Cf. *Emar* 15 (Abrahami 2005).

²⁷ Cf. ALT 1 from Alalah, where a more successful attempt was made to copy the tablet in accordance with the lapidary script of some original (Dietrich and Loretz 2004–2005: 47–48, 10.01).

²⁸ Additionally note: Msk 74298i and Msk 74298j are both substantial fragments that mention the diviner and are included in an addendum to *Emar* 6/4, pp. 399–400, Msk 73298i = *Emar* 451bis and Msk 74298j = *Emar* 451ter; Msk 74107g = *Emar* 420 is not Diri (so Civil 1989b: 11; cf. MSL 15, 84; Rutz 2006a).

Table 12. ‘Temple’ M₁: Public Rituals, Genre by Tablet Type

| <i>Ritual</i> | <i>Tablets</i> | | | | <i>Fragments</i> | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Installation | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| <i>zuku</i> | 1 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Calendar | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 13 |
| <i>kissu</i> | 0 | 6 | 4 | 10 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Anatolian | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 10 | 15 |
| Miscellaneous | 0 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Fragments | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 12 | 77 | 89 |
| Uncertain | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 11 |
| TOTAL | 2 | 23 | 6 | 31 | 1 | 24 | 115 | 140 |
| % | 6 | 74 | 19 | 100 | 1 | 17 | 82 | 100 |

them Tablet 1. One fragment was excavated in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973, and twelve more fragments were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1974 (M I SW). Five fragments came from Locus 3 (4, M I SW-SE; 1, M I SW-II NW). One fragment was found during the surface clearing of Locus 1 North (M IV SW). One fragment was found somewhere during clearing in 1974, and the find-spot of one last fragment is altogether unclear.

Uncertain Ritual Fragments

A few small fragments may have originally come from ritual texts, but too little is preserved to be certain. All such fragments were found in ‘Temple’ M₁. Eight fragments came from Locus 1 West (7, M III NE; 1, M III SE). Two fragments were found in Locus 3 (1, M I SW-II NW; 1, M I SW-SE). The find-spot of one fragment is altogether unclear.

Lexical Texts (Appendix B.5)

Lexical texts were originally a byproduct of scribal education in cuneiform, so they are found in virtually every region and period where cuneiform is attested (Cavigneaux 1980–1983). Thus, the diffusion of lexical texts in the second millennium was part of the general diffusion of cuneiform culture at that time (Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 617). One innovation found in lexical texts outside of Babylonia and Assyria is the addition of glosses in any one of a number of languages used locally in a given place and time. Outside of Mesopotamia proper, scribal training in cuneiform meant contending with learning the idiosyncrasies of not just one (Sumerian) but two (Sumerian and Akkadian) foreign languages. Thus, glosses in a more familiar tongue may have aided in the process of language acquisition

and made it easier to comprehend and memorize the abstruse contents of a given text.

The Emar lexical corpus exhibits a number of similarities with the lexical corpus from Ugarit (e.g., Rutz 2006a). However, there are texts that were present in Ugarit but not in Emar (van Soldt 1995a: 205–206). These include texts such as MBGT (MSL SS 1, 75–89) and the standard Metrological Lists (cf. Ugaritica 5, 143–152),²⁹ as well as anomalies like the fragments of the vocabulary Erimḫuš (MSL 17, 18–19, 21, 44) and a secondary branch of Proto-Ea that evidently exhibits some textual similarities with S^b (MSL 14, 109, 143–144).

The following is a detailed description of the distribution of manuscripts of each text attested in the Emar lexical corpus. The starting point for such an analysis is Arnaud's edition (*Emar* 537–603) and the important review of Emar 6/1–4 published a few years later (Civil 1989b). Other studies have built on this foundation, isolating the elements of a specific text (Veldhuis 1997: *passim*) or further examining the orthography of the various lexical texts and their colophons (Cohen 2009). Building on major advances in our understanding of both the macrostructure and microstructure of the Emar lexical corpus, a new edition of the texts and manuscripts attempts to take into account all of the proposed identifications and joins published to date (Gantzert 2008). A number of new identifications and joins are also presented below based on a re-examination of the text corpus as a whole. The lexical corpus poses specific problems not encountered with the genres of text described thus far. First, there are a number of duplicates of many of these texts. Second, most of the manuscripts were badly damaged in the conflagration that deposited the tablet collection, breaking each tablet into many fragments that are difficult to then identify and put in order. Therefore, the emphasis here, as above, is on establishing the number of manuscripts and fragments, their textual and typological features, the copyist of each manuscript (where available), and where the pieces of each copy of a specific text were found. The results of this investigation are catalogued in Appendix B.5.

Syll. Voc. A: Syllable Vocabulary A

The text referred to as Syllable Vocabulary A (Syll. Voc. A) is a bilingual version of the older text Syllable Alphabet A (Syll. Alph. A). Unlike Syllable Alphabet B, which is known only from OB Nippur, Syll. Alph. A

²⁹ This text is also attested in OB Mari (Chambon 2002).

is known throughout Mesopotamia from the OB period on (Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 618–619; Farber 1999). The entries in Syll. Alph. A consist of various combinations of simple cuneiform signs. A bilingual version of this text is attested already in the OB period (Sollberger 1965; Farber 1999: 126–127; cf. Cavigneaux and Jaques 2010). However, it is not quite appropriate to call this text a Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual. The entries that were given Akkadian translations were not really Sumerian but rather apparently meaningless combinations of simple cuneiform signs.³⁰ Versions of both Syll. Alph. A and Syll. Voc. A are known from Ugarit (Nougayrol 1965; van Soldt 1995a: 196; Farber 1999: 125, 127).

The Emar version of Syll. Voc. A was edited by Arnaud as the composite text *Emar* 603 (Gantzert 2008: I 2–9, II 2–8). The pieces designated A: Msk 74246b (Syrian), C: Msk 74152c (Syro-Hittite?), and D: Msk 74246a (Syrian) are all separate manuscripts. B: Msk 74199w + Msk 74256 is a duplicate of A. Given the similarities of the script, I tentatively suggest that the fragment C may be from the same tablet as B. Therefore, there are three tablets: A (Tablet 1), B (+?) C (Tablet 2), and D (Tablet 3). I have identified two other possible fragments of this text. Msk 74200d is a duplicate of A and appears to be the lower left corner of the obverse of the same tablet as B, and Msk 74158m may be from the same tablet as D.

One Syrian-type tablet (Tablet 1) copied by Bêlu- . . . , apprentice diviner (I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR), was found in Locus 1 Center (M I NW). The other Syrian-type tablet (Tablet 2) was also found in Locus 1 Center (M I NW), while the piece that may join it, Msk 74158m, came from Locus 1 West (M III SE). The squares M I NW and M III SE meet at the western corner of the podium in Locus 1 (see Fig. 10 and Fig. 16). All the pieces from the possibly Syro-Hittite manuscript (Tablet 2) were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE).

Syllabary A

The elementary sign list Syllabary A (S^a) appears to have originated in northern Babylonia in the vicinity of Sippar in the late Old Babylonian period, when it was employed at the early stages of scribal training

³⁰ This type of school text is not unique as a teaching tool in ancient scribal education. E.g., similar nonsense combinations of letters are attested in medieval exercise books from the Cairo Geniza (Olszowy-Schlanger 2003: 60–63). Interestingly, a WSem. alphabet-vocabulary is attested in cuneiform tradition as well, namely, the LB school tablet BM 25636 (Geller 1997–2000: 144–146; Cross and Huehnergard 2003).

(Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 622–623; Tanret 2002: 51–60, nos. 16–22). In its most basic form S^a presents essential signs preceded by the entry marker DIŠ, but the first-millennium version also included columns for each sign's pronunciation(s) and name (e.g., CT 11, 1–5). One post-OB tradition of S^a employed archaizing sign forms—some legitimate precursors, others fanciful corruptions—typically but not always pairing each archaizing sign with its contemporary, local counterpart (Rutz 2006–2007). From northern Babylonia S^a diffused throughout the Near East to Amarna (EA 348, EA 379; Izre'el 1997: 28–29, 92–93; van Soldt 1999), Ḫattuša (CTH 299), and Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 195; van Soldt 2008), and it continued to be copied across greater Mesopotamia well into the Seleucid period (MSL 3, 3–87). During the course of its post-OB circulation, pronunciation and translation columns (Akkadian, Hurrian, Hittite, Elamite) were added in some traditions, such as those found in Ḫattuša (e.g., MSL 3, 49–87, B₁₋₈; CTH 299), Ugarit (Huehnergard 1987b: 21–102; van Soldt 1995a: 195–196; André-Salvini and Salvini 1998, 1999a, 1999c; cf. RS 86.2250, André-Salvini 2004: 151), Emar (see below), and Elam (MSL 3, 8). With a few striking exceptions (e.g., 12 N 569a-i in OIC 23, 122; Veldhuis and Hilprecht 2003–2004: 34–35, nos. 7–12), it is worth noting that S^a is virtually unknown in Nippur in any period. The earliest evidence from southern Mesopotamia consists of either short extracts or small fragments of larger copies (Tanret 2002: 51–60; Scheil, *Sippar*, 33–34; OECT 1, pl. 22), so none of the OB sources preserves the entire text. Nevertheless, the relative uniformity among later sources suggests some early second-millennium stabilization of the text's contents.

Three formats of S^a are preserved in the corpus from 'Temple' M₁ (Gantzert 2008: I 10–45, II 9–29): the simple syllabary S^a, Paleographic S^a (*Emar* 538), and S^a Voc. (*Emar* 537).

S^a: Syllabary A

By all accounts to date no simple sign lists have been identified in the corpus from 'Temple' M₁, unlike in Ugarit where elementary sign exercises are relatively common (van Soldt 1995a: 172–174, 193, 196; van Soldt 2008). This may have resulted from the effective recycling of tablets or simply the incomplete preservation of the text corpus. However, there are hints of the existence of texts such as S^a in Emar.

I have identified only one fragment of standard Emar S^a, Msk 74198v (Rutz 2008), which is all that remains of the only copy of the text from the site. Based on the layout (i.e., DIŠ sign) and sequence, the identification is certain. The entries preserved in column i' indicate that this fragment

probably comes from the obverse of the tablet. Column ii' is only partially preserved, but some nine entries are marked (DIŠ). In the right column there are also a few illegible traces of the entries themselves:

Msk 74198v (Emar 6/2, p. 488)

| col. i' | | | col. ii' | | |
|----------|-------|-----------------|----------|-------|------|
| 1' | [DIŠ | K]A | 1' | [DI]Š | [] |
| 2' | [DIŠ] | KA | 2' | DIŠ | [] |
| 3' | [D]IŠ | KA | 3' | DIŠ | [] |
| 4' | [D]IŠ | KA | 4' | DIŠ | x[] |
| (ruling) | | | | | |
| 5' | [D]IŠ | SAG | 5' | DIŠ | [] |
| 6' | [D]IŠ | SUMUR(SAG-gunû) | 6' | DIŠ | [] |
| 7' | [D]IŠ | DU | 7' | DIŠ | [] |
| 8' | [DIŠ | D]U? | 8' | DIŠ | [] |
| | | | 9' | DIŠ | x[] |

The entries, KA, SAG, SUMUR (or SUR₂),³¹ and DU are preserved in copies of both Paleographic S^a (*Emar* 538:54–57, composite) and S^a Voc. (*Emar* 537:317–349, composite).

The fragment Msk 74198v, written in an uncertain script (perhaps Syro-Hittite?), was found in Locus 1 West (M III NE) in 'Temple' M₁.

Paleographic S^a: Paleographic Syllabary A

Copies of Paleographic S^a are known from second-millennium Assur (Meissner 1927; Pedersén 1986: 24, N1:89), Ugarit (RS 14.128+, Schaeffer 1966: 135, fig. 21; RS 17.321?, van Soldt 1995a: 196; RS 86.2222, André-Salvini 2004: 148), and Emar (*Emar* 538, composite). First-millennium sources for this text are attested in Nineveh (MSL 3, 10; CT 5 passim), Nimrud (CTN 4, 229+), Ur (UET 7, 151–153, 156), Uruk (LKU 134), and elsewhere (Pearce 1996, MS D; CTMMA 2, 45).³²

Arnaud lists eighteen sources (*Emar* 538 A–R) with some five additional possible fragments (*Emar* 538 T) of this text from Emar.³³ Using Arnaud's list of sources I have reconstructed at least three separate tablets. I have

³¹ *Emar* 537 B: Msk 74204a (Emar 6/2, p. 503): DIŠ šu-mur sag-gu-nu-u, which is then followed by three more entries for the sign (Gong 2000: 10, 91). The value SUMUR is common to both Proto-Ea 294 (MSL 14, 43) and Proto-Izi I 129 (MSL 13, 21). The reading SUR₂ is based on the first-millennium textual tradition (S^a 112; MSL 3, 22, MSS A and AD).

³² Evidently LKU 134 (VAT 14594) is also a source for Paleographic S^a, but unfortunately Falkenstein chose not to copy it for LKU. Copies of Paleographic Syllabary B (S^b) are also known from first-millennium Nineveh (CT 5, 8) and Uruk (SpTU 4, 212 and 216).

³³ Contrary to Pruzsinszky (2003: 1), these fragments do not join, and Arnaud does not propose that they join.

also identified two additional fragments of this text, Msk 74133l (Tablet 1) and Msk 74123g (Tablet 1 or 2), as well as three more possible, if dubious fragments, Msk 7493a (perhaps from Tablet 1?), Msk 7496g, Msk 74234k (not "734234k," Emar 6/2, p. 548). Other questionable fragments were identified by Arnaud as *Emar* 538 I₆: Msk 74175b and *Emar* 538 T: Msk 7484p, Msk 7489h, and Msk 74147k. For all proposed joins, see Appendix B.5.2.2 and Rutz 2006–2007.

From these fragments it is possible to reconstruct at least three distinct manuscripts and two text traditions of Emar Paleographic S^a. As we see with other compositions, the very end of the text was both less stable and less uniform than its principal parts (e.g., see source D below). Tablet 1 consists of I: Msk 74175a+, while Tablet 2 is composed of J: Msk 74193a+. Three additional fragments remain that should belong to either Tablet 1 or 2, but it is not possible to assign them to one tablet or the other based on the copies alone. Two of the three are duplicates of the same section (Q: 74127p // Msk 74123g), and the third is the fragment N: Msk 74152e. Tablet 3 consists of E: Msk 74132c(+).

Tablets 1 and 2 were both large tablets, and each had five columns per side. Tablets 1 and 2 originally contained the entire composition, and Tablet 3 appears to have contained a slightly abridged form of the entire composition. The format of the entries is the same in Tablets 1 and 2. The contemporary Syro-Hittite sign forms appear in the left half of each column, and archaizing forms appear in the right half. Single rulings routinely separate entries or, more commonly, groups of evidently similar entries, but there is some variance between the divisions found in Tablets 1 and 2. In a number of instances the Syro-Hittite form of the sign is omitted, presumably because the archaizing form was more or less identical to the contemporary form. The colophon of Tablet 1 has proven to be controversial, but it should probably be attributed to the diviner Šaggar-abu (Rutz 2006–2007; Appendix C). Tablet 2 was probably also copied by the diviner Šaggar-abu (see Appendix C). Tablet 3 is not well preserved, but its format is at least clear. Tablet 3 contains only archaizing sign forms alone without their contemporary counterparts. Tablet 3 also bears a fragmentary colophon that identifies the copyist as one Ba'1- . . . : ŠU ^{1d}ŠKU[R- . . .] (cf. *Emar* 604 no. 10). As pointed out already by Cohen (2009: 177), the most obvious candidate is Ba'1-mālik, the diviner (cf. Cohen 2005c). Because the end of the source is preserved, we know that this copy of the composition has NUMUN as its last entry and omits the signs from ITI though KIŠ. Moreover, the entries and their order are somewhat muddled:

D: Msk 7483b (Emar 6/1, p. 199)

- 1' ḪAŠḪUR
- 2' BURU₁₄
- 3' APIN
- 4' GIR₂'(LU₂)
- 5' NUMUN
- 6' NUMUN
- (ruling)
- 7' ŠU^{Id} IŠKU[R-
- 8' ŠE[?] MEŠ[?] x[

Curiously, unlike the colophons of Tablets 1 and 2, the colophon of Tablet 3 was not written in the archaizing script (cf. Appendix C).

The two best preserved copies of Emar Paleographic S^a, Tablets 1 and 2, contain a version of the standard text of S^a followed by two appendices. Appendix one contains various Akkadian phrases and personal name elements that are rendered in archaizing script (cf. *Emar* 538:160'–187'). Like similar OB lists (e.g., TIM 9, 85 cols. ii–vii), the arrangement of the entries is partially acrographic. Parallels to this appendix are also found in Emar S^a Voc., Tablets 1 and 2 (cf. *Emar* 537, Annexes I–III).³⁴ In addition, the traces after the final S^a entry BARA₂ in RS 20.135 (Ugaritica 5, no. 113, p. 410) suggest that the phrases and PN elements were not idiosyncratic to Emar. A number of these PN elements also occur in earlier Mesopotamian texts like Personal Name List A, which is attested principally in copies from OB Nippur.³⁵ The second appendix to Emar Paleographic S^a comprises some thirty contemporary and archaizing signs, most of which do not appear in any traditional sequence of S^a (cf. *Emar* 538:189'–215'). Moreover, the sign appendix from Emar appears to be different from what was appended to the Assur manuscript (Meissner 1927: 72–73, pl. IV, cols. xi–xii; MSL 3, 42). The entries on the left edge of Tablet 1 appear as the final entries in Tablet 2. The signs may be ALAM and another similar sign or two alternate archaizing forms of ALAM (cf. Meissner 1927: pl. IV cols. xi–xii, esp. entry 211). On Tablet 1 traces of these signs appear in the erasure following the entry KIŠ. The traces on the left side of the left edge of Tablet 2 may be a catchline. Based on contemporary sources like RS 20.123+ (Ugaritica 5, no. 137) and substantial later evidence, the Weidner God List is expected following S^a (van Soldt 1995: 172–173). However, Paleographic S^a may have

³⁴ These PN elements were neither mentioned nor discussed by Sjöberg 1998.

³⁵ See PBS 11/1, 49–79 (revised MS courtesy J. L. Peterson). It is worth noting on this count that there is one example of a MB library copy of PN List A: CBS 1783 + CBS 12609 (PBS 5, 154, with PBS 11/1, 7).

been copied at some later stage of scribal training, and, in any event, the reading of these traces on Tablet 2 is uncertain.

The text of Paleographic S^a is similar to both what is found in Emar S^a Voc. (see below) and contemporary and later sources of the syllabary. The following entries do not appear to be preserved in any source: TUM, EGIR, LAGAB (which may have been omitted), PIRIG, AZ, ANŠE, AR, MUŠ, UR₂, IB, BAL, ŠUL, ŠAH, TIR, TUK, TAG₄, and BARA₂. KASKAL is not preserved in the standard S^a section, where it should precede LUḪ, but it does appear in the appendix of PN elements. In the appendix of signs, KA₂ is present, but it also should appear following KISAL in the standard sequence; the traces are unclear. SIG₅ appears in canonical S^a after SIG, but in the second millennium it does not appear in the standard sequence. LAM appears between UB and PI in the standard sequence. GEŠTIN and MAŠ₂ appear in the canonical sequence of signs, however, they are absent from Emar S^a. Although KIŠ is correctly reckoned among the animal head signs in first-millennium S^a (cf. Mittermayer 2005), in Emar it appears in the appendix (Paleographic S^a) or out of order (S^a Voc.). The appendix of sign forms found in the MA copy of Paleographic S^a from Assur contains only a few of the same signs found in the sign appendix to Emar Paleographic S^a (Meissner 1927: 72, with pl. IV; MSL 3, 42). It should be noted that a double ruling differentiates between the main sequence of S^a and the appendix in the MA exemplar (Meissner 1927: pl. IV). In the MA manuscript from Assur and the Emar sources these double rulings are used to mark disjunctions between separate texts on what are essentially collective tablets, which is consistent with the most common usage of double rulings in earlier periods (Taylor 2008: 208–209).

Approximately thirty-six fragments of Paleographic S^a were found in 'Temple' M₁. All of the pieces assigned here to Tablet 1 were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE). The pieces assigned here to Tablet 2 were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE) and during the course of the excavations carried out in 1973, i.e., in either Locus 1 or Locus 3. All pieces of Tablet 3 were found in Locus 1 West (three M III NE, two M III SE). All unplaced fragments came from Locus 1 West as well (M III NE).

S^a Voc.: Syllabary A Vocabulary

Unlike S^a and Paleographic S^a, Emar S^a Voc. gives not only the sequence of signs, but also readings, Akkadian glosses, and, in some instances, sign names. Like S^a, each entry in Emar S^a is preceded with the marker DIŠ.

A total of four tablets have been reconstructed from 'Temple' M₁ in Emar (Civil 1989b: 9), making the Emar version of S^a Voc. the most complete

form of the text from any period (Sjöberg 1998). Tablet 1 is a bilingual manuscript written in the Syro-Hittite script by an unknown scribe. Tablet 2 was written in the Syrian script by Rībi-Dagān (see Appendix C). This manuscript stands out, since most of the lexical tablets written in the Syrian script are unilingual. The Syro-Hittite Tablet 3 was probably copied by the diviner Šaggar-abu (see Appendix C).

Tablets 3 and 4 pose some significant difficulties. Civil (1989b: 9) saw F: Msk 74231a as one of the three manuscripts with the complete text of S^a Voc. However, a closer examination of the layout of the tablet demonstrates that this cannot be the case. Arnaud's copy is spread across several pages (Emar 6/2, pp. 532–537), but there are traces of four columns from the obverse. The traces from col. i' should be from the Akkadian entries for the actual col. i, since col. ii' preserves several Akkadian glosses for the sign UḪ (cf. the composite text *Emar* 537:68–81). The last column of the obverse, col. iv', ends in the middle of the sequence for BA, which appears near the top of obverse col. ii in Tablet 2 (Msk 731064+, Emar 6/1, p. 139) and must be reconstructed in the lacuna in the middle of col. ii in Tablet 1 (cf. Msk 7523b, Emar 6/2, p. 732). The last clear entry in F rev. col. vii' (rev., third column from the right) is KA (cf. the composite text *Emar* 537:317–324). There are a few traces in the last column of the reverse, which would allow for entries for a few more signs, but the text of F cannot be complete. F is most likely from the same tablet as either B: Msk 74204a or K: Msk 74199t, which are duplicates. K is only a small fragment of the first column of the obverse, but it is a duplicate of both A and B and it does not appear to be written in the Syrian script, i.e., like C. Sign values and sign names are exceedingly rare in the Syrian manuscript C+. ³⁶ F and B may be from the same tablet, but that would require an extremely large number of entries for both KA and SAG. Both F and B are excerpts from S^a Voc. and have texts of similar length. Another feature the two have in common is the use of sign names. Both F and B use the same format to write sign names, namely DIŠ followed by the value and sign name (*Emar* 537:132, 218–293, 339; cf. Gong 1995). ³⁷

³⁶ The entry DIŠ mu-ia² MU *et-lu*₄ (Emar 6/1, p. 142) is the only possible exception in this manuscript (*Emar* 537:633'). MU is an attested writing for *etlu* (CAD E 407a lex.), but both MES and MU are probably insertions here between the standard S^a entries ŠUL and ŠAH.

³⁷ Arnaud appears to have omitted one inconvenient entry in F (cf. *Emar* 537 Annexe VII). Where the text should have GA₂, there is the entry DIŠ ga-ra *ga-n*[i'-...] followed by two entries for GA₂ (Emar 6/2, p. 537). Since GANA₂ occurs in the next column of the same

Cohen (2003: 174 n. 292) proposed that F and three other fragments (K: Msk 74199t, L: Msk 7486a, and M: Msk 74309) make up one tablet. L could be the lower left corner of the obverse of either B or K.³⁸ In any event, it is unlikely that source M can join source F, since the entry ŠA₂ occurs much later in the text than the last legible entry on the reverse of F (composite *Emar* 537:324 versus 505').

Of the five pieces that may join to form Tablet 1, three were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE) and two were surface finds. The three pieces that constitute Tablet 2 were found during the 1973 excavations in either Locus 1 or Locus 3, as well as in Locus 1 Center (M I NW). Since these squares probably overlapped in Locus 1 near the doorway to Locus 3, it was probably here that all three pieces were found. Of the fragmentary pieces that make up Tablets 3 and 4, only one fragment was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 2 (M I NE). The rest of the sources came from Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE).

Weidner God List

The composition known as the Weidner God List is the only list of god names found at Emar that was not directly associated in some way with cultic practice.³⁹ First identified in the 1920s (Weidner 1924–1925), the Weidner God List belongs with the corpus of lexical texts, since it was the one god list that was consistently a component of scribal education in cuneiform culture at a number of sites and across a significant stretch of time (Lambert 1957–1971: 474; van Soldt 1995a: 172–173, 197).

A single unprovenienced fragment has been dated to the Ur III period on paleographic grounds, and three early second-millennium sources also lack secure provenience (Weidner 1924–1925: 2–6). Second-millennium copies are known from Nippur,⁴⁰ Babylon (VS 24, 20), Assur (Weidner

piece, it is likely that GA₂ was interpreted by the scribe as KAR₂, GANA₂-*tenû*. The signs are remarkably similar in Emar.

³⁸ The sign value and sign name preserved in L were not incorporated into *Emar* 537:48. Following the last entry for PAD, note the final entry in col. i: DIŠ še-ra *kam²-ru-u* Š[IR² . . .] (*Emar* 6/1, p. 219).

³⁹ There is no “An = Anum aus Meskene/Emar” that equates Ninsiana with Pirengir (Taracha 2005: 570). This reference must be to the Hurro-Mesopotamian polyglot copy of the Weidner God List discussed here.

⁴⁰ Nippur: N 2229 MB or OB unpub., N 4474 + N 7533 MB or OB unpub. (joined by J. L. Peterson), N 3685 MB or OB unpub. (not in Veldhuis 2000), UM 29-15-970 MB extract (Veldhuis 2000: 79, 93), UM 29-15-976 MB lentil (Veldhuis 2000: 79, 93), Ni 292 (Veldhuis and Hilprecht 2003–2004: 42, no. 35). Assur: KAV 63, KAV 65, KAV 62, KAV 46, KAV 47 (Weidner 1924–1925).

1924–1925), Amarna (EA 374; Izre'el 1997: 85–86, pls. XLIII–XLIV; van Soldt 1999), Ugarit (Krecher 1969: 147–149; van Soldt 1995: 197; RS 92.3179, André-Salvini 2004: 154), and Emar (*Emar* 539, composite; Laroche 1989; Gantzert 2008: I 46–48, II 30–32). The Weidner God List is also attested in the first millennium in Babylon (Cavigneaux 1981: 79–99), Ur (UET 7, 149), Kish (OECT 4, 135–149), Nippur (CBS 2157, N 1538), and Late Babylonian Uruk (LKU 3; SpTU 3, no. 108). A number of unprovenanced first-millennium school exercises from Babylonia have also been identified in the British Museum (Gesche 2000: 75–76, 807; Lambert 2003–2004: 396).

There are two copies of the Weidner God List from 'Temple' M₁ in Emar. Tablet 1 is a standard Mesopotamian copy of the text with occasional glosses.⁴¹ The other, Tablet 2, is a largely unpublished Hurro-Mesopotamian copy that gives the standard Mesopotamian entries and their Hurrian counterparts (Laroche 1989; Richter 1998). Both Tablets 1 and 2 were written in the Syro-Hittite script.

In total Arnaud correctly identified five fragments, which appear to all belong to one tablet. I have identified four additional pieces and a fifth possible fragment. Msk 7485c and Msk 74165k belong to Tablet 1: Ai (+) B (+) Msk 7485c (+) Aii (+) C (+) D (+) Msk 74165k. The fragments Msk 74890 and Msk 74158k both belong to Tablet 2, the unpublished polyglot manuscript of the Weidner God List. Msk 74122h may belong to the first column of either Tablet 1 or Tablet 2, or it may be a fragment of an acrographic lexical text, e.g., the section of Izi that has an-compounds (cf. MSL 13, 17–18, 34, 36).

A few other fragments present problems. According to Arnaud, Msk 7489c "était pourvu originellement d'une colonne hourrite et appartient donc à E. Il n'est pas repris donc ici" (*Emar* 6/4, p. 35). Msk 7489c is probably from some bilingual lexical text, but it is not obviously a piece of the Weidner God List. Perhaps "Msk 7489c" was simply a typographical error for "Msk 74890." A more serious problem is Arnaud's commentary on RS 79.024 + 80.388, which raises some questions about the sources found at Emar (Arnaud 1982b: 203–208, no. 2). Arnaud indicates that he will cite "les textes de Meskéné sous leur numéro d'inventaire" (Arnaud 1982b: 206), a sensible approach given the fact that *Emar* 6/1–2 would not

⁴¹ Examples of glosses include: [^dnu]ska : šul-mu; [^dBIL].GI : ni-im¹-ru; [^dnin-]gal : ni-ik-kal; [^dlu₂-lal₃]: lu-la-aḥ-ḥu (*Emar* 539:3', 5', 10', 16'; all Msk 74165i).

appear until 1985. However, in the course of commenting on RS 79.024+, Arnaud (1982b: 206–207) mentions the following: Msk 74165 (probably Msk 74165i col. ii) and Msk 74108(?) (on line 63: ^dna-bi-um); Msk 74108(?) and Msk 74165 (probably Msk 74165j) (+) Msk 74160(?) (line 65: ^dma-mi-e); Msk 74118(?): ^dnin-men-na (line 198: ^dnin-men); Msk 74118(?) (line 210: ^dbe-el-ŠUL-ba-at) appears to have ^dbe-el-šul-ba-at; Msk 74118(?) [^da-r]i-tum (lines 213: ^da-ri-tum); Msk 74118(?) (line 214: ^dnin-kin-din); Msk 74118(?) [^dbu-l]a-la (line 216: ^dbu-la₂-la₂); Msk 74118(?) four DN_s written ^dKASKAL, instead of expected ^dKASKAL.KUR. Perhaps Msk 74108α, Msk 74118α, and Msk 74160α are part of the Hurro-Mesopotamian polyglot manuscript, i.e., Tablet 2. In his edition of the text Arnaud tentatively identified another small fragment, Msk 7493j, which is treated here as an unidentified lexical fragment (Emar 6/4, p. 36).

The first new fragment is from the obverse right edge of Tablet 1:

Aii: Msk 74165j (Emar 6/2, p. 422) (+) Msk 7485c (Emar 6/1, p. 218) ri. ed.

1' ^r^d₁[naga]r

2' ^r^d₁[lugal-]šud₃-du

(ruling)

3' ^d[utt]u²([TAG.TU]G₂)

4' ^d[nin-giš-zi-d]a² : *ni-ka²-si-da*

(ruling)

5' ^d[nin-mu₂(?)]

6' ^d[nin-imm]a₃²

(ruling)

7' ^dka[l-kal]

etc.

There are two signs that wrap around from the reverse, but they are difficult to match with any specific entry or its gloss. Most significant here is the interesting gloss of the DN Ningišzida as Nikkassida or the like (cf. Wiggermann 2000: 368). This writing is similar to Ningal = Nikkal encountered earlier in the text (*Emar* 539:10'), as well as in literary texts from Ugarit and elsewhere (Ug. *nkl*; see Weippert 2000).

The second new fragment from the reverse right edge of Tablet 1 adds several entries to the Emar version and the text in general:

Msk 74165k (Emar 6/2, p. 420)

- 1' [^dU]Š×GUD⁴²
- 2' [^dn]ita([^dU]Š)
- 3' [^d]MUG⁴³
- 4' [^dG]IM?
- 5' [^dn]anše([^dA]B×[^dHA])
- 6' [^d]IM
- 7' [^d]IM
- 8' [^dša]-la
- 9' [^dmi-ša]-rum

There are also traces of two subsequent entries.

One of the fragments from Tablet 2 probably comes from the obverse and reads as follows:

Msk 74890 (Emar 6/1, p. 223)

- 1' [^d]mes-sag-kud-x[: ^da-na-tum]⁴⁴
- 2' [^d1]ba-u₂ : [^dmi-il-ku-un]
- 3' [^d1]lugal-ban₃-da : [^d1][š_i-mi-gi]
- 4' [^d]nin-sumun₂-an-na : [^d1][a-ia-ku-un]
- 5' [^d]lugal-marad-da : [^d1][aš-ta-bi-ni]
- 6' [^d]im-zu-an-na [^d1] : [^dte-eš-ša-ab]
- 7' [^d1]šu-zi-an-na[: ^dta-at-mi-iš]
- 8' ^degi-nu[n-a]n-n[a : ^d...]

The restorations of the Hurrian entries are based on the Sumerian-Akkadian-Hurrian-Ugaritic polyglot source RS 20.123+ (Ugaritica 5, no. 137).⁴⁵

Arnaud first identified the fragment Msk 74158k as “Hh 21, Version 5” (Emar 558 G); however, this identification cannot be correct.⁴⁶

⁴² The expected entry is ^dNINDA₂×GUD = ^d(n)indaġar, for which see Selz 2002: 671–682. Perhaps read simply ^dUŠ×x here.

⁴³ This entry appears to be preserved in one copy of the Weidner God List from NB Babylon (Cavigneaux 1981: 94, line 174, cf. copy p. 183, 79.B.1/135 vii'). The entry ^dMUG also occurs in the OB Nippur God List (Peterson 2009: 40, 65). In contrast, one manuscript from Ugarit, RS 79.024 + 80.388, appears to have ^dnin-[MUG] here (Arnaud 1982b: 205). Unfortunately, the earlier part of the text that should contain ^dnin-MUG is not preserved in this copy from Ugarit (cf. Emar 539:55').

⁴⁴ The fragment needs to be collated and compared with the rest of the manuscript, but the entry appears to be a corruption of the DN Mes-sanga-Unug, for which see Krenbik 1993. The entry ^dsag-kud should precede the entry in question and may have led to its textual corruption.

⁴⁵ RS 20.123+ contains both quadrilingual versions of S^a Voc. and the Weidner God List, the latter of which is an excerpt that was written on the reverse of the tablet perpendicular to the main text of S^a Voc. Partial duplicates of these lines include: UET 7, 149 rev. 13'–21' (NB); BM 46547 obv. col. i (Gesche 2000: 327); and RS 92.3179 (André-Salvini 2004: 154).

⁴⁶ For the obverse, cf. the standard Mesopotamian unilingual source RS 79.024 + 80.388 (Arnaud 1982a: 203–208, no. 2). For the reverse, cf. RS 22.344 + 23.24 (Ugaritica 5, p. 416).

Msk 74158k obv. (Emar 6/2, p. 394)

- 1' [dA]G[?] : [...]
 2' [dtaš-me-tu]m[?] r^{d?} [...] ²⁷
 3' [d-a-ra-a]h²-tum : d-a-r[a-a]h-tum(?)
 4' [dmi-uš-H]I[?] : d*zi*-[...] ²⁸
 5' [dištar]an(KA.D)I : d*ku*-š[u-u]h(?)
 6' [dDI.K]UD : šu-[...] ²⁹
 7' [dk]ud : šu-x[...] ³⁰
 8' [d]nirah : di[a²-...] ³¹
 9' [di-šar-ma]-ti-su : d[...] ³²
 10' [di-šar-k]i-di-su : [...] ³³
 11' [di-šar-n]e-ri-su [:...] ³⁴
 12' [di-šar-a]-ri-su [:...] ⁴⁷
 13' [di-šar-p]ad₃-d[a :...] ³⁵
 14' [dGIR₃-iri₁₁]-gal [:...] ³⁶
 15' [der₃-r]a?[?] [:...] ³⁷

Msk 74158k rev.

- 1' [dSU.KUR.RU] : [...] ³⁸
 2' [dkur-din-nam] : [...] ³⁹
 3' [dnin]-[x x x]¹ : d[...] ⁴⁸
 4' [dda]-gan : dx[...] ⁴⁰
 5' [dda]-mu : dx[...] ⁴¹
 6' [dnin-š]en-šen-na : dx[...] ⁴²
 7' [dinana-unu]g^{ki} : URU GAN₂/E₂ SAL[...] ⁴³
 8' [dinana-kiš]^{ki} : URU *ki-iš* [...] ⁴⁴
 9' [dinana-za]bala^{ki}m : URU *šu-ma*?[-...] ⁴⁹
 10' [dinana-i₃-li]p?^[ki] : URU *šu-r*[u[?]-...] ⁴⁵
 11' [dinana-a-ga-d]e^{ki}₃ : UR]U *pa-x* [...] ⁴⁶
 12' [dinana-galga-su₃] : UR]U[?] [...] ⁴⁷

The end of the Emar recension is uncertain. The last preserved entries are the following:

Ai: Msk 74165i (Tablet 1 col. v)

- 1' di^m-[du-du]
 2' de₂-kur₃[-ri-tum]

If it is actually the middle upper edge that is preserved on Msk 74165i, then the Emar recension of the composition may well end here. The

⁴⁷ Cf. OECT 1; KAV 65 ii 17; NB Babylon: di-šar-a-li-su; on all of the DN beginning with Išar-, see Lambert 1976–1980.

⁴⁸ Note the DN dⁿⁱⁿ-NIGIN_x(U.UD.RU.KID)-gar-ra in Ugartica 5, no. 124; Cavigneaux and Krebern timer 2001b.

⁴⁹ Cf. perhaps Diri 3:99–111.

main OB manuscript (VAT 7759) ends: (col. vii) ^dnin-mar-[...], ^d[...], [...], (col. viii) ^de₂-kur-ri-tum, ^dmaš-re₂-e, ^dnin-igi-zi-bara₂?, ^dlum-x, ^dnin-gul (Weidner 1924–1925: 5, 80–81). While RS 20.121 (Ugaritica 5, no. 119) and RS 23.495 (Ugaritica 5, no. 121) have six additional entries after ^de₂-kur-ri-tum, RS 79.024 simply ends with the entry ^dKASKAL (Arnaud 1982a: 205–207). The NB manuscripts from Babylon have about five additional entries after ^de₂-kur-ri-tum, note especially 79.B.1/41B (Cavigneaux 1981: 98–99). A sixth column may well have been present in Tablet 1 from Emar, if only to accommodate a colophon.

All of the pieces from Tablet 1 were found in ‘Temple’ M₁ in Locus 1 West (5, M III SE; 1, M III NE). The two published fragments of Tablet 2 were also found in Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE), as was the possible fragment (M III NE).

Hh: ur₅-ra = ħubullu

The first of the thematic lexical lists found in ‘Temple’ M₁ is the multi-tablet series referred to by the incipit of its first major division: ur₅-ra = *ħubullu* (MSL 5–11; Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 626–628; MB Hh Veldhuis 1997: 67–71). Thematic lexical lists are known already in the archaic lexical corpus, but it is in the third millennium that we see the earliest forerunner to Hh at Ebla (Civil 1987a; 2008). Some version of this list appears to have existed in the Ur III period (e.g., 6N-T 931).⁵⁰ Hh is known in virtually every site where lexical texts have been found from the OB period on.⁵¹ While OB versions are unilingual, post-OB versions occurred in both unilingual and bilingual formats. For example, many MB lexical texts from Nippur are unilingual or sporadically bilingual (e.g., CBS 14064 = SLT 44), and the more numerous MA texts are most often bilingual (MSL passim). The situation is similar across the numerous sites outside of Babylonia and Assyria that have these texts, such as Nuzi (Lacheman 1939), Ĥattuša (CTH 302), Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a), Emar (see below), and the Levant (Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 29–32?, 42–43, 73–74). The first-millennium, so-called canonical version is found throughout Mesopotamia. A catalogue of lexical texts from LB Uruk lists the incipits of the last three divisions of canonical Hh, categorizing the compositions as “[24?] tablets: explanatory

⁵⁰ A cast of 6N-T 931 is kept in the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

⁵¹ Amarna is the exception that proves the rule (cf. Izre’el 1997).

word lists, se[ries]” [n] DUB.MEŠ *ša-a-tu*₂ EŠ₂[GAR₃] (SpTU 4, 186 i 1’–5’, after copy p. 203).⁵²

The MB version of Hh found in Ugarit and Emar was divided into fifteen tablets, rather than the six tablets known in OB and the twenty-four tablets known from the canonical version. Despite this fact, the tablet designations utilized below correspond to the canonical tablet numbers. This decision is a product of Arnaud’s use of the divisions of the canonical version and some outstanding uncertainties about whether the Ugarit and Emar versions were always and everywhere identical (cf. Gantzert 2008: I 49–225, II 33–128).⁵³

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 1

Business Expressions

The first division of Emar Hh is devoted to basic Sumerian and, in bilingual sources, Akkadian terminology for legal and economic transactions (MSL 5; Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 631). The text covers basic nouns and noun phrases (e.g., kinship terminology, the standard Babylonian calendar), as well as verbal constructions that appear in contracts. A few of these stereotypical legal phrases are also found in practical documents from the site. As in Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 198),⁵⁴ both unilingual and bilingual versions of the text are found in Emar, and it is commonly assumed that the unilingual versions evidence a more advanced stage in scribal training. As will become clear, the unilingual sources tend to be written in the older Syrian style, so their place in the Emar curriculum may be less obvious (e.g., Cohen 2009: 132).

Arnaud correctly identified twenty-five fragments of Emar Hh 1 (*Emar* 541). Civil (1989b: 11) identified an additional fragment, Msk 74117c, and pointed out that there are a number of joins to be made among Arnaud’s fragments. Following this suggestion, Cohen (2003: 196–199) proposed a

⁵² Although *šātu* typically refers to a type of simple commentary (e.g., CAD § 119a), the term was also applied to Hh by first-millennium scholars, since both were frequently presented in parallel columns (Frahm 2004: 46).

⁵³ E.g., see Hh 18–19 and Hh 20–22 below.

⁵⁴ I have identified an additional fragment from Ugarit: RS 86.2245 (André-Salvini 2004: 151; Rutz 2007). Only a few traces remain of the right column, but the sequence in the left column is identical to that of the unilingual fragment RS 2.[015] (Thureau-Dangin 1931: pl. XLIX; MSL 5, 36–37). Perhaps there are additional unpublished duplicates from Ugarit. One unilingual source from Emar (Tablet 1) exhibits a similar version of this section. However, the other two manuscripts (Tablet 2 and Tablet 3) contain the additional lines present in the first millennium (MSL 5, 36).

number of joins, reducing the number of discrete manuscripts to three. However, there are at least five tablets in the corpus. I have identified one additional bilingual fragment: Msk 74160h. Another possible fragment is Msk 7480b, though the order is wrong, and Arnaud tentatively identified it as Nigga (Emar 6/4, p. 170).

Tablet 1 is unilingual Sum. and written in the Syrian script by Baʿl-bēlu (Appendix C): A: Msk 731046 + C: Msk 74342b + E: Msk 74248a (+?) R: Msk 74198l (cf. Cohen 2009: 134, joins).

In contrast, Tablet 2 is bilingual and written in the Syro-Hittite script by the diviner and scribe Baʿl-mālik, son of Baʿl-qarrād (Appendix C): B: Msk 731044 (+) T: Msk 7498i (+) V: Msk 74122al⁵⁵ (+) Z: Msk 731085l. Since G: Msk 731067 and H: 74171f are duplicates, only one of them can be part of Tablet 2, while the other is probably from Tablet 4 or Tablet 5 (cf. Cohen 2003: 199).

Like Tablet 1, the Sum. unilingual Tablet 3 is written in the Syrian script. The copyist was the apprentice diviner (I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR) Išmaʿ-Dagān (Appendix C): Di: Msk 731059a + Dii: Msk 731059b + Diii: Msk 731059c (+) F: Msk 74178b (+) U: Msk 74164c (Cohen 2003: 199). Source P: Msk 7496c belongs to either Tablet 1 or Tablet 3.

Because the Syro-Hittite fragment L: Msk 74104h duplicates C (Tablet 1), B (Tablet 2), and D (Tablet 3), it must constitute a small fragment from the reverse of Tablet 4, which was probably bilingual. The fragments W: Msk 741010 and J: Msk 74122ba duplicate L and so are all that can be identified as the reverse of Tablet 5, which was most likely also bilingual. Source M: Msk 74139 belongs to either Tablet 4 or Tablet 5. The remaining fragments cannot be assigned to any of the five tablets with confidence.

The fragment Msk 74160h adds Akkadian entries for a section that is otherwise only known in Sum. in Emar (Emar 541:86–90):

Msk 74160h (Emar 6/2, p. 410)

| | | |
|----|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 1' | [dam-dam | aš-š]a-at mu-t[i] |
| 2' | [dam-guruš] | MIN eṭ-li |
| 3' | [dam-lu ₂] | MIN a-mi-li |
| 4' | [dam-ban ₃ -da |]x[]x |
| 5' | [dam-kaskal |]x |

⁵⁵ Or is V part of the Akkadian literary text Date Palm and Tamarisk (Wilcke 1989a: 166 n. 16)? The sequence does appear to fit Hh 1 (Emar 541:291'–293' composite), but V will be treated as an uncertain fragment until the objects can be examined.

The four pieces of Tablet 1 were found in four different units, all of which point to Locus 1: Locus 1 Center (M I NW), Locus 1 West (M III NE), Locus 1 North (M IV SW), and either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (1973 campaign). Two fragments of Tablet 2 were found during the 1973 campaign (i.e., Locus 1 or Locus 3), while the others all came from Locus 1 West (M III NE). The same is true of Tablet 3 (1973 campaign, M III NE, M III SE). Tablet 4 and Tablet 5 were both found in Locus 1 West (M III NE). The remaining fragments were all found in 1973 or came from Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE), except for the tiny fragment S: Msk 74293j, which was found in Locus 3 (M I SW-II NW).

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 2

Business Expressions

Hh 2 continues with basic words (including more titles), phrases, and expressions that are most often encountered in legal and economic documents (MSL 5; Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 631). Only a small number of these terms actually occurs in legal and administrative documents from Emar. As with Hh 1, there is no OB version of Hh 2. Both unilingual and bilingual versions are known from Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 198).

Arnaud identified twenty fragments of Emar Hh 2 (*Emar* 542), making one join in his edition, namely the two pieces subsumed under source E. Civil (1989b: 11) made two new identifications, Msk 74232q and perhaps Msk 74232d = *Emar* 602 AC, which does not fit perfectly in the reconstructed series. I have identified eight additional fragments: Msk 7482b, Msk 7489k, Msk 74101e, Msk 74146m, Msk 74180f, Msk 74214d, Msk 74234e, and possibly Msk 74104u. Cohen (2009: 202) distinguished between two sources, A and B, and suggested possible joins between A: Msk 74191a and M: 74129c, as well as between K: Msk 74127b (+[?]) B: Msk 731058 (+[?]) C: Msk 74250. With the exception of K (+[?]) B (+[?]) C (Cohen 2003: 200), all suggested joins are my proposals (see Appendix B.5.4.2).

Tablet 1, A (+), is bilingual and was written in the Syro-Hittite style. Source I: Msk 74146h (not *Emar* 542 “J”) is a duplicate of M, and may be a better join with A, especially since A and M also appear to be duplicates.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ If the copies are accurate, then A: šu-ti q[a-ta-tu] // M: [šu-ti] qa-ta-tu (*Emar* 542:80’).

Tablet 2, K (+), is also a Syro-Hittite-style bilingual manuscript.

Since D: Msk 74342a is a duplicate of both A and B, it must constitute a separate manuscript, Tablet 3.

A number of new pieces can be assigned to Tablet 2. Msk 74146m is from the upper edge and preserves entries of the first two columns of a bilingual version of Emar Hh 2. The Kassite extracts CBS 4595 (PBS 12/1, 18) and CBS 14167 (Veldhuis 2000: 88 fig. 3) are unilingual duplicates of K: Msk 74127b (+) Msk 74146m (Emar 6/1, p. 369), which can be reconstructed:

| | |
|--|--|
| K: Msk 74127b (Emar 6/1, p. 321) (+) Msk 74146m (Emar 6/1, p. 369) | |
| [tu-]ul pu ₂ | [bu-u]r ² -ti |
| [šub]-ba | [na-d]i ² |
| [p]u ₂ -da p[a ₃ -da | ina bur-t]i na-di (sic) |
| silā-da ku ₄ -[ra | ina su-u-q]i ₂ [?] u ₂ ¹ (SI)-še-ri-ib |
| ka ur-gi ₇ -a-ni-[še ₃ in-kar | ina pi ₂ -i k]al-bi e-ki-im |
| ka-nam-r[i-a-ni-še ₃ šub-ba in-... |] x x x [...] |

The first few IN signs of the initial entries in col. ii are also preserved (i[n-, in-[, i[n²-, cf. *Emar* 542:71ff; Hh 2:74ff, MSL 5, 56–57).

The second fragment from Tablet 2 is very small but can be assigned to a tablet because the other manuscripts preserves these lines (*Emar* 542:208'–210').

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Msk 74180f (Emar 6/2, p. 455) | |
| 1' | [us ₂ -sa]-DU |
| 2' | [us ₂ -sa-DU-a-ša ₃]-ga |
| 3' | [us ₂ -sa-ra ₂]-giš-kiri ₆ |

The next new fragments are from near the end of the text (cf. *Emar* 542:291'; Hh 2:372–376, MSL 5, 80).⁵⁷

| | | |
|---|------------|---|
| Msk 74214d (Emar 6/2, p. 520) (+) Msk 74234e (Emar 6/2, p. 548) | | |
| 1' | [MIN(gun)] | ¹ id ₂ ¹ -da M[IN |
| 2' | [MIN(gun)] | m]a-da MIN [|
| 3' | [M]IN(gun) | ma-da-i[g]i-nim MIN [|
| 4' | MIN(gun) | ma-da-i[gi ²]-sig MIN [|
| 5' | MIN(gun) | ma-da-k[i ² -en-]g[i ² -uri ^{ki}] MIN [|

⁵⁷ For a nearly identical sequence, see the Sum.-Hurr. bilingual manuscript from Ugarit, RS 2.[023] + RS 3.360 rev.

Msk 74234e preserves the upper edge of the tablet, and it is also assigned here to Tablet 2.⁵⁸ While we still do not have the very end of the text, more of Emar Hh 2 is present than in *Emar* 542.

Four new pieces can be assigned tentatively to the fragmentary Tablet 3. Two new fragments together form a piece that is a partial duplicate of the unilingual Kassite extract CBS 5819 (+) CBS 10296 (cf. *Emar* 542:75'–79'). While the second part (Msk 7482b) may be from Tablet 2, the first part (Msk 74101e) is a duplicate of B. Note the MB parallel from Nippur (SLT 241 obv.).

Msk 74101e (*Emar* 6/1, p. 244) (+) Msk 7482b (*Emar* 6/1, p. 215)

1' [in-gar]-e-meš [
(ruling)
2' [in]-dib [
3' [in-dib]-e-meš [
4' [in]-ḥun-ga₂ [
5' [in-ḥun-g]a₂-e-meš [
6' [in-sa]r
7' [in]-sar-e-meš [
8' [ba]-an-ku₄-k[u₄
9' [nu-] MIN[
(ruling)
10' [ze₂-]ri-d[am
11' [na₄-kišib] UL p[a'-

This duplicate demonstrates that the beginning of the entry in A // M (na₄-kišib UL pa-ad-di ze₂-ri-dam) is consistent in *Emar*. Based on the canonical version, the entry should be something like: na₄-kišib libir-ra pad₃-da ze₂-ri-dam (cf. Hh 2:92–93, MSL 5, 57–58). Next, Msk 74232q appears to be from the same tablet as fragment D (cf. *Emar* 542:119'–221'; Civil 1989b: 11):

Msk 74232q (*Emar* 6/2, p. 539) (+) D: Msk 74342a

1' ša₃-b[i-še₃ a-na lib-bi-šu]
2' ša₃-bi-š[e₃? in-gar a-na lib-bi-šu iš-k]u-u[n]
(ruling)
3' in-da-[da-ag]dadag ub-bi-i]b
4' in-dadag-[e-meš ub-bi-b]u

⁵⁸ Admittedly a comparison of L and the two new fragments reveals some layout problems: whereas L repeats the Akkadian *bi-la-at*, Msk 74214d has MIN. It may be that one of these pieces actually belongs with Tablet 1 or Tablet 3.

According to the text alone another fragment (O: Msk 74132s) could join Msk 74232q, but that piece is near the lower edge, making a join with Msk 74232q unlikely.

The last new fragment reads:⁵⁹

Msk 7489k (Emar 6/1, p. 223)
 1' [(x)]x[
 2' [api]n²-la₂[
 3' [lu₂-api]n²-la₂ e[-re-šu]
 (ruling)
 4' [lu₂-enga]r : ik-k[a-ru]
 5' [lu₂-ša]₃-gir₃ ku₈-[ul-li-zu₃]
 (ruling)
 6' [gud-da-u]s₂-s[a-a

Because it is a duplicate of Tablet 2 (B: *Emar* 542:235'–237'; cf. Hh 2:320–326) and the layout is different from that of Tablet 1 (J), this new fragment is tentatively assigned to Tablet 3.

Finally, another small fragment may belong to Emar Hh 2, but since there are no preserved duplicates of this section and the identification is tentative, it is impossible to assign it to one of the three main manuscripts.

Msk 74104u (Emar 6/1, p. 263)
 1' [ki-]us₂[
 2' [ki-]us₂[
 (ruling)
 3' [] suḥur² [
 4' [suḥ]ur²-g[ig⁶⁰
 5' [su]ḥur²-[la₂

These lines may parallel the MB (CBS 4599 = PBS 12/1, 16) and first-millennium versions (cf. Hh 2:280–284, MSL 5, 71–72).

All of the tablets and fragments of Hh 2 from 'Temple' M₁ are written in the Syro-Hittite script, and all appear to be bilingual. The pieces assigned here to Tablet 1 were all found in Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE). As for Tablet 2, one piece was found in 1973 (i.e., in Locus 1 or Locus 3), another came from Locus 1 Center (M I NW), and the remaining fragments were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE). The three pieces from Tablet 3 were found in Locus 1 West (two M III NE) and Locus 1 North (M IV SW).

⁵⁹ Compare the MB unilingual manuscript from Nippur, CBS 4594 (unpub.).

⁶⁰ Or perhaps suḥur-m[i] based on CBS 4599 (PBS 12/1, 16:20), which reads suḥur-me.

This separation in space may cast some doubt on the proposed join. The remaining fragments were mostly found in Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE), but one fragment came from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW).

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 3-5a *Wood*

The first-millennium version of Hh 3-7 lists different types of trees as well as a variety of objects made out of wood (MSL 5-6). This section constituted the first division of the OB version of this text (Veldhuis 1997). Arnaud made the decision to mark divisions in the Emar version as though it were first-millennium Hh. However, based on the first division of OB Hh and the versions of Hh from Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 198-199; Veldhuis 1997: 69) and Ḥattuša (KBo 26, 5 (+) 6, uniling. prism), it has been determined that the text of Emar Hh 3-7 exhibits a bipartite organization, hence Hh 3-5a (Civil 1989b: 11; *Emar* 543; *Emar* 544; *Emar* 545:1-59').⁶¹ Given this organization, Arnaud identified eight fragments of this text, which Civil (1989b: 11) divided into four manuscripts. Based on a reexamination of Arnaud's sources, it is possible to differentiate five distinct tablets and three unplaced fragments. I have identified an additional fragment: Msk 7491w.

The unilingual Tablet 1, *Emar* 543-544 A: Msk 731030, was written in the Syrian script by the apprentice diviner (I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR) Rībi-Dagān (Appendix C). Tablet 1 has five columns on each side. The text contains the entries beginning with the first entry of first-millennium Hh 3 (giš-taskarin) and runs through some, but not all, of Hh 5a, probably ending in the middle of the section dealing with various types of carts (giš-mar-gid₂-da). Despite damage to the lower left corner of the tablet, not more than ten entries can be reconstructed in the last column (col. x) on the reverse. Two curiosities make this tablet exceptional. First, Msk 731030 also bears the text of a short Akkadian magical-medical incantation (*Emar* 737). The text, which is a partial duplicate of BAM 574 iv 17ff (cf. Civil 1989b: 11), appears beneath the colophon in the left-most column on the reverse and runs perpendicular to the text of Hh 3-5a, continuing on the left edge (*Emar* 6/1, pp. 108-109). Second, perhaps most extraordinary is the presence of an entirely unique Syrian-style seal impression (F16) just above the colophon (Beyer 2001: 261-262, 304, pl. 36c). Sealings are extraordinarily rare on scholarly tablets from any site or period, since the

⁶¹ In addition, as Civil (1989b: 11) notes, a prism from Ḥattuša (KBo 26, 5+6) also combines Hh 3 and Hh 4.

use of seals was tied to administrative and legal practices. The only parallel so far can be found on a MA lunar omen compendium in the British Museum (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 279, BM 121034; cf. Nemet-Nejat and Wallenfels 1994; possibly UM 29-13-206).

Tablet 2, *Emar* 543–544 C: Msk 74163b, is also unilingual and was written in the Syrian style, with “at times rather cursive signs” (Civil 1989b: 11). Only a sizable fragment of the upper right corner of Tablet 2 is preserved, with four columns on the obverse and three columns on the reverse. The text of Tablet 2 is somewhat parallel to that of Tablet 1 with some textual variants, but the text of Tablet 2 must have been slightly shorter than Tablet 1. A comparison of the two indicates that Tablet 2 probably also had five columns on the obverse (only cols. ii–v are preserved).

Only the lower right corner of the Syro-Hittite Tablet 3, *Emar* 543 B: Msk 7480a, is preserved. Bilingual entries form the last column of the obverse and first two columns of the reverse indicate that the text of Tablet 3 diverged from that of the unilingual manuscripts (*Emar* 543 Annexe; cf. *Emar* 543:120’–152’ composite of Tablet 1 and Tablet 2).

Based on the entries preserved on the bilingual fragment *Emar* 543 D: Msk 74171j, it is probably from the right edge of an extract, here Tablet 4. It is not clear from the copy whether the traces on *Emar* 543 D are anywhere near the top of the tablet. Based on the reconstructed text, this should be the case (*Emar* 543:21–24).⁶² If *Emar* 543 D is not near the upper edge of the tablet, then we must entertain the notion that some other text was also present. There is so far no evidence of Hh 2 and Hh 3 appearing together combined on one tablet.

The partially bilingual Tablet 5, *Emar* 544–545 B: Msk 731048, was copied by the diviner Ba’l-mālik, son of Ba’l-qarrād (Appendix C). The text of this tablet parallels entries for Hh 4 and Hh 5 in the first-millennium version. Given that the reverse bears the colophon, the text of the obverse cannot be missing too many lines. Thus the text probably treats the entries giš-gu-za through giš-mar-gid₂-da.⁶³ Two of the four unplaced fragments may belong to Tablet 5 (*Emar* 544 F: Msk 74104x; Msk 7491w).

The bilingual fragment Msk 7491w is a partial duplicate of *Emar* 544 A: Msk 731030. The bilingual fragment diverges significantly from the unilingual Sum. source (*Emar* 544:126’–131’) and corresponds more closely to canonical Hh 4:248–257 (MSL 5, 171–172):

⁶² Although it is not in Arnaud’s edition, the first entry present in D may be: [giš-taskarin *ta-as-ka-re-e*]n-nu (*Emar* 6/2, p. 435).

⁶³ Note: giš-KI.KAL-mar-gid₂-da : *sa-as-su* (*Emar* 6/1, p. 128; *Emar* 545:59’).

Msk 7491w (Emar 6/1, p. 228)⁶⁴

| | | |
|----|---|---------------------|
| 1' | [x x x]x[| ...] |
| 2' | [(giš)]-gan-na | mat[-qa-nu] |
| 3' | [(giš)-e]me-dir | s[u-up-pi-in-nu(?)] |
| 4' | [(giš)-e]me-sig | me-[-te-nu] |
| 5' | [(giš)-em]e-sig | mat[-qa-nu(?)] |
| 6' | [(giš)-ma ₂ -r]i ₂ -za | p[a-ri-is-su] |
| 7' | [(giš)-ma ₂ -ri ₂ -z]a-ag[a | pa-ri-is a-ge-e] |
| 8' | [x x x]x x[| ...] |

The text exhibits some curious features. The entry giš-gan-na = *mat-qa-nu* may have been prompted by an entry like giš-gan-nu-ki-sig = *mat-qa-n[u]* (Hh 7A:133a; MSL 6, 94). The entry eme-dir-ku₆ = *šu-ri-ru-u* (Hh 18:20; MSL 8/2, 102; cf. *Emar* 555:24') appears to have inspired the additional entry giš-eme-dir = *su-up-pi-in-nu(?)*. After giš-eme-sig = *me-te-nu*, perhaps read [giš-em]e-sig = *pa[r¹-šik-tum]*.

Of the five tablets from 'Temple' M₁, the two with preserved colophons (one Syrian and one Syro-Hittite) were found in 1973 (Locus 1 or Locus 3), while the other three pieces were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE). The four fragments were all found in Locus 1 West (M III NE).

ur₅-ra = ḫubullu 5b-7 *Wood*

This section of Hh also covers items made of wood (MSL 6), continuing Hh 3-5a based on the MB division of the series (see above). Arnaud did not appreciate the significant degree to which the second-millennium text deviated from the later standardized version, so the composite text (*Emar* 545) is particularly in need of revision (Civil 1989b: 12-14). The text runs from the entry giš-ig (*Emar* 545:191', G; Msk 7498f, upper left corner) to giš-šu-nig₂-nigin₂-na (V; Msk 74143a preceding colophon) / (giš-)šu-nigin-[na] (U; Msk 74190c preceding colophon) (*Emar* 545:575'; cf. the end of the OB version, Veldhuis 1997: 167).

Arnaud identified forty-seven pieces of Hh 5b-7 and made three joins among them (*Emar* 545 C, D, Y). Civil (1989b: 11-14) made seven additional identifications (Msk 74232b, Msk 74238i, Msk 74123h, Msk 74178c, Msk 7481c, Msk 74117d, Msk 7498j = *Emar* 562), but his most significant contribution was to reduce the number of manuscripts by proposing a

⁶⁴ It is entirely likely that the element giš should not be reconstructed. In many instances in the Emar lexical corpus, the head sign/determinative was present only at the beginning and end of each column (Civil 1989: 14). It is reconstructed here only for clarity.

number of joins (see Appendix B.5.4.4).⁶⁵ I have identified an additional fragment, Msk 74201c, and a possible fragment, Msk 74177b.⁶⁶

There are a total of seven manuscripts of Hh 5b–7 from ‘Temple’ M₁, and among them are four exercise extracts. The bilingual Syro-Hittite Tablet 1, D: Msk 74209a+, was copied by the diviner Ba’l-mālik, son of Ba’l-qarrād (Appendix C), while the diviner Šaggar-abu, son of Ba’l-qarrād, copied the bilingual Syro-Hittite Tablet 2, G: Msk 7498f+ (see Appendix C). The fragmentary bilingual Tablet 3, U: Msk 74190c+, is also written in the Syro-Hittite style. It was copied by a student whose name is not preserved (see Appendix C). There are four exercise extracts of Hh 5b–7, and all appear to be written in the Syro-Hittite style. Two are unilingual, Tablet 4, I: Msk 7448, and Tablet 5, R: Msk 74190i, and two are bilingual, Tablet 6, M: Msk 74114d+, and Tablet 7, AQ: Msk 7496j +² Msk 7481c.

Two fragments from Arnaud’s edition cannot be confidently assigned to any of the manuscripts: AS: Msk 74105d and AO: Msk 74122e. If they are in fact unilingual, then they may constitute a separate source or sources. Civil (1989b: 14) assigned 74177d to Tablet 1 of Hh 5b–7, but it probably belongs to Hh 8–9 (see below). It is difficult to place the tiny fragment 74117d in Tablet 1 (Civil 1989b: 11). Based on its layout, Msk 74201c is probably a part of Tablet 1.⁶⁷

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------|---------------------------------|
| Msk 74201c (Emar 6/2, p. 499) | | | |
| 1’ | [ig-i] ₃ | MI[N | ...] |
| 2’ | [ig-i ₃ -š]eš ₂ | MIN | [...] |
| 3’ | [ig-maš-tab-b]a | MIN | mu-u[t ² -ter-re-tu] |
| 4’ | [ig-giš-gu-l]a | MIN | ša-gam ₂ -m[i] |
| 5’ | [ig-giš-gurum-me] | MIN | ku-ur-si[-me-te] |
| 6’ | [ig-...] | MIN |]x-ri-si[|
| 7’ | [ig-...] | MIN |]x[...] |

⁶⁵ These joins are listed alphabetically for Tablet 2 (Civil 1989: 12), but they are presented in a more logical order in Appendix B.5.4.4.

⁶⁶ Msk 74177b has the entries giš-dun₃-la₂ and A-ig (possibly dur₅-ig?) in the right column, while the right column has simply MIN. Note giš-dun₃-la₂-ig in OB Hh 1:392 (Veldhuis 1997: 160) and giš-dun₃-la₂-ig *pi-sa-an-nu*, giš-dur₂-ig *bur-si-im-tu* (Hh 5:255–256; MSL 6, 26), but cf. *Emar* 545:218’–221’.

⁶⁷ At first glance Msk 74201c would appear to fit neatly between G: Msk 7498f and Ci: Msk 74233l. However, the repetition of MIN(*da-lat*) in the translation column of Msk 74201c makes it extremely unlikely that these three pieces are all from the same tablet. For the Akkadian entries, see Hh 5:211–212, 219, 233–234 (MSL 6, 23–24), CAD K 567b lex. sub *kuršindu*, and CAD T 443a lex. sub *tū’amu*.

All but one of the pieces of Hh 5b–7 from 'Temple' M₁ were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE). The sole exception is a surface find from Tablet 1 (*Emar* 545 Dii: Msk 7526).

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 8–9 *Reeds*

This section of Hh covers various types of reeds (gi) and objects made with reeds (MSL 7). Ugarit Hh 8–9 is known from many unilingual manuscripts and a few bilingual extracts (van Soldt 1995a: 199–200). Arnaud identified fourteen fragments of Emar Hh 8–9 (*Emar* 546). Civil (1989b: 15) enumerated several more fragments and suggested a number of joins: *Emar* 585 = Msk 7487c, *Emar* 580 = Msk 74171e, Msk 74910, Msk 74107ad (not Hh 17, see *Emar* 6/4, p. 128), and perhaps Msk 7484a. I have identified two more fragments: Msk 74177d (cf. Civil 1989b: 14) and perhaps Msk 7491d.⁶⁸

Fewer than half of the entries are preserved. Civil (1989b: 15) suggested that there were originally "three large tablets at most." However, by the strict criteria employed here, it is possible to differentiate between only two distinct manuscripts. The Syro-Hittite bilingual Tablet 1, *Emar* 546 A: Msk 74155+, was copied by a diviner ([LU₂.DUB].SAR LU₂.ḪAL) who traces his scholarly pedigree through the teacher Kidin-Gula (Cohen 2004; see Appendix C.2.1). Much of the left half of the tablet is preserved. Tablet 2 is known only from a small fragment, J: Msk 74132i, written in the Syro-Hittite style. What is left of Tablet 2 has only Sum. entries, some of which are syllabic, and it may be the case that two columns are present. If so, then Tablet 2 is unilingual. Source C: Msk 74107v is also a duplicate of Tablet 1, so it is either part of Tablet 2 or constitutes a separate manuscript. Eleven other fragments should probably be assigned to one of these main tablets.

All of the pieces of Hh 8–9 from 'Temple' M₁ were found in Locus 1. The vast majority were excavated in Locus 1 West (mainly M III NE, one piece M III SE). Only one fragment was found in Locus 1 Center (M I NW).

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 10 *Vessels*

This section of Hh lists various types of vessels (dug) and containers (MSL 7; M. Civil in Sallaberger 1996a: 129–159). Most of the sources from

⁶⁸ Only the sign ninni₅ is preserved, but it occurs in Hh 8–9 (*Emar* 546:6i'; also Msk 74107ad:6', *Emar* 6/1, p. 275) as well as in Hh 17 (*Emar* 554:2'–5').

Ugarit are unilingual (van Soldt 1995a: 200), as is the MB unilingual tablet found in topsoil at Alalah (ALT 446; MSL 7, 115–120; von Dassow 2005: 30; Lauinger 2005: 54–55).

The text of Emar Hh 10 is highly fragmentary. Arnaud correctly identified two pieces of Emar Hh 10 (*Emar* 547), and Civil (1989b: 16) noted two additional fragments: Msk 74119b and Msk 74119c. I have identified another piece, Msk 74177c. Despite this fragmentary state of preservation, it is possible to differentiate between two tablets. Tablet 1, A: Msk 74160f (+?) D: Msk 74206b (+?) Msk 74177c, is unilingual, but it is not possible to determine from the copy whether it was written in the Syrian or Syro-Hittite tradition. Tablet 2, Msk 74119b, is a fragment of what was originally a bilingual Syro-Hittite manuscript (Civil 1989b: 16). The fragment Msk 74119c may also belong to Tablet 2.

Even with such a fragmentary text, more can be said about Tablet 1. First, it appears that A and D come from the obverse of a large multi-column tablet. Fragment A preserves the first two columns of the text: the first column was correctly reconstructed by Arnaud (*Emar* 547 A:1'–15'); the second column can be understood to contain the entries dug-sab, preserved only as MIN-i₃, etc., followed by kir₂ (*Emar* 547 A:16'–26'). Based on the sequence preserved in the two columns of fragment D, it must come from the obverse, in contrast with the manuscript from Alalah, which has three columns per side (ALT 446 cols. iv–v). The sequence and arrangement of both fragments are paralleled in the unilingual manuscript from Alalah (ALT 446).

Msk 74177c (*Emar* 6/2, p. 252)

- 1' [...-]d[u₃[?]-...]
- 2' [k]a-t[ab-...]
- 3' [k]a-tab-b[a]
- 4' [nig₂-t]ab-t[ab]
- 5' [nig₂-tab-]tur-ra
- 6' gi[r₄]

This section occurs in the final column of the Alalah manuscript (ALT 446 col. vi), but it is difficult to place in the Emar version.

All five pieces of Emar Hh 10 from 'Temple' M₁ were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE).

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 11–12

Leather, Metal

The first-millennium versions of Hh distinguish between Hh 11, which deals with hides and leather items, and Hh 12, which deals with various metals and metal objects (MSL 7). However, the second-millennium

recensions of Hh do not make such a distinction (Veldhuis 1997: 69). This is evident in the unilingual manuscript from Alalah (ALT 445; von Dassow 2005: 30; Lauinger 2005: 54–55), as well as in the unpublished unilingual and bilingual sources from Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 200–201).

In *Emar* 548–549 Arnaud lists thirty-three sources. Civil identified five more fragments: Msk 74101v, Msk 7481d, Msk 7485l, Msk 7484c, possibly Msk 74107y, and *Emar* 581 = Msk 74172a. I have identified two additional fragments: Msk 74123w and possibly Msk 74123u.⁶⁹

The unilingual and bilingual recensions from *Emar* are markedly different (Civil 1989b: 16). For example, both Tablet 1 and Tablet 3 have extra entries intervening between kuš-du₈-ši-a and kuš-dal-uš₂ (cf. *Emar* 548:86–103), while I: Msk 74156e (*Emar* 6/2, p. 388) and first-millennium Hh 11 (MSL 7, 128) do not. Moreover, this divergence is minor when compared with the radically different texts of the unilingual and bilingual versions. *Emar* 548 mainly follows the text found on the large unilingual manuscripts. Based on the large number of “Annexes” for *Emar* 548, it is evident that the bilingual version(s) cannot be made to fit on the Procrustean bed of the unilingual text. The other factor that impedes the reconstruction of the two or more versions of the text is the large number of non-duplicating fragments, which may well have come from several different manuscripts. The three unilingual manuscripts that can be identified are relatively complete (Tablets 1–3). However, it may be that there was a fourth manuscript that is only preserved on one of the unplaced unilingual fragments. Because we possess copies that have almost the entire composition, it is clear that the unilingual text begins with the entries for kuš and runs through the entries for ku₃-GI (or ku₃-sig₁₇). The situation with the bilingual version is more complicated. None of the manuscripts is anywhere near complete, so the structure of the text is poorly understood. As a result, a number of fragments, some of which are quite large, are difficult to assign to one of the two (Tablets 4–5) or more tablets that can be isolated. Here the text seems to be divided into two tablets, the first running from kuš through the first entry urudu, and the second containing urudu through to the end of the text. This division is slightly different from that found in the first millennium (cf. MSL 7, 121–169, esp. 141). It must be kept in mind that this apparent division may simply be the case with the fragments that happened to survive. The extract

⁶⁹ Msk 74123u has five lines with im-[...] and thus may be from Hh 11–12, cf. *Emar* 548:219'–228'; ASJ 9, 280:216–226 (Watanabe 1987: 280, 285, 289 copy, 291 photo).

(Tablet 6) is complete but by its very nature only a partial presentation of a given textual tradition.

There are three discrete unilingual tablets that are identifiable. Tablet 1 contains some Akkadian glosses and is written in the Syrian style: D: Msk 74247 + K: Msk 731054 + “Tokyo fragment” (Watanabe 1987: 282) (+?) Z: Msk 74278 (+?) Msk 74123u. The still-unpublished “Tokyo fragment” from a private Japanese collection appears to belong to col. ii of the obverse (Watanabe 1987: 283). Civil (1989b: 16) suggests that *Emar* 581 belongs here, but that cannot be correct, since *Emar* 581 is bilingual and, based on his reconstruction, joins O: Msk 74148k.

Tablet 2 is also written in the Syrian style and is represented by the large piece B: Msk 74105a. C: Msk 73265 does not join it (so Civil 1989b: 16), since C is an exercise extract from Area C.

The unilingual Tablet 3, J: Msk 74171c, is also written in the Syrian style. Watanabe (1987: 277) already noted the affinities between the *Emar* version of Hh 11–12 and the large piece from Freiburg (Museum für Völkerkunde Freiburg, IV/75-2502) that was purchased on the antiquities market in 1975, not long after the discovery of the collection from ‘Temple’ M₁. Although the sources were kept separate in Watanabe’s edition, it appears that fragment J actually joins the Freiburg source, constituting the lower right corner of the obverse (cf. Watanabe 1987: 285). Thus J preserves parts of columns iii–viii of Tablet 3. Columns v–vii are completely missing from the *ASJ* 9 manuscript, and columns iii, iv, and viii of the looted piece appear to join perfectly with the left and middle columns of the obverse of J and the left column of the reverse of J.

It seems likely that the following pieces are from one tablet: A: Msk 74103b (+) N: Msk 74122ae. These may constitute the beginning of Tablet 1, i.e., the upper left corner. However, there appear to be inconsistencies with respect to the layout (e.g., rulings), script (e.g., the apparent SH form of TUR in fragment N) and the preserved entries, which may demonstrate that the sources are duplicates. In any event, A (+) N and Tablet 1 are kept separate here awaiting confirmation. It is not clear whether the so-called “Tokyo fragment” from Tablet 1 also contains entries from col. i, which would also mean that A (+) N does not join Tablet 1 but is rather a duplicate.

It is possible to confidently distinguish between only two bilingual manuscripts. Tablet 4, H: Msk 74166a, is a large fragment of the reverse of a bilingual source, of which parts of the last three columns remain. The tablet evidently contains all of the kuš- and an-entries, and ends with

the final entry urudu. Written in the Syro-Hittite style, Tablet 4 was copied by [Zū(?)]-Ba'la, son of Ba'l-mālik, [student(?) of] Ba'l-mālik (Cohen 2009: 179; Appendix C.2.1). Fragments V: Msk 74123a⁷⁰ and H: Msk 74166a illustrate the impediments to a confident reconstruction of the text of bilingual Hh 11–12. The last entry preserved in the right column of V (Emar 6/1, p. 312) appears to be among the first entries at the top of the middle column of H (Emar 6/2, p. 423).

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| V: Msk 74123a (ri. col. end) | |
| [kuš-u]gu-DAL-bi | <i>maš-k[u pa-gi-i]</i> |
| [kuš-SAL-]ugu-DAL-bi | <i>ma[š-ku/a pa-gi-tum]</i> |
| [kuš-]b[ar ² | <i>maš-ku/a pa₂-ru]</i> |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| H: Msk 74166a (mid. col. top) | |
| [kuš-SAL-ugu-DAL-bi | <i>maš-ku/a . . .]x</i> |
| [kuš-bar] | <i>pa₂¹-ru</i> |

The rest of the entries make it possible for these two pieces to join only if the following two physical conditions are met. First, the first lines of the left column of V must be near the beginning of that column (i.e., the lower edge of the tablet). Second, the last entries of the middle column of H must be near the end of that column (i.e., the upper edge of the tablet).

The fragment of the bilingual Syro-Hittite Tablet 5, P: Msk 74233g, is probably from near the beginning of the obverse, since the preserved text begins with the entry urudu, i.e., the last entry of Tablet 4 (see above). The reverse may bear traces of a paleographic colophon (Appendices C.2.3 and C.3). The fragment O: Msk 74148k (+[?]) *Emar* 581 = Msk 74172a (cf. Civil 1989b: 16) may be a part of this tablet as well, since it has urudu entries on the obverse and zabar entries on the reverse.

Tablet 6, G: Msk 74148a, is a bilingual Syro-Hittite exercise extract written parallel to the long axis of the tablet (*Emar* 548:46–52, 54–60). Only the obverse is intact, but it preserves the entire face of the tablet.

There are a couple of interesting epigraphic and textual parallels between the versions of Hh 11–12 from Alalaḥ and Emar. First, the curious entries kuš-immal_x, kuš-immal_x-kur-ra occur in both the unilingual tablet ALT 445 and the bilingual fragment Y: Msk 74124b:

⁷⁰ This reading gloss in V: Msk 74123a, [a-g]ar₅^{a-gal} *a-ba-ru*₃ (*Emar* 6/1, p. 312, left column), is reminiscent of what is present on O: Msk 74148k (cf. Civil 1989b: 16), so these fragments may have been copied by the same scribe. For this entry, cf. Ugarit Diri: a-gal A.BARA₂ *a-ba-ru* (Ugarit Diri 2:44; MSL 15, 76).

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| Msk 74124b (Emar 6/1, p. 318, right col.) | ALT 445 obv. col. i' 2'-3' |
| kuš-i[mmal _x ...] | [ku]š-imal _x |
| kuš-imal _x -[kur-ra...] | kuš-imal _x -kur-ra |

Neither Arnaud (*Emar* 548 Annexe III:12'-13') nor Landsberger (MSL 7, 157) attempted to read this problematic sign, which looks like NUN+DIN. This form is difficult to reconcile with either of the attested writings immal₂(NUN+LAGAR×SAL) or later immal(NUN+LAGAR×BAR),⁷¹ but we have very few examples of this sign in the LBA corpus from Syria. Note the Syrian form of immal₂ in B: Msk 74105a col. i 6'-7' (*Emar* 6/1, p. 264).

Second, the new fragment Msk 74123w, which is from the lower edge of the original tablet, appears to be a duplicate of ALT 445 (MSL 7, 158):

| | |
|---|--|
| Msk 74123w (Emar 6/1, p. 315) | ALT 445 rev. i 1'-4' |
| 1' [urudu-...-]a[n] | |
| 2' [urud]u ² -az | |
| 3' [urud]u ² -gu | |
| 4' [urudu-]gu-maḥ | ... |
| 5' [urudu-]nig ₂ -gag-dim ₂ | [urud]u-nig ₂ -[gag-ti] |
| 6' [urudu]-gag-nig ₂ -gag-dim ₂ ? | [ur]udu-gag-nig ₂ -[gag-ti] |
| 7' [urudu]-nam-za-qu[m] | urudu-nam-z[a-qum] |
| 8' [urudu]-ḥa-b[u-da] | urudu-ḥa-b[u-da] |

Other parallels may be identified once the lexical corpus from Ugarit is properly published.

The vast majority of pieces of Emar Hh 11-12 were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE) of 'Temple' M₁. There are only two exceptions. Pieces of Tablet 1 were found during the 1973 excavations (Locus 1 or Locus 3), in Locus 1 Center (M I NW), in Locus 1 West (M III SE), and, unfortunately, on the antiquities market. Tablet 1 and Tablet 3, a piece of which was also looted, underscore the damage done to the tablet collection by illicit removal of material culture from the site. The only excavated lexical tablet not from 'Temple' M₁ is the extract Tablet 7, C: Msk 73265 = *Emar* 39, which was found in Area C.

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 13 *Domestic Animals*

This section of Hh generally pertains to domestic animals (MSL 8/1). There is no division between Hh 13 (domestic animals) and Hh 14-15 (wild animals and cuts of meat) in the version from OB Nippur (Veldhuis

⁷¹ For more on immal, see Veldhuis 2002: 69-74.

1997: 69).⁷² The version of this text from Ugarit is unpublished (van Soldt 1995a: 201), but the contemporary tablet SLT 44 (CBS 14064) is a partially bilingual copy of this text from MB Nippur (cf. Veldhuis 2000: 70).

Arnaud identified nine sources for Emar Hh 13 (*Emar* 550), which Civil (1989b: 16) argued must belong to at least two unilingual tablets and two bilingual tablets. It is often difficult to determine whether fragmentary sources are unilingual or bilingual, since the Akk. translation is frequently not preserved (Civil 1989b: 17). I have identified an additional fragment, Msk 74105j, while Msk 749ii is a possible bilingual piece, though its precise placement is uncertain.

Tablet 1 is unilingual and written in the Syrian style. The primary source is A: Msk 731079 (left edge, cols. i–iii, last two columns rev.).⁷³ The layout and scribal hand of C: Msk 74240a (right edge, cols. ii–v?) make it appear likely that it is from the same tablet as A.⁷⁴ The fragment I: Msk 7310800 (upper right corner) may also be from Tablet 1, but there are apparent textual problems that necessitate keeping it separate pending examination of the originals.⁷⁵

Tablet 2, B: Msk 74102d, is preserved in a large, right-edge fragment. It is unilingual and probably written in the Syrian style, though diagnostic sign forms are not present. Sections of the first three columns are to be found on the obverse, and the last column of the text is all that remains of the reverse. Although there is a cryptic colophon (MAN BE [MAN]), no scribal colophon is preserved.

Tablet 3 is a bilingual, Syro-Hittite manuscript known only from one fragment, D: Msk 7520. The colophon indicates that the diviner Šaggar-abu copied this manuscript (Appendix C.1.1). The text of this tablet is curious in that it begins with gud-entries and ends with anše-UD-eme₅-x[...]

⁷² A revised edition of the version of this list from OB Nippur is available through the Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts <<http://oracc.org/dcclt>>.

⁷³ A number of sila₄ and kir₁₁(SAL.GA₂×PA) entries are preserved at the bottom of col. iii that are not noted in *Emar* 550.

⁷⁴ The unplaced reverse of source C appears to preserve a series of entries for ab₂ (cf. Hh 13:339b–f, j–n, MSL 8/1, 48–49; cf. *Emar* 550:198'–209').

⁷⁵ The entries for maš₂ immediately precede those for sila₄ (see source C col. ii', *Emar* 6/2, p. 563), so the face with sila₄ must be the obverse (i.e., the upper right corner). The entries for gud follow those for sila₄, so the reverse of source I could be gud' as Arnaud reads (*Emar* 550 Annexe III). If so, then fragment I cannot be from the same tablet as fragment C, which has the entries for ab₂ (see the note above). It is only possible to reconcile these sources by reading fragment I as amar', [ama]r-ga, amar'-ga-gu₇-a, amar'-ga-gu₇-a, amar'-ga-šub-a (or read: [amar]-<ga>-ga-gu₇-a, etc.). If this latter interpretation is correct, then there may be too many entries for amar' (cf. source A rev., *Emar* 6/1, p. 157).

(*Emar* 550:150'–165', 219'–222'). Thus, although neither the unilingual nor the bilingual text is preserved in its entirety, there is one remarkable difference between the two versions: the length and division of the text. Since fragment D preserves the left edge, this manuscript, unlike the unilingual manuscripts, contains only half of the composition. Although the sources for Ugarit Hh 13 remain largely unpublished, van Soldt (1995a: 201 n. 5) has noted that Ugarit Hh 13 was probably divided into two separate texts: udu-u₈-uz₃-maš₂-sila₄-ešgar; and gud-ab₂-amar-anše-eme₅. The text of the obverse of Tablet 3 also appears to parallel that of the unilingual versions from Tell Billa (MSL 8/1, 97–99; Finkelstein 1953: 133–34, 164–165, no. 56) and Ugarit (MSL 8/1, 100–103; cf. van Soldt 1995a: 201 n. 6), which allows for some improvements in the Sum. column in Arnaud's edition (*Emar* 550:150'ff).

The large, upper right corner fragment E: Msk 7522 is selectively bilingual. Since gud-entries appear on the obverse (top of col. ii?) and anše-entries on the reverse (bottom of col. iii?), two hypotheses can be made. First, it appears that the ab₂ and amar sections of this manuscript must have been short, i.e., covering the lower, missing part of col. ii and the upper, missing part of col. iii. Second, if this is the case then source E may well belong to Tablet 3. The layout of E is similar to that of Tablet 3 (D), the two are textually compatible (though E is only selectively bilingual), and the two fragments are not duplicates. Finally, these two pieces share a unique find-spot (M IV NW, see above).

The new fragment Msk 74105j is a duplicate of Tablet 1 (A):

- Msk 74105j (*Emar* 6/1, p. 267)
- 1' [udu-a-]iⁿⁱ?
 - 2' [udu]-A-LUM⁷⁶
 - 3' [udu-A-LUM]-niga
 - 4' [udu-A-LUM-niga-s]ig₅-ga
 - 5' [udu-A-LUM-gukka]lⁱ

It is unclear whether this piece is unilingual or bilingual, so it may belong to Tablet 2 or constitute a piece of another tablet that is not preserved. Thus it is impossible to assign it to a particular manuscript.

The pieces of *Emar* Hh 13 were found in three locations in 'Temple' M₁. The pieces of Tablet 1 were found in 1973 in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (two fragments) and Locus 1 Center (M I NW). Five more fragments, including Tablet 2, were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE). Tablet 3 and Tablet

⁷⁶ See CAD A/1 374a lex.; OB Ur₅-ra 3:7–11.

4 are oddities in that both were found in 1975 after most of 'Temple' M₁ had already been cleared (M IV NW). These two fragments are the only epigraphic finds of any kind from unit M IV NW.

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 14–15

Wild Animals, Meat Cuts

Hh 14–15 deals with wild animals (Hh 14, MSL 8/2) and various cuts of meat (uzu, Hh 15, MSL 9). Both unilingual and bilingual versions are known from Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 201). Whereas the canonical version divides this section into two separate tablets, there does not appear to be such a division in the late second millennium versions (Veldhuis 1997: 69). There is one unilingual manuscript, SLT 45 (CBS 8769) from MB Nippur (Veldhuis 2000: 70), with which the Emar version shows at least superficial correspondence (*Emar* 551:9'–18' composite). There are also MB extract tablets from Nippur.⁷⁷

In his edition Arnaud identified seven fragments that he assigned to six sources (*Emar* 551–552). I have identified an additional bilingual fragment: Msk 74123l. These fragments seem to derive from at least two separate tablets, one unilingual and one bilingual.

Tablet 1 is unilingual and written in the Syrian style: C: Msk 731086 (+) B: Msk 7342 (join Civil 1989b: 17). The columns i–v appear to contain all of *Emar* Hh 14, and the rest of the reverse contains the only exemplar of *Emar* Hh 15. The fragment C has the upper edge and right corner, preserving parts of columns i–vi (obv.) and v–vii (rev.) as well as what looks like a blank section at the bottom of column viii (*Emar* 6/1, p. 166). Fragment B forms the lower left corner and lower edge, preserving parts of columns i–iii (obv.) and columns v–vii (rev.).⁷⁸ The only impediment to Civil's proposed join is the occurrence of the same entry in each fragment: uzu-a-tur (C: *Emar* 6/1, p. 166, col. vii, last entry; B: *Emar* 6/1, p. 38, col. viii, first entry). However, since the next three entries in fragment B are all identical (uzu-arḥuš), it seems likely that uzu-a-tur occurs in two consecutive entries.

⁷⁷ E.g., UM 29-15-944 rev. (Veldhuis 2000: 78, 84, 92); CBS 13663 rev. (cf. Hh 14:227–234, MSL 8/2, 26).

⁷⁸ Arnaud does not discuss the traces of col. v in his edition, but the traces must be part of some combination near the end of *Emar* Hh 14. In any case, the sign is not uzu, which is present at the beginning of each entry starting with the first, which can be found in fragment C (*Emar* 6/1, p. 166, col. v 2').

The Syro-Hittite Tablet 2 is bilingual, consisting of A: Msk 74137a + Msk 74171a (+) E: Msk 74143b (join Cohen 2009: 204).⁷⁹ Based on the joins and the reconstructed text, it appears that Tablet 2 had two columns on the obverse. The preserved portion of the tablet contains only the section dealing with wild animals. The unplaced bilingual fragments may belong to this manuscript.

Among the sources for Emar Hh 14–15 from ‘Temple’ M_I, the bilingual (Tablet 2) and all of the bilingual fragments were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE, one fragment M III SE). The unilingual tablet (Tablet 1) consists of a fragment from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (found in 1973) and, probably, a surface find from early in 1973. It is unclear whether the latter fragment was found anywhere near Area M or elsewhere on the site.

ur₅-ra = ḫubullu 16 *Stones*

This section of Hh lists different kinds of stones (na₄, MSL 10). In Ugarit both unilingual and bilingual versions are attested, and in the majority of manuscripts Hh 16 is combined with Hh 17, though in some it is not (van Soldt 1995a: 202). The MB copy from Alalah (ALT 447) combines the two (cf. Lauinger 2005: 54).

Arnaud identified fifteen pieces of Emar Hh 16, which he assigned to thirteen sources. Civil (1989b: 17–18) identified six more fragments: Msk 74200c + Msk 74204f, Msk 74199s, Msk 731082, Msk 731089f, and maybe Msk 74148ab. I have identified another possible fragment: Msk 7489b. Civil proposed that all the sources can be assigned to “no more than two large bilingual tablets . . . and a unilingual (?) fragment (M)” (Civil 1989b: 17). It is difficult to see how M: Msk 7489p can be assigned to any text, let alone unilingual Hh 16. It is worth noting that Arnaud originally edited this fragment both as Hh 16 (*Emar* 553 M) and as a fragmentary PN list (*Emar* 344).

Tablet 1, A: Msk 74203e + Msk 74230a + (see Appendix B.5.4.10), is a large tablet with at least three columns per side. It is bilingual and written in the Syro-Hittite style. There is a fragmentary cryptic colophon ([M]AN MAN MAN) on the left edge, but no scribal colophon is preserved. Only a small fragment of Tablet 2 remains, F: Msk 74248c. This bilingual fragment, probably written in the Syro-Hittite script, must constitute a

⁷⁹ Read A: MIN-še-⁻i₃[-giš] and E: [MIN-še-i₃]-giš (cf. *Emar* 551:80’).

separate source, since the reverse duplicates lines found on Tablet 1. It seems likely that the remaining fragments can be assigned to one of these two manuscripts.

Twenty-two pieces of Emar Hh 16 were found in ‘Temple’ M₁, the majority of them from Locus 1 West (M III NE, one fragment M III SE). All but one fragment assigned to Tablet 1 came from Locus 1 West. Two unassigned fragments were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973, while two other fragments, one assigned to Tablet 1, were found in Locus 1 Center (M I NW).

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 17 *Plants*

This section of Hh deals with different species of plants (primarily *u₂* and *sar*, MSL 10). Both unilingual and bilingual versions are known from Ugarit, and, as noted already above, in some instances Ugarit Hh 16–17 were combined on a single source (van Soldt 1995a: 202), as at Alalah (ALT 447).

Arnaud correctly identified five fragments of Emar Hh 17 and one possible fragment (*Emar* 554). Only Sumerian entries are preserved, so it may be that all of the fragments are from the same unilingual manuscript. The designation Tablet 1 has been arbitrarily assigned to fragment E: Msk 731050, since it can be identified as Syro-Hittite in style. The main indication that at least one piece was unilingual is fragment B: Msk 731040a, which preserves what was probably the upper right corner of the obverse.

All of the fragments from ‘Temple’ M₁ were found either in Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973 (three fragments) or in Locus 1 West (M III NE, three).

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 18 *Fish, Birds*

This section of Hh lists a variety of types of fish or aquatic animals and birds or flying animals (*ku₆* and *mušen*; MSL 8/2; cf. Veldhuis 2004). Interestingly, both *ku₆* and *mušen* appear as postpositional determinatives in animal names. Both unilingual and bilingual versions are known from Ugarit, but these are largely unpublished (van Soldt 1995a: 202). A unilingual fragment from LBA Alalah (A03-R1001+R1139) contains only bird names and attests to a slightly different version of the text from what was found in Ugarit and Emar (Lauinger 2005: 53–57).

Arnaud identified twelve fragments of Emar Hh 18 (*Emar* 555). “Most of the pieces seem to belong to the same three-column tablet and there is in addition a complete exercise tablet (K)” (Civil 1989b: 18). Civil also

identified four more fragments (*Emar* 547 B: Msk 74107aa; *Emar* 593; *Emar* 596; *Emar* 579) and made a number of improvements in the text (*Civil* 1989b: 18–19).

The bilingual Tablet 1, B: Msk 74100c (+), is a large manuscript with three columns per side and was written in the Syro-Hittite style. Arnaud already recognized that fragments B and C: Msk 74100a were from the same manuscript (*Emar* 6/4, p. 129), and Cohen (2003: 218) noted that J: Msk 74103e is probably from this tablet as well. Except for a few traces near the upper edge (E: Msk 74208c, *Emar* 6/2, p. 507)⁸⁰ and right edge (F: Msk 74158r, *Emar* 6/2, p. 395; J, *Emar* 6/1, p. 258; joined to H: Msk 7481n by *Civil* 1989b: 19), only the reverse is preserved. The fragmentary colophon indicates that Tablet 1 was a student copy associated with the teacher Kidin-Gula (*Cohen* 2004; Appendix C.2.1).

Tablet 2 is also a fragmentary bilingual manuscript written in the Syro-Hittite style by the diviner Baʿl-mālik, son of Baʿl-qarrād (Appendix C.1.2). *Civil* (1989b: 18) observed that line 12' may be the same as line 14' in the composite text (*Emar* 555). Based on this observation and the reconstruction of the colophon, the following join is suggested here: Ai: Msk 7498c + D: Msk 74166d. Fragment D appears to preserve the bottom of TUR, as well as ŠA and AN², thus Ai + D reads (cf. *Cohen* 2009: 176):

MAN BE MAN

šU 1^d1 IŠKUR-*ma-lik*

DUMU ^dIŠKUR-UR.SAG LU₂.DUB.SAR LU₂.[HAL]

ša DINGIR.MEŠ ^{uu}E-mar IR₃ ^dAG

<<LA>> (erasure)

Hand of Baʿl-mālik,

son of Baʿl-qarrād, scribe, d[iviner]

of the gods of Emar, servant of Nabû.

It is somewhat unclear whether fragment Ai actually joins Aii: Msk 74171d, since there is a problem with the layout:

Msk 7498c col. i

ku-u₂-ia :

gu₂-bi₂

suḫur

KU₆

ku₆

ku₆

nu-u₂[-nu]

ku₈-up-p[u]

pu-ra-du

Msk 74171d col. i

(not preserved)

(not preserved)

(blank)

⁸⁰ Arnaud did not incorporate the traces from the obverse of E in his edition, but they correspond to the Akkadian entries for *Emar* 555:2–4. Note: [*ku*₍₈₎-u]p-pu, [pu-r]a-du, [su-ḫu-u]r²[-ma-]š[u].

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| suḥur-maš ₂ | ku ₆ | <i>su-ḥu-u[r-ma-šu]</i> | <i>su-ḥu-u]r-ma-šu</i> |
| suḥur-MAŠ | ku ₆ | <i>bi-i[t-ru]</i> | <i>bi-i]t-ru</i> |
| suḥur-sum ₄ -la ₂ | ku ₆ | <i>z[i-iq-na-nu]</i> | <i>z]i-iq-na-nu</i> |
| suḥur-APIN | ku ₆ | <i>x[...]</i> | <i>š]ap-ša-ap-pa-nu</i> |
| (ruling) | | | <i>d]a²-at-te-ru</i> |
| | | | (ruling) |
| kud-da | k[u ₆ ...] | | <i>a]r-su-up-pu</i> |
| izi-dib | [ku ₆ ...] | | <i>a]r-su-up-pu</i> |
| (ruling) | | | (ruling) |
| sag-x-x[| ku ₆ ...] | | <i>]x-su</i> |
| sag[- | ku ₆ ...] | | <i>]x-u</i> |
| x[| ku ₆ ...] | | <i>o-(o)-]ti</i> |

These two fragments can join only if we imagine that two Akkadian glosses are given for the entry *suḥur-sum₄-la₂-ku₆*:

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>suḥur-sum₄-la₂</i> | <i>ku₆</i> | <i>z[i-iq-na-nu]</i> | <i>z]i-iq-na-nu</i> |
| | | | <i>: š]ap-ša-ap-pa-nu</i> |
| <i>suḥur-APIN</i> | <i>ku₆</i> | <i>x[...]</i> | <i>d]a²-at-te-ru</i> |

This seems unlikely, since the Sum. entry associated with *šapšappānu* (for *sapsapānu*, CAD S 167a) in the canonical version is *suḥur-tun₃-bar-ku₆*, which is not present in the sole Emar source for these lines. Since *suḥur-APIN-ku₆* is without parallel in the canonical version, it is difficult at present to determine whether the Akkadian gloss is plausible. Thus, it may be that the two pieces designated A by Arnaud (here Ai and Aii) may be from separate manuscripts. Depending on the reconstruction of the obverse of fragment E (Tablet 1), it may be that Aii joins this piece.

Tablet 3, K: Msk 7467, is a Syro-Hittite bilingual exercise extract written in unorthographic Sum. More curious is the fact that the student scribe gives phonetic renderings of the post-positional determinative *mušen* as a prepositional determinative: *nu-ni-iš-su-pa* (for *sipa-la₂-mušen*) *re-u₂*, *nu-nu-si-pa-tu-ra* (for *sipa-tir-ra-mušen*) : *ku-up-šu ba'-a[r-mat]*, *mu-uš-na-a* (for *na₂-a-mušen*) *ša-la'-nu*, *mu-uš-ga* (for *ḡi₆-mušen*) *ši-ir mu-ši*. This exercise demonstrates that there was an aural component to scribes' education in Emar. Mistakes of this kind are not likely a product of a scribe copying a text from a source manuscript. Rather, it is more likely that this type of error is a result of either a memory lapse or a mistake while taking dictation.⁸¹

⁸¹ I am grateful to Paul Delnero for a number of discussions regarding aural errors of this kind, which are rather common in OB school texts.

The pieces of Emar Hh 18 that can be assigned to either Tablet 1 or Tablet 2 all come from Locus 1 West (M III NE, one M III SE) in ‘Temple’ M₁. Of the remaining fragments, six pieces were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE, M III SE), one piece came from Locus 1 Center (M I NW), and the find-spot of one piece is unclear.

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 19 *Textiles*

This section of Hh lists various kinds of wool (*siki*) and garments (*tug₂*, *gada*, among others) (MSL 10, 127–156). Both unilingual and bilingual versions of this text are known from Ugarit, where the text appears to have been transmitted along with Hh 18 (van Soldt 1995a: 202). Despite the large number of parallels between the two lexical corpora in general (e.g., Rutz 2006a), there is no evidence that this was the case with Emar Hh 18 and 19.

Arnaud identified seven fragments of Emar Hh 19 (*Emar* 556), one of which was neither copied nor properly inventoried (source F). Civil (1989b: 19) tentatively identified an additional fragment, Msk 74190m, and I have identified three additional fragments, Msk 7484n, Msk 7498l, and Msk 74104e.

Tablet 1, Msk 7484n (+) Msk 74104e (+) B: Msk 74190j (+[?]) E: Msk 7491a (+[?]) G: Msk 74148m, is bilingual and written in the Syro-Hittite style.⁸² A cryptic colophon is preserved (E: MAN BE MAN), but there is no scribal colophon. The fragment Msk 7484n comes from the beginning of the text, since it is a duplicate of Ugarit Hh 19:1–17 (MSL 10, 149):

Msk 7484n (*Emar* 6/1, p. 217) (+) Msk 74104e (*Emar* 6/1, p. 261)

| | | | |
|----------|---|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | [<i>siki</i> | : | ...] |
| 2 | []-sig ₅ -g[a | : | ...] |
| 3 | []-za-ri ₂]-na | : | []-na |
| 4 | []-gu ₂ | : | []-gu ₂ |
| 5 | []-gu ₂]-sig ₅ | : | []-sig ₅ |
| 6 | []-al]-peš ₅ [| : | ...] |
| 7 | []-nu-al-peš ₅ | : | ...] |
| 8 | a[l-ḥi-a | | |
| 9 | n[u ² -al-ḥi-a | | |
| (ruling) | | | |
| 10 | š[ID-ma | | |
| 11 | [na ₂ -a | | |

⁸² However, not all fragments have diagnostic signs or features that might indicate the tablet's type.

| | |
|----------|----------------------------|
| (ruling) | |
| 12 | ga-[rig ₇ -ak-a |
| 13 | b[al-bal-la ₂ |
| 14 | kur-[ra |
| 15 | bar-[dul |
| 16 | bar-d[ul-sal-la |
| 17 | ša ₃ -[in-nu |

Based on these new fragments, the lineation in *Emar* 556 needs to be revised. Because Arnaud did not edit these fragments, he began his edition of Hh 19 with the exercise extract Msk 74202 (Tablet 4 below), which corresponds in part with Ugarit Hh 19:24–27 (MSL 10, 149).

The text and layout of C: Msk 74122b make it incompatible with Tablet 1, so it is tentatively designated Tablet 2. Specifically, the last entry, which is not incorporated into *Emar* 556, appears to be ša₃-[gada], which most likely comes from near the end of the text (cf. Ugarit Hh 19:261–263, MSL 10, 152–153). The left column appears to be blank and is probably the last inscribed column of the tablet, perhaps bearing the final few entries and a colophon. If the *Emar* version follows the version from Ugarit, then fragment B is a duplicate of C and, in any case, cannot follow it for textual reasons. The existence of multiple manuscripts weakens the already tentative joins proposed for Tablet 1.

Tablet 3, D: Msk 74149, is a large exercise extract with a distinctive layout that includes Sumerian, phonetic or unorthographic Sumerian, and Akkadian renderings for each entry. Another interesting feature of this extract is its script, which appears to be Syrian.

Tablet 4, A: Msk 74202, is a small bilingual exercise extract written parallel to the long axis of the tablet. Its sign forms are not decisive, but it may be written in the Syrian script as well.

The second new fragment, Msk 74981, is difficult to place. Only the somewhat stereotyped descriptors are preserved, but based on the text from Ugarit, the tug₂-nig₂-lam₂ section fits best (RS 20.32, Ugarit Hh 19:75–83; MSL 10, 150; CAD L 58–59 sub *lamaḥuššu*).

Msk 74981 (*Emar* 6/1, p. 241)

| | | |
|----|--------|---|
| 1' | [MIN?] | -u[l ² |
| 2' |]MIN | -sag[|
| 3' | [MIN?] | -u[š ² |
| 4' | M]IN | -ḥ[uš |
| 5' | M]IN | -ḥuš-a[|
| 6' | M]IN | -sal-la[|
| 7' |]MIN | -ḥuš[-a |
| 8' |]MIN | -guz _x (SIG ₄)-[za |

| | | |
|-----|------|-------------------------------------|
| 9' |]MIN | -n[ig ₂ -mu ₄ |
| 10' |]MIN | -al[am |

The first line is not fully preserved, and the traces present some problems. Based on the Ugarit version the first entry of the section is expected here, i.e., tug₂-nig₂-lam₂(-ma), but the traces are difficult to reconcile with such a reading. Perhaps this first entry was omitted, and what remains should be read [tug₂-bar-dul]-n[a₂[?]] following Ugarit Hh 19:73. Regardless, other than the first line of the Emar fragment, the two texts agree. One interesting point of contact is the shared writing SIG₄-za for guz-za, i.e., LUM-šššig for LUM.⁸³

With the exception of fragment F, which was evidently not properly documented, all of the pieces of Emar Hh 19 come from Locus 1 West (9, M III NE; 1, M III SE) in 'Temple' M₁.

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 20 *Geographical Names (Fields)*

The next three sections of Hh contain lists of geographical names and terms, and the reconstruction of the second-millennium versions is made all the more difficult by the incomplete preservation of the canonical version (MSL 11, 3–7; cf. Fadhil and Hilgert 2007). Moreover, the division of these sections in LBA Syria is a complex matter. While only minor unilingual fragments are preserved from Ḥattuša (MSL 11, 170), both unilingual and bilingual versions of this text are known from Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 202–203). In Ugarit Hh 20–22 breaks down into two tablets Ugarit Hh 20–21a and Hh 21b–22 (van Soldt 1993: 429, 440; cf. MSL 11, 169). A score of the Ugarit version, incorporating both the Emar version and a piece from the antiquities market (LB 2776), has been published by van Soldt (1993). The Emar version is apparently textually quite similar, but there is also evidence for a slightly different breakdown into separate tablets.⁸⁴

⁸³ To complicate matters further, there is also an unorthographic writing in Tablet 1, (siki)-gu-za : ša il-lu-ur-ri (Emar 556 B: Msk 74190j, Emar 6/2, p. 465).

⁸⁴ Since the present study focuses on the excavated material, the provenience of LB 2776 is not a central concern. In his edition van Soldt (1993: 441–442) concludes that the textual structure is more akin to the Ugarit tradition, while certain orthographic features and so-called firing holes are more consistent with what is found in Emar. Cohen (2003: 222–223, cf. 2009: 205) concludes that the orthography decisively indicates the tablet's origin in Emar. If LB 2776 were from Emar, it would be unique as an exemplar with the text of both Hh 20–21a. The script of LB 2776 is consistent with the Syro-Hittite tradition in Emar, which, it should be noted, is not typically associated with unilingual copies of lexical texts. All this speculation only highlights my argument that internal criteria are an inherently problematic index of a tablet's origins.

Arnaud identified four pieces of this text (*Emar* 557),⁸⁵ and I have identified an additional fragment: Msk 74233n + Msk 74233m. Because Hh 21a appears in a separate manuscript tradition (see below), it appears that, unlike in Ugarit, *Emar* Hh 20 was transmitted by itself.

The sources A: Msk 731053 and D: Msk 74171g are duplicates, so there were at least two tablets. Tablet 1, source A, is known only from the large upper right corner fragment of the original Syro-Hittite-style bilingual manuscript. The fragment D is all that remains of Tablet 2. Contrary to Arnaud's edition (*Emar* 557:45'–51'), the text of D does not follow that of fragment C: Msk 74159f. Instead, it is better to reconstruct the text of D from Tablet 1 (*Emar* 557:3–9, A):

D: Msk 74171g (*Emar* 6/2, p. 435)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | [a-ša ₃ |
| 2 | [a-ša ₃ -gaba |
| 3 | [a-š]a ₃ -[gaba-ri-a |
| | (ruling) |
| 4 | a-ša ₃ -[^{d1}]nisaba |
| 5 | a-ša ₃ - ^d [nisaba-gu-la |
| 6 | a-ša ₃ - ^d ni[saba-tur-ra |
| | (ruling) |
| 7 | ᵀa ¹ -ša ₃ -tul ₂ -[la-mušen-na |
| 8 | ᵀa ¹ -ša ₃ -e ₂ -[ma ₂ -ru |
| 9 | ᵀa ¹ -ša ₃ -e ₂ -[ninnu |

It is impossible to know whether Tablet 2 was unilingual or bilingual, like Tablet 1. Since the text of Ugarit Hh 20 is incomplete, it is also uncertain whether this sequence repeats elsewhere in the text. Nevertheless, the correspondence between A and D is too great to be ignored, and so D is designated a separate manuscript.

It is difficult to assign the three remaining fragments to one manuscript or the other, but the bilingual fragment B: Msk 74147g probably belongs between *Emar* 557:37' and 38' (see also van Soldt 1993: 431 n. 33). The fragment Msk 74233n + Msk 74233m, edited provisionally as *Emar* 788 (given there only as “Msk 74233”), appears to belong to *Emar* Hh 20 (van Soldt 1993: 434; cf. Hh 20 Section 11, MSL 11, 7 and RS 20.156, MSL 11, 169):

Msk 74233n + Msk 74233m (*Emar* 6/2, p. 543)

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1' | |]x[|
| 2' | [a-ša ₃ -du ₆ - | DU] ₆ ? ᵀSAG ? ZA ?] |
| 3' | [a-ša ₃ -du ₆ - |]x DU ₆ ḫa-x[|

⁸⁵ Probably not “four . . . bilingual manuscripts” (Cohen 2009: 204).

- 4' [a-ša₃-du₆-lu₂-ḥun-ga]₂ DU₆ ag[-ri]
 5' [a-ša₃-d]u₆²-l[u₂²-s]ipa-e-ne D[U₆
 6' [a-ša₃-du₆-]lu₂-ur-sag-e-ne[
 7' [a-ša₃-du₆-]x-sal-LAM-bi DU₆ l[a²-
 (ruling)
 8' [a-ša₃-e]n-nu-un ma-š[a-a]š[ru₃] (metathesis of: ma-aš-ša-ru₃)
 9' [a-ša₃-k]i-en-nu-[un] ma-[aš-ša-ru₃]
 (ruling)
 10' [a-ša₃-u₂-g]i²-ri-lam₆(NAM) : u₂-gir₂[-lam
 11' [a-ša₃-u]₂-gir₂-lam¹-[g]u-l[a

Despite the evident textual errors and irregularities,⁸⁶ this fragment is the only known bilingual that preserves this section. Provided that an expected ruling between the Sumerian and Akkadian was omitted from the copy, this new fragment may belong to Tablet 1.⁸⁷

All five pieces of this text were found in 'Temple' M₁. Tablet 1 was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973, and the remaining pieces all came from Locus 1 West (M III NE, one M III SE).

ur₅-ra = ḥubullu 21a

Geographical Names

This section of Hh lists various toponyms. As noted already above for Hh 20, the first-millennium version is fragmentary (MSL 11; cf. Fadhlil and Hilgert 2007). Because Tablet 1 begins with the entry nibru^{ki}, it appears that Emar Hh 21a was an independent tablet. The different fragmentary versions suggested by Arnaud resulted from a misunderstanding of how the entries were organized across Hh 21 in Emar and, evidently, in Ugarit (van Soldt 1993). A few fragments of this section are also known from Ḥattuša: KUB 37, 145 (+) 146; KBo 26, 7.

Tablet 1, *Emar* 558 A: Msk 74129e¹ (= *Emar* 559 K), is a large unilingual tablet written in the Syro-Hittite script. All three columns are preserved from the obverse, but the reverse is mostly gone. The problems with the

⁸⁶ E.g., the divergence with the Ugarit text in 7' (a-ša₃-du₆-lu₂-sal-la, Ugarit Hh 20–21a Section 7:4') and the omission of an entry between lines 9'–10' (a-ša₃-gan₂-na-nu-zu, Ugarit Hh 20–21a Section 7:7'; note the omissions in *Emar* 557:1–12 versus Ugarit Hh 20–21a Section 1:1–11, van Soldt 1993: 429). The reading /lam/ for the NAM sign is exceedingly rare (Durand 1988a: 102; van Lerberghe and Voet 1991: 105 with refs.); note also the unorthographic Sum. writing found in Middle Elamite Susa: e₂-NAM // ELAM-ti (MDAI 57, 1 iv 7 // 9, MB biling. copy of RCU; for the context, see Rutz 2006b, esp. pp. 67, 70, 89).

⁸⁷ Note especially the similarity in presentation between line 10' of the fragment and a passage from source A (Tablet 1): a-ša₃-ga₅-ri-im : garim_x(LAGAB×A) ti-i-m[e-er-tu₄] (*Emar* 557:14); the expected sign is garim/n(LAGAB×KUG), cf. CAD T 119 lex. sub *tamirtu*.

reverse are still unresolved, since it is still not possible to definitively place the end of col. iv: $\text{e}_2^1\text{-duru}_5\text{-ma}_2\text{-gan}_x(\text{KAM})\text{-na}^{\text{ki}}$ (van Soldt 1993: 440 n. 120). More difficult still, the final traces (about 4–5 lines) on Tablet 1 after col. iv appear to be written perpendicular to the layout of the text in col. iv (Emar 6/1, p. 333). The score by van Soldt (1993: 440) ignores this latter issue. The last line of the fragment *Emar* 558 K: Msk 74104p also presents problems (cf. van Soldt 1993: 439).

Tablet 2, A': Msk 74234b, is a bilingual exercise extract of some fourteen lines (cf. *Emar* 558:85'–97'). The script is uncertain, but it may well be Syro-Hittite.

All four pieces were found in 'Temple' M₁, Locus 1 West (M III NE).

ur₅-ra = ḫubullu 21b–22

Geographical Names, Stars

This section of Hh pertains to toponyms (including towns and mountains), water ways (rivers, dikes, wells, and canals), celestial bodies, and ropes, presumably associated originally with surface metrology. The canonical version of Hh 21–22 is fragmentary (cf. Fadhil and Hilgert 2007), so it is difficult to use it to reconstruct the LBA versions found in Emar and elsewhere, such as Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 203). The section dealing with mountains is omitted in the published version found in Ugarit (MSL 11, 21, 46).

Arnaud misunderstood the organization of Hh 20–22, which accounts for the large number of versions and appendices (cf. van Soldt 1993: 429). However, in Emar the bilingual and unilingual versions of Hh 21b–22 do exhibit a number of textual differences and thus warrant separate editions. Arnaud originally identified eighteen pieces (see *Emar* 558, *Emar* 559) that can now be assigned to this text. I have identified four additional fragments: Msk 74122au; Msk 74122am + Msk 74122f; Msk 74104k; and possibly Msk 74105g. The sources appear to stem from four original manuscripts. With the exception of *Emar* 559 A: Msk 74115 + Msk 74159ac and *Emar* 559 D: Msk 7455 + Msk 74155b, all joins are my proposals.⁸⁸

Only the bottom half of Tablet 1, Msk 74198b (*Emar* 558 D, *Emar* 559 I), is preserved. It was written in the Syrian style and has four columns on the obverse and three columns on the reverse, which has a blank left-most column. The preserved sections include toponyms (GN^{ki}), rivers

⁸⁸ The brief sketch by van Soldt (1993: 440 n. 120) of the manuscript situation in Emar appears to reflect findings similar to what is proposed here.

and other water ways (id_2 , e, tul_2), and celestial bodies (mul). Interestingly, the unilingual version from Emar lacks the section of mountains (kur) that is present in Tablet 2 and Tablet 3 (Emar 6/2, p. 484, col. iii). As noted already above, this section is similarly missing from the published bilingual source from Ugarit (cf. Fadhil and Hilgert 2007: 102). Because the unilingual and bilingual versions differ in Emar, it is difficult to assess just how many entries are missing from col. i on the obverse. Based on col. iv it must be at least ten to fifteen.

The bilingual Tablet 2 consists of a large, Syro-Hittite piece, Msk 74115+ (Emar 558/2 B, Emar 559/1 Ai), to which I have joined a number of smaller fragments (see Appendix B.5.4.16). Two columns are preserved on the right side of the obverse, and parts of all three columns are preserved on the reverse. The obverse has entries for toponyms (GN^{ki}) and mountains (kur), while the reverse has water ways (id_2 , tul_2 , pa_5 , e), celestial bodies (mul), and ropes ($e\check{s}_2$).

Tablet 3, Msk 74187+ (Emar 558/3 E, Emar 559/1 B), is a fragmentary bilingual manuscript also written in the Syro-Hittite style. One new fragment, Msk 74104k, probably joins Msk 74122u (cf. Emar 559/1:44'–50').

Msk 74104k (Emar 6/1, p. 261)
 1' [id_2 -Ši-ma-at]^{-d}E[N.ZU]
 2' [id_2 -zag-ki]n-tur[
 3' [id_2 -A-ra-a]ḫ-tum[
 (ruling)
 4' [id_2 -^dEn-li]₂-gu₂-gal [
 5' [id_2 -^dNann]a-gu₂-ga[l]
 6' [id_2 -pa₅-^dN]an[na

The other new fragment from the right edge of Tablet 3 preserves a section that duplicates Tablet 2 (Emar 559/1:1–15).

Msk 74122am (Emar 6/1, p. 310) + Msk 74122f (Emar 6/1, p. 304)
 1' [kur- ...]x[: ...]
 2' [kur-ḫa-šu]r : MIN(KUR) [...]
 3' [kur-ḫa-bu]r : MIN [...]
 4' [kur-si-ra-r]a'(^šŠA) : MIN e^2 [-ri-ni]
 5' [kur-la-ba-na-n]i² : MIN $\check{s}u$ -ur₂-[me-n]i
 6' [kur-ga-sa]r² : MIN ^{giš}LAM.GAL
 7' [kur-di-]bar'(TAR) : MIN ^{giš}LAM.GAL
 8' [kur-sig₃-si]g₃ : MIN al-la-nu
 9' [kur-be-bad] : MIN l[u-pa₂-ni
 10' [kur-a₂-u₅-ra] : MIN bu-ra-š[i]²

It is difficult to reconcile the obviously corrupted text of Tablet 2 (Msk 74115 col. ii', Emar 6/1, p. 286), the text of the canonical version (MSL 11, 23),

and this fragment.⁸⁹ The reverse bears traces of an entry that ends: [...]-ta-an. It is unclear whether this is the end of a Sumerian entry that had no translation or the end of an Akkadian translation. None of the preserved entries from the reverse of Tablet 2 presents an obvious solution. A likely candidate may be the Akkadian gloss of one of the extra entries that begin id₂-pa₅-... (*Emar* 559/1:49'-53').⁹⁰

Tablet 4, *Emar* 559 D: Msk 7455 + Msk 74155b, is a pillow-shaped exercise extract. This Syro-Hittite-style unilingual contains entries from the section on rivers (*Emar* 559/1:54'-70'). One textual curiosity is the repetition of the determinative id₂ after the last entry on the reverse (cf. *Civil* 1989b: 14). After the first entry on the obverse, the rest of the entries begin with MIN (*Emar* 6/1, p. 193).

All of the tablets and fragments of this text were found in 'Temple' M₁. The pieces were found in Locus 1 West without exception (mostly M III NE, three from M III SE).

ur₅-ra = ḫubullu 23 *Food*

The final two divisions of Hh list various foodstuffs and comestibles. Hh 23 includes soups, alcoholic beverages (especially beer in various forms), as well as grains, flours, and breads (MSL 11). Both unilingual and bilingual versions are known from Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 203; RS 92-2008, André-Salvini 2004: 152), and fragments were found in Ḫattuša (KBo 26, 8).

Arnaud correctly identified seven sources of *Emar* Hh 23 (*Emar* 560). *Civil* (1989b: 20) made numerous adjustments to Arnaud's text edition and identified an additional fragment: Msk 74107ab. *Emar* Hh 23 appears to have been present only in a bilingual version. At least two copies can be identified.

The Syro-Hittite bilingual Tablet 1, C: Msk 74118a (+²) D: Msk 74186, seems to have originally had three columns on the obverse and two columns on the reverse. As with some other divisions of *Emar* Hh, the text is at times selectively bilingual. Source D is particularly important, since it

⁸⁹ Note that [kur-si-ra-r]a'(ŠA) is the same in Tablet 2 (kur-si-ra-ra'(ŠA)), so this appears to be a consistent orthography in *Emar*; [kur-di-]bar'(TAR) may have been motivated by the common lexeme di-kud; the entries [kur-sig₃-si]g₃ (cf. Tablet 2: kur-sig₁₇-sig₁₇) and kur-be-bad (or BE-BE, cf. Tablet 2: kur-pi-pi) are reconstructed here from the canonical version.

⁹⁰ Among the best possibilities is the curious entry id₂-pa₅-dug-la[ḫtan...], which may have been influenced by an item like ID₂.NUNUZ.KISIM₅×KAŠ.U = *laḫtanu* preserved in canonical Diri 3:196a (MSL 15, 146-147).

has the Akkadian gloss from col. i as well as the end of text, followed by a cryptic colophon ([...] BE MAN [...]). No scribal colophon is preserved.

The fragmentary Tablet 2, F: Msk 74113a, is also bilingual. It is preserved only as a small fragment of an originally multicolumn manuscript that appears to duplicate both pieces of Tablet 1. The tablet type is uncertain, but it is probably Syro-Hittite.

The pieces identified as Tablet 1 and Tablet 2 were all found in Locus 1 West (M III NE) of 'Temple' M₁. Of the remaining four fragments, three came from Locus 1 West (M III NE) and the fourth was found in Locus 1 Center (M I NW).

ur₅-ra = ḫubullu 24 *Food*

The very last division of Hh also pertains to foodstuffs, such as honey, oils and fats, aromatic herbs, dairy products, legumes, grains, fruits, and plants (MSL 11). Both unilingual and bilingual versions are known from Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 203), and a highly fragmentary unilingual version is known from Ḫattuša (MSL 11, 170).

In his text edition Arnaud identified eight sources (*Emar* 561). Civil (1989b: 20) noted three additional fragments: Msk 74143k; Msk 74197d; and perhaps *Emar* 591 = Msk 74109a. There he also pointed out that *Emar* 560 H = *Emar* 561 A: Msk 74217b belongs solely to Hh 24. Only the Akkadian translations are present on the Syro-Hittite fragment *Emar* 591, which may be from Hh 24 or Lu (Civil 1989b: 25). I have identified an additional fragment, Msk 74199p, which Civil (1989b: 20) misidentified as Hh 23. Since there are no duplicates, the fragments are all probably from one bilingual manuscript.

The Syro-Hittite-style Tablet 1, F: Msk 74160g + Msk 74199p, is sporadically bilingual. This fragment from the reverse contains Akkadian translations for the naga-section in the left column. The right column can be reconstructed:

Msk 74160g ri. col. (*Emar* 6/2, p. 410) + Msk 74199p (*Emar* 6/2, p. 495)

1' [(zu₂-lum-ma)]-gu₇

2' [-gu₇]-lugal

(ruling)

3' [-gibil

4' [-sumun

5' [sizkur(?)-]ra

6' [x-ma

7' -KI.LAM

8' -KI.KA.DI

- 9' zu₂-lum-ma-šu-kar₂
 (ruling)
 10' u₂'(SI)-ga [:] ukuš₂ : qī₂-iš-šu-u
 11' ukuš₂-[
 12' ukuš₂-[

There are traces near the lower part of the column, but they are difficult to place. This piece appears to be preceded by *Emar* 561 H: Msk 7310840, with which it bears many textual similarities (cf. *Emar* 561:29'–32'). The writing of the sign read ukuš₂ is curious in that it appears to be U+KUŠ₇(IŠ) rather than the expected HUL₂. The fragment G: Msk 74208b represents part of the last two columns from the reverse (cf. Civil 1989a). The right column may preserve part of the ukuš₂-section.⁹¹ Although there is part of a cryptic colophon, no scribal colophon is preserved.

All of the pieces but one were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE) in 'Temple' M₁. The sole exception is a fragment that was found in 1973 in either Locus 1 or Locus 3.

Lu: lu₂ = ša⁹²

In addition to Hh another important thematic lexical list is represented in the *Emar* corpus, namely, *Lu* (Gantzert 2008: I 226–247, II 129–140).⁹³ This composition has a long and complex textual history that began back in the last centuries of the fourth millennium and continued down to the last centuries of cuneiform tradition, including Archaic (ATU 3, 14–22, 69–89), ED (Taylor 2003), OB (MSL 12, 25–73), MB/MA (MSL 12, 77–84, 116, 130–138, B and C; the extract VS 24, 15 from MB Babylon, Veldhuis 2000: 86), and canonical versions (MSL 12, 87–147). Each period for which there is documentation appears to evidence some unique textual characteristics, with

⁹¹ Note: -ti-g[i-lu], -lal₃-x[...], -sag-[...], ..., u[kuš₂'-...] (*Emar* 6/2, p. 507).

⁹² The textual information and discussion in this section rely heavily on the work of Jon Taylor, who generously made his unpublished edition of *Emar Lu* available to me. His forthcoming study will contain a detailed examination of the composition and transmission of this text in the context of the corpus of other lists of professions found in cuneiform tradition.

⁹³ The lexical catalogue from LB Uruk cited above (Hh) also lists the incipits of the divisions of lu₂ = ša and *malku* = šarru immediately following Hh. This catalogue characterizes both *Lu* and *Malku* under the rubric: "Seven tablets, synonym lists (lit. tongues/languages)" ʾ7¹ DUB.MEŠ EME.MEŠ (SpTU 4, 186 i 6'–13'; the number is reconstructed based on the copy, p. 203, and makes sense in the context of what is listed: two divisions of *Lu*, five divisions of *Malku*).

only the most general thematic continuity holding over time. Put simply, Lu lists various titles, professions, and, in the OB and MB versions, various other miscellaneous lexical items not related to titles (MSL 12, 25; Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 628–629). According to Jon Taylor's forthcoming study, the versions of Lu from the late-second-millennium exhibit more similarities with one another than with either OB Proto-Lu (known principally from Nippur) or first-millennium canonical Lu. Due to the unusual length of the text in the second millennium, it was broken into two tablets and its final sections were sometimes combined with the acrographic list Proto-Izi (MSL 12, 78–79). A unilingual copy from the mid-second millennium was found in Nuzi (Lacheman 1939, no. 6; MSL 12, 80–81). From the latter half of the second millennium, four bilingual fragments and a unilingual exercise extract were found in Ḫattuša (CTH 305; MSL 12, 78–84, cf. 214–219). A small fragment is also known from Ekalte (*Ekalte* 81A; Mayer 2001: 145–146, pls. 42, 82). The sources from Ugarit remain largely unpublished, but both unilingual and bilingual versions are known (Thureau-Dangin 1931, no. 9; van Soldt 1995a: 203–204; André-Salvini 2004: 149–150). One unilingual source from Ugarit (RS 23.80, unpub.) reportedly combines Hh 24 and Lu I, indicating a possible order in which the texts were learned and copied (van Soldt 1995a: 173, 204). It must be noted, however, that an unpublished unilingual excerpt (RS 16.364) reportedly contains both Hh 11 and Lu I (van Soldt 1995a: 200).

Unlike Nuzi, Ḫattuša, and Ugarit, Emar has produced only a bilingual version of Lu. The Emar version bears the original OB incipit $lu_2 = \check{s}u$, instead of the canonical $lu_2 = \check{s}a$, and the second tablet probably began with $sipa = rē'u$. Arnaud correctly classified thirty-two fragments of Emar Lu (*Emar* 602), and Civil (1989b: 21–24) subsequently made a number of new identifications, proposed several joins, and suggested improvements to be made to the text. He articulated five tablets: three tablets with Lu I (Civil 1989b: 21) and two tablets with Lu II, one in combination with Izi and the other an exercise tablet (Civil 1989b: 22). Taylor (forthcoming) collated all but a handful of these pieces, verified or disconfirmed joins proposed by Arnaud and Civil, and created a revised score of Emar Lu. He essentially followed Civil's division, with some modification of the placement of individual fragments, but preferred to see Civil's exercise tablet (*Emar* 583 = Msk 74158e) as simply an unplaced fragment, resulting in only four tablets. I have identified two additional pieces of Emar Lu I: Msk 74254e and Msk 74152f. All four tablets are bilingual and written in the Syro-Hittite style.

Tablet 1, A: Msk 74121 (in two pieces) + U: Msk 74232e, was copied by the diviner Šaggar-abu (Appendix C.1.1; for the colophon, see Rutz 2006–2007). The text of Tablet 1 contains all of Lu I on one large, multicolumn tablet, ending shortly before the entry sipa.

Tablet 2, D: Msk 74148b+ (for joins, see Appendix B.5.5), was copied by an unknown student of the diviner Ba'1-mālik (see Appendix C). Like Tablet 1, this copy appears to have originally contained all of Lu I. In his reconstruction of this tablet, Taylor (forthcoming) has included the small flake M: Msk 74135c, which Arnaud thought was the left corner (Emar 6/1, p. 342). Since it begins the sipa-section (i.e., Lu II), it may be from the end of Tablet 2 (Taylor) or constitute the beginning of a separate source, such as Tablet 4 (Arnaud; Civil 1989b: 22). The new fragment Msk 74254e may join Tablet 2 (i.e., AA: Msk 74107f +[?] Msk 74254e). Only the Akkadian column is preserved for this entry in Tablet 2:

AA: Msk 74107f (Emar 6/1, p. 271)
 10' [kisal-luḥ] : ki-i-¹sa²-al¹-[luḥ-hu]

The new fragment appears to contain the same entry:

Msk 74254e (Emar 6/2, p. 580)
 1' [kisal-luḥ] : ki]-¹sa¹-a[l²-luḥ-hu]
 2' [MUNU]S²-kisal-luḥ : [ki-sa-luḥ-ha-tu₄]
 3' [ugula]-kisal-luḥ : [a-kil₂ MIN]

If Arnaud's marks are to be believed, then Msk 74254e would fit on the reverse of Tablet 2 at the bottom of col. vi (according to Taylor's forthcoming reconstruction). Though the KISAL sign in Tablet 1 is different, the Syro-Hittite form of the sign in one copy of Emar Paleographic S^a is analogous.⁹⁴ Admittedly Msk 74254e:4' is difficult to place, and the Akkadian traces from the obverse are of little help.

Tablet 3, Ei: Msk 74158d (+) S: Msk 74146d (+) Msk 74132u = *Emar* 598, is a fragmentary copy of Emar Lu I. Only the right edge and parts of the reverse are preserved. The new fragment Msk 74152f (// A: Msk 74121, cf. *Emar* 602:255'–258') may continue *Emar* 598 = Msk 74132u.

⁹⁴ *Emar* 538:126', Tablet 1, C: Msk 7469a (Emar 6/1, p. 204, bottom of ri. col.). Although the first element (KISAL) is problematic, it should be noted that LUḤ does not combine with very many other signs in the lexical tradition.

- Msk 74152f (Emar 6/2, p. 384)
 1' [ninku]m⁹⁵ : n[i-in-ku-um-mu]
 (ruling)
 2' [s]ur₉([M]A₂.LIŠ) : šu-r[u²-u]
 3' [MIN]-gal : MIN-g[al¹-lu]
 4' [MIN-^din]ana : i[š-ta-ri-tu]

Perhaps šu-[ru] in *Emar* 598 preserves a pronunciation gloss of the combination MA₂.LIŠ = sur₉.⁹⁶ Thus,

- Msk 74132u ri. col. (Emar 6/1, p. 340)
 1' e[nkum : enkummu]
 2' ni[nkum : ninkummu]
 (ruling)
 3' šu-[ru : sur₉ : šurrû]
 4' s[ur₉²-gal : šurrugallu]
 5' [sur₉-^dinana : ištarîtu]

If this reconstruction is correct, then perhaps the Akkadian in Msk 74152f line 2' is related to the Sum. pronunciation of this sign complex, the interpretation of which is difficult without precise parallels. Regardless, Msk 74152f may also be from Tablet 2, since this section is not preserved there either. Here it is provisionally assigned to Tablet 3.

Tablet 4, Eii: Msk 74169a+ (see Appendix 5.5), is a combination of Lu II and the acrographic vocabulary Izi (see below). The version of Izi on this source appears to be different from what is found on the independent copies of the text from Emar. Combinations of this kind are attested already in the OB corpus (e.g., Taylor 2001). Unlike OB combination tablets of this kind, entries from Izi appear only on the left edge of the tablet. According to Taylor, Tablet 4 may continue Tablet 1 or Tablet 2.

⁹⁵ All that is preserved of the Sum. is [NIN.PAP.SIG₇.NUN.ME.]EZEN×KASKAL.

⁹⁶ On sur₉, see Veldhuis 1997–1998 and CAD S 413b sub *surrû* (lex. only). Although SUR₉ is derived from UZ₃, the radical MA₂ occurs in some later Assyrian variants of the sign. Following Arnaud's copies, it appears that the combination in Emar Lu is MA₂+LIŠ, though the pieces require collation to confirm this hypothesis. Note UZ₃ SH: Msk 74271a (Emar 6/2, p. 504) Hh 2; Msk 74227 (Emar 6/2, p. 525) and Msk 74115 (Emar 6/1, p. 286) Hh 21b–22; cf. MA₂ SH: Msk 731048 col. i (Emar 6/1, p. 128) Hh 3–5a; UZ₃ S: Msk 731079 col. ii (Emar 6/1, p. 157) Hh 13; cf. MA₂ S: Msk 731030 cols. vii–viii (Emar 6/1, pp. 107–108) Hh 3–5a. I still do not understand the apparently unrelated occurrence of the same sign combination MA₂+LIŠ in the Alalah version of the list of vessels (AIT 446 col. vi 9–12), where it appears instead of the expected gir₄. For further examples of OB SUR₉, see Mittermayer 2006: 23, no. 55. I owe the possible reading of the entry as sur₉ to Jon Taylor (personal communication). For other examples of pronunciation glosses in Emar Lu (following Taylor's revised lineation), note lines 29–31, 326, 335, 339, 349–350, 420, 483–484, 493–494, 520, 542.

The fragments *Emar* 602 Q: Msk 7496i and AB: Msk 74103r were not examined by Taylor and remain uncertain. As noted already above, based on the preserved Akkadian entries the Syro-Hittite fragment *Emar* 591 = Msk 74109a is either Lu I or Hh 24 (Civil 1989b: 25).

All fragments of *Emar* Lu were found in 'Temple' M₁. The three pieces of Tablet 1 were all found in Locus 1 W (M III NE). Of the twenty-two fragments that have been identified from Tablet 2, most came from Locus 1 West (twenty M III NE; one M III SE), but one was found in Locus 1 Center (M I NW). The four pieces of Tablet 3 were all found in Locus 1 West (three M III SE; one M III NE). Tablet 4 is represented by eleven pieces that were all found in Locus 1 West (ten M III NE; one M III SE). The unplaced and/or uncertain fragments of *Emar* Lu were found in Locus 1 West (five M III NE; two M III SE) or in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (i.e., during the 1973 campaign).

Izi: izi = išātu

Acrographic lexical lists are first attested in mid-third millennium Ebla (MEE 4, eš₃-bar-kin₅ vocabulary, Sjöberg 2004, with previous literature; Mayer 2005). However, it is in the OB period that various texts of this kind coalesce into a stable form that can then be traced down to the first millennium. One such text is OB Proto-Izi, which is known primarily from Nippur (MSL 13; Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 632–633; Veldhuis 1998). In general these texts mark a departure from the thematic vocabularies like Hh and Lu, since the acrographic lists employ sign morphology, not meaning, as the operative principle of organization.⁹⁷ As a general rule, the complexes of signs found in the acrographic vocabularies like Izi can often be meaningfully atomized to their constituent elements. There are, however, many examples where this was not the case (MSL 15, 3). In the later second millennium a version of Izi is attested in Ḫattuša (CTH 303; MSL 13, 132–147). Both unilingual and bilingual versions of Izi are also known from Ugarit, where the text was divided into at least two tablets (van Soldt 1995a: 204–205).⁹⁸ Lu-Izi combination tablets are known from

⁹⁷ Taylor (personal communication) notes that the thematic list (Proto-)Lu in its various forms does exhibit some acrographic organizational features, albeit in a more restricted form than in the acrographic lists proper. This makes Lu an obvious transitional text between Hh and Izi.

⁹⁸ I have identified an additional piece from Ugarit: RS 88.2015 (André-Salvini 2004: 152; Rutz 2007). This bilingual fragment is a duplicate of the unilingual source for Ugarit Izi 2, RS 2.[013] (Thureau-Dangin 1931: pls. XLIV–XLV; MSL 13, 128–131). If RS 2.[013] is any guide

Ugarit and Emar, and the published unilingual from Ugarit (RS 2.[013]) bears the catchline for Diri (van Soldt 1995a: 205). Thus it is plausible that Izi was generally copied between Lu and Diri in LBA Syria.

Arnaud described a number of texts as “fragment de liste acrophonique” (*Emar* 564–571), and Civil (1989b: 20–21) noted a number of new pieces, joins, and textual parallels to what can be classified as Emar Izi (Gantzer 2008: I 248–256, II 141–147).⁹⁹ In addition to the Lu-Izi combination tablet (see above), there appear to be six discrete copies of Emar Izi, all of which are bilingual (Appendix B.5.6). I have identified a tiny fragment that may belong to Izi: Msk 74232l.

Tablet 1, *Emar* 567(+) = Msk 74105b(+), was copied by some son(?) of the diviner Baʿl-mālik, son of Baʿl-qarrād, but the copyist’s name is not preserved. The text was written in the Syro-Hittite style. The paleographic colophon (see Appendix C) also includes the teacher Kidin-Gula in the scribe’s pedigree (Cohen 2004). Only the left edge of the tablet is preserved, so there are entries for the first column and the last. The first column contains an-entries and breaks off with the beginning of the mul-entries, and the end of the text is puzzling (cf. Sjöberg 2006: 405–409). Civil (1989b: 20) notes that the basic structure of text parallels the first half of Proto-Izi 1a (MSL 13, 17–18). His additional comment that Tablet 1 “starts with an-ur₂, like the Ugarit recension” must refer to one or more of the unpublished pieces from Ugarit.

The script of Tablet 2, Msk 74122ab, is uncertain, since it is even more fragmentary than Tablet 1. There are traces from at least two columns, and Civil (1989b: 20) has suggested that this piece cannot be reconciled with the text of Tablet 1. It also vaguely parallels the latter part of Proto-Izi 1 (MSL 13, 33).

Tablet 3, *Emar* 564(+) = Msk 7490b(+), is written in the Syro-Hittite style. Only two columns are preserved from the obverse and two columns from the reverse. Several entries parallel versions of Izi found in Ḫattuša (KBo 1, 42; MSL 13, 132–134; cf. Sjöberg 2006: 402–405).

Tablet 4, *Emar* 568 (+) *Emar* 578 = Msk 74164a (+) Msk 74259 (+) Msk 74146f, is known from a large fragment that preserves three columns along with the lower edge of the tablet. Written in the Syro-Hittite style,

regarding layout, then RS 88.2015 may come from the lower right section of a multicolumn tablet. The unpublished duplicate from Ugarit, RS 20.127C+, may provide still more information about this fragment and the fragments from Emar.

⁹⁹ *Emar* 569 is part of the Lu-Izi combination tablet, and *Emar* 570 is Diri.

Tablet 4 also has a parallel from Ḫattuša (MSL 13, 143–145; see Sjöberg 2006: 409–414).¹⁰⁰

Only the lower left corner of Tablet 5, *Emar* 571 = Msk 74199l + Msk 74198w, is preserved. Since Tablet 4 also has the lower left corner intact, Tablet 5 must constitute a distinct manuscript (Civil 1989b: 21). Tablet 5 is also probably Syro-Hittite, but it is difficult to be certain because so little of the text is preserved. All that remains are a few entries beginning with nir- (col. i) and šu- (last col.).

Tablet 6, *Emar* 572 = Msk 7433, is an irregularly shaped exercise extract written in the Syro-Hittite style. The obverse contains eleven lines, and the reverse contains four. All entries but the last (tu-bu-ul) begin with šu- (*Emar* 6/1, p. 176). Thus it is textually reminiscent of Tablet 5 above.

A few fragments remain that are difficult to place within one of the five fragmentary manuscripts. *Emar* 590 = Msk 7491k may have Akkadian translations from some section of Izi (Civil 1989b: 25), and Msk 74132q ought to belong to the an-section, but it does not seem to fit Tablet 1 (Civil 1989b: 20). Likewise, Msk 74122h may also belong to Izi, or it may be from the Weidner God List (see above). Finally, another tiny fragment may belong to *Emar* Izi:

Msk 74232l (*Emar* 6/2, p.)
 1' b[ala?
 2' [bala]-ma[h
 3' [bala]-dingir-r[a

This tentative identification is based on a parallel with Ugarit Izi 284–286 (MSL 13, 131).

Emar Izi was found only in 'Temple' M₁. Pieces of Tablet 1 came from Locus 1 West (four M III NE, one M III SE) and Locus 1 Center (M I NW). The sole fragment of Tablet 2 was found in Locus 1 West (M III NE). All of the fragments assigned to Tablet 3 came from Locus 1 West (M III NE), as did all of the pieces of Tablet 4 (M III SE), Tablet 5 (M III NE), and Tablet 6 (M III NE). One tiny fragment was excavated in 1973 from either

¹⁰⁰ The entries in col. ii (*Emar* 6/2, p. 417; *Emar* 568:4'–10') do not have sound parallels in the acrographic vocabularies, but they are textually interesting nonetheless. The initial Sum. entries should be read gizzal₁ (GIŠ.TUG₂.PI.ŠIR.SIL), gizzal₁-GAR₃, and giš-šu-gal₂-[l]a₂?. Parallels include gizzal(GIŠ.PI.TUG₂.ŠIR-tenû) OB Nippur Diri 206–209 (MSL 15, 20–21) and later gizzal(GIŠ.TUG₂.PI.ŠIR-tenû.SILA₃) Diri 3:64 (MSL 15, 138–139). Note also the entry 'a¹-gizzal(GIŠ.TUG₂.PI.ŠIR-tenû.SILA₃) in the "OB List of Diseases" (CBS 13267 obv. i' 3, collated, MB copy; MSL 9, 77; cf. CAD N/1 204a).

Locus 1 or Locus 3, while the remaining unassigned fragments all came from Locus 1 West (two M III NE, one M III SE).

Diri: diri = watru

Unlike the typical entries found in Izi, the sign complexes in Diri cannot be easily atomized to determine the meaning of a particular combination (Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 625–626; MSL 15). Diri appears to be a product of the OB period, since there is nothing obviously like it from the third millennium. OB versions are known from Nippur, perhaps Sippar (CBS 1536; cf. MSL 15, 5, with fig. 1), and elsewhere. Some version of Diri is also known from sites outside of Babylonia and Assyria, including Ḫattuša (CTH 300), Amarna (EA 373; EA 352 [+] 353; Izre’el 1997: 37–38, 83–84, Pls. XIV, XLII), Ugarit (cf. van Soldt 1995a: 205), and Haft Tepe in Elam (Herrero and Glassner 1996: 77, no. 274). Textual witnesses from MA Assur, first-millennium Assyria, and first-millennium Babylonia all attest to the so-called canonical version of Diri (MSL 15). The catchline to Diri appears on a unilingual copy of Izi 2 from Ugarit (RS 2.[013]; Thureau-Dangin 1931: pls. XLIV–XLV), but its position in the Emar curriculum and text corpus is not obvious.

Arnaud identified eight fragments of Emar Diri, edited as *Emar* 540 (Gantzert 2008: I 269–274, II 158–161).¹⁰¹ Cavigneaux (1988) and Civil (1989b: 11) subsequently noted additional fragments and joins: *Emar* 600 + *Emar* 570 = Msk 74198z + Msk 74199i (+) Msk 74238r, *Emar* 599 = Msk 74198d, and Msk 74128c. Civil’s edition of Emar Diri (MSL 15, 84–87) revises some of the identifications and typographical errors in his review (Civil 1989: 11) and provides collations, additional joins, and a new piece, Msk 74107ag.¹⁰² I have identified another fragment, Msk 74159g (Rutz 2006a), which is a duplicate of a manuscript from the so-called “house of Rap’ānu” in Ugarit, RS 17.154 (Ugarit Diri 2; MSL 15, 67). The layout of Emar Diri is consistent, in that vertical rulings separate the Sumerian pronunciation column, the main logogram, and its Akkadian translation(s), and horizontal rulings separate entries.

¹⁰¹ For *Emar* 540 F: “Msk 74133i,” read Msk 74123i. *Emar* 540 I: Msk 742340 is not Diri but rather a bilingual fragment of Emar Hh 5b–7 (Civil 1989b: 12).

¹⁰² *Emar* 562 = Msk 7498j is not Diri but rather, as Civil (1989b: 12) himself pointed out, part of Tablet 3 of Emar Hh 5b–7. For “72354c,” read Msk 74254c, and for “75165e” read Msk 74165e. The statement “Proverb: 74107g” is puzzling (Civil 1989b: 11). Msk 74107g (Emar 6/1, p. 271) is an unplaced ritual fragment (see Appendix B.4.8.1), so Msk 74107ag was probably what was intended.

There are at most eight distinct sources that preserve seven fragmentary sections. These constitute the remains of at least two different tablets, A: Msk 74152b // F: Msk 74123i (MSL 15, 85), Tablet 1 and Tablet 2, respectively. Both are written in the Syro-Hittite style, and it is probably the case that all of Emar Diri is preserved only in Syro-Hittite-style copies. The remaining pieces should probably be assigned to one of these two fragmentary tablets.

All of the fragments of Emar Diri were excavated from 'Temple' M₁. The pieces are evenly divided between the two excavation units of Locus 1 West (7, M III NE; 7, M III SE).

Nigga: *nig₂-ga* = makkūru

Another acrographic vocabulary *Nigga*, sometimes called *nig₂-gur₁₁* (or *nig₂-GA*) = *makkūru*, has also been identified in the Emar lexical corpus (Gantzert 2008: I 266–268, II 156–157). *Nigga* is attested in numerous unilingual copies from OB Nippur, and two different bilingual recensions are known (cf. MSL 13, 91–124; Cavigneaux 1980–1983: 632–633). A single unpublished copy has been identified from Ugarit (van Soldt 1995a: 205). Veldhuis (1998: 212) has suggested that the fragmentary sources from Ugarit and Emar do not represent *Nigga*, but rather that they are from some version of *ka₂-gal* = *abullu* 2 (cf. MSL SS 1, 125). There is merit to this argument, since *Nigga* is known primarily from OB Nippur, though the provenance of the bilingual prism YBC 13524 is unknown (MSL SS 1, 113). Nevertheless, it must be noted that the acrographic lexical texts from LBA Syria show more variation in general (e.g., Emar Izi). *Kagal* is otherwise scarcely known in Emar if at all (cf. Gantzert 2008: I 148) and is attested in Ugarit only sparsely or not at all (e.g., RS 20.153, van Soldt 1995a: 206 n. 19).¹⁰³ Furthermore, if the argument hinges on the fact that *Nigga* is attested only in the OB period, then Emar Sag could similarly be reassigned to another acrographic vocabulary, since Sag is presently known only in OB copies and a few questionable fragments from Ḫattuša (MSL SS 1, 36–38). Because these issues of textual transmission have yet to be resolved, Arnaud's generic classification of this text is retained here, if only for the sake of convenience.

One Syro-Hittite copy was found in Emar, Tablet 1, *Emar* 573 = Msk 74103a+ (Civil 1989b: 21; see Appendix B.5.8). This large tablet originally

¹⁰³ However, it must be noted that a version of *Kagal* is found in Ḫattuša (CTH 304; MSL 13, 148–153).

had two columns on each side, but the remains consist of three fragments. One fragment has traces from two columns as well as an edge (Msk 74013c, Emar 6/1, p. 257), but it is unclear from the copy and text whether it is from the obverse or reverse with the upper or lower edge. The largest piece has much of both columns of the obverse as well as the right edge (Msk 74103a + Msk 74104a, Emar 6/1, pp. 255–256), and a fragment has traces of the first and last columns as well as the left edge (Msk 74103c, Emar 6/1, p. 268). A cryptic colophon is present (BE [MAN BE]), but no scribal colophon is preserved. The preserved portion of the text contains only compounds that begin with *nig₂* (Sjöberg 2006: 417–420). The layout of the text is distinctive in that each column was ruled such that both columns were further divided into five unequally spaced sub-columns. Each Sum. entry was laid out so that the first element (*nig₂-*) was aligned with the first vertical ruling and the last element was aligned with the second vertical ruling.¹⁰⁴ In most cases, the corresponding Akkadian entries were similarly distributed across the three remaining columns, similarly aligned with respect to the vertical rulings. The closest parallel to this layout is found among the carefully ruled exercise extracts,¹⁰⁵ but there are examples of longer sources that are laid out with similar care.¹⁰⁶ An additional fragment may come from the same tablet, *Emar* 574 = Msk 74190h (Sjöberg 2006: 420–421). Msk 74100f is tentatively identified as Nigga by Arnaud (Emar 6/4, p. 170), but the traces are not clear. Similarly, the fragment Msk 7480b (see Emar Hh 1 above) may be from Hh 1 or, as Arnaud suggests, from Nigga (Emar 6/4, p. 170).

All pieces of Emar Nigga came from ‘Temple’ M₁. Specifically, they were excavated from Locus 1 West (M III NE).

Sag B: sag = lu

The acrographic list *Sag* is very poorly attested in general, so the text was originally subsumed under the rubric of the acrographic text *Kagal* (MSL SS 1, 1). In its most basic form, the text of *Sag* consists of compounds that

¹⁰⁴ One interesting exception is found in the entries *nig₂-si-sa₂* and *nig₂-nu-si-sa₂*, where the sequence *si-sa₂* appears to have been treated as a single sign (Emar 6/1, p. 256, col. i). This phenomenon occurred already in OB, when, in some instances, the compound verb *si-sa₂* was grammaticalized as a single unit (Fumi Karahashi, personal communication).

¹⁰⁵ E.g., Hh 5b–7: Msk 7448, Msk 74114d+; Hh 11: Msk 73265; Hh 19: Msk 74202; Hh 21a: Msk 74234b; Hh 21b–22: Msk 7455+.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., Hh 21a: Msk 74129e.

begin with the signs SAG, KA, and their derivatives. Unlike some sections of Izi that exhibit both acrographic and thematic organization, Sag, like Nigga, is a purely acrographic list (MSL SS 1, 6). The OB version also contains compounds that begin with IGI and ŠA₃. Third-millennium forerunners of this text are known from Nippur (OSP 1, 10, CBS 8082), Susa (MDP 14, 87), and in sections of the acrographic vocabulary from Ebla (MEE 4) noted already above (MSL SS 1, 15). Ten copies of this acrographic sign list are known from the OB period, eight unilingual, referred to as Proto-Sag, and one bilingual, called Sag A (MSL SS 1, 7–27). With a few exceptions, the text of the OB vocabulary Sag A likewise lists SAG-, KA-, and IGI-derived compounds, but unlike in Proto-Sag Akkadian translations are also present. So far no version of this text has been found in Ugarit, but a few fragments of a vocabulary like Sag are preserved from Ḫattuša (MSL SS 1, 36–38). However, these small pieces from Ḫattuša, which also include a phonetic pronunciation column, may instead be from an acrographic text like Kagal, which is more adequately attested there (cf. CTH 304).

The text referred to originally as Sag B can now be identified as Emar Sag (cf. MSL SS 1, 28–35).¹⁰⁷ Only the upper right corner of the tablet was excavated, but Arnaud (Emar 6/4, p. 170) recognized that *Emar* 575 = Msk 731055 joins the manuscript that had been looted from 'Temple' M₁ and later resurfaced in Tokyo (Yoshikawa and Matsushima 1980). This large tablet originally had four columns per side, though only the first three and last three columns are preserved in their entirety. Paleography places the tablet securely in the Syrian school. The text of Emar Sag differs from that of Proto-Sag/Sag A in that Emar Sag has only compounds that begin with signs derived from SAG and KA (MSL SS 1, 28–35; *Emar* 575; Civil 1989b: 21; Sjöberg 2006: 421–423; Gantzer 2008: I 258–265, II 149–155).¹⁰⁸

The colophon indicates that the text was both complete and collated: AL.TIL IGI.KAR₂. A remnant of the actual counting of lines (according to the colophon, 352 lines in all), a Winkelhaken (U = 10), appears in the left margin every ten lines. The copyist of this tablet has been a point of contention, but the colophon indicates that it was the work of the diviner (LU₂.I₃.ZU) Ba'1-bārû (Appendix C.1.4).

¹⁰⁷ Civil (MSL SS 1, 3, 28) already suspected a north Syrian provenience of this manuscript and even mentioned Emar by name.

¹⁰⁸ Sjöberg (2006: 421–423) did not notice that the Emar fragment actually joins the large manuscript held in Tokyo.

The upper right corner fragment was excavated from 'Temple' M₁ in 1973, thus it came from either Locus 1 or Locus 3.

Miscellaneous Lexical Texts and Fragments

A number of miscellaneous lexical tablets and fragments are a challenge to situate specifically within the lexical corpus detailed above (cf. Gantzert 2008).

Both the contents and shape of Tablet 1, *Emar* 601 = Msk 7462 (*Emar* 6/1, p. 197), are extremely irregular. Though uncertain, the script is probably Syro-Hittite. Arnaud (*Emar* 6/4, p. 181) already recognized that the obverse and first line of the reverse of this tablet present a Hurrian syllabary (cf. Wilhelm 1993: 114; Gantzert 2008: I 1, II 1). The remaining lines on the reverse appear to consist of phrases that are best interpreted as a model contract. The exercise extract *Emar* 572 (Izi, Tablet 6) is the only other lexical tablet that has a shape even remotely similar to *Emar* 601.

The two fragments edited as Ea in *Emar* 563 are difficult to identify conclusively (cf. Gantzert 2008: I 274). Arnaud first identified *Emar* 563 A = Msk 74152g presumably based on the isolated occurrence in (Proto-) Ea of the signs *u*du^g and *gi*dim (MSL 14, 42, 195, 200), neither of which is terribly productive in the lexical tradition in general. Both also occur in S^b 2 (MSL 3, 134), and ^d*u*du^g appears in Ugarit Diri 3:244–245 (MSL 15, 83; Civil 1989b: 20). Civil (1989b: 20) suggests that *Emar* 563 B = Msk 74152a is more likely Diri but omits the fragment from his edition of *Emar* Diri and makes no further mention of the piece (MSL 15, 84). Although the layout of this piece is like that of the main fragment of Nigga (see above), it is impossible to reconcile with that text or, for that matter, any other in the corpus. Moreover, it is not clear whether the preserved edge is the upper edge or the lower edge. If it proves to be the latter, naturally the obverse and reverse would need to be switched. Despite these uncertainties, this piece is given the designation Tablet 2 here because it cannot be from Tablet 1, which is complete, and it cannot be even provisionally assigned to any other text.

A few of these fragments have been mentioned or discussed already, such as the difficult piece *Emar* 563 B = Msk 74152a. The identification of *Emar* 588 = Msk 74101h (*Emar* 6/1, p. 245) is also highly uncertain (Civil 1989b: 25). All that can be read with certainty are a few Akkadian entries. The tablet may have been written in the Syrian style, but too little is preserved and there are no unambiguously diagnostic sign forms. *Emar* 595 = Msk 74123p appears to be from a fragment containing IGI-compounds (Civil 1989b: 25; cf. Gantzert 2008: I 275):

Msk 74123p (Emar 6/1, p. 314; cf. *Emar* 595)

| | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1' | [IGI.ERIN ₂ |] <i>pi₂-qi'(IG)-it-tu₃</i> [|
| 2' | [IGI.ERIN ₂ |] <i>pa-qa-du</i> |
| 3' | [IGI.E ₂ |] <i>har-ra-ru</i> |
| 4' | [u ₆ (IGI.E ₂) |] <i>ha-a-tu₃</i> |
| 5' | [IGI.... |]x GI' x[|

Another fragment, *Emar* 576 = Msk 74166b, lists the cardinal points in Sumerian and Akkadian and then appears to list additional Akkadian terms related to wind phenomena (Civil 1989b: 24; Sjöberg 2006: 423–424; cf. Gantzert 2008: I 257, Kagal). This layout is somewhat peculiar, and it may be the case that some Sumerian entries should be reconstructed in the lacuna to the left of the preserved text. Like *Emar* 595, the combined fragments *Emar* 577 = Msk 74191c + Msk 7484l appear to list a number of IGI-compounds and their Akkadian translations, but it is not possible to confidently assign this fragment to a specific text (join Civil 1989b: 24; Sjöberg 2006: 424–425). Only Akkadian entries are preserved on the fragment *Emar* 586 = Msk 7488f, which remains very difficult to interpret (Civil 1989b: 25; Sjöberg 2006: 426–427).

Several problematic pieces merit mention, since they have yet to be identified or discussed in the literature. Msk 731087c (Emar 6/1, p. 166) may be a fragment of Hh 24 (see above). Msk 74100i (Emar 6/1, p. 243) appears to employ an archaizing script, especially the AN sign, which appears seven times in the construction x-dingir-ra. The fragment Msk 74122s (Emar 6/1, p. 306) presents many vertical and horizontal rulings, as well as the reduplication of several signs (MURUB₄, ŠEŠ, PAP). The traces and presence of *Glossenkeil* both before and after the main signs indicate that this is a fragmentary vocabulary that provides readings of the reduplicated forms. The only definite entry (line 6') reads: [(PAP).]PAP : *na-a[k-ru₃]*, or the like. Msk 7491t (Emar 6/1, p. 228) preserves traces of the end of some unknown composition as well as traces of a scribal colophon. Msk 7481c (Emar 6/1, p. 213) appears to present sign values followed by *Glossenkeil*. Msk 74171i (Emar 6/2, p. 435) may be from a vocabulary that remains unidentified at present. Finally, Msk 74221a appears to be a unique fragment:

Msk 74221a (Emar 6/1, p. 316)

| | | |
|----|------|--|
| 1' | [| M]IN[]x x[|
| 2' | []x | MIN : nir-ra : e[r ₂ (A.I[GI) |
| 3' | [] | MIN MIN : er ₂ : [|
| 4' | [] | MIN MIN : er ₂ : [|
| 5' | [| MIN MI]N : er ₂ : [|
| 6' | [|]DA' : ?[|

The sequence is probably consistent with the layout of a lexical text, the identification of which remains uncertain due to the absence of compelling parallels.¹⁰⁹ A broken section of Emar Lu is certainly a possibility (cf. *Emar* 602:307'–311', Emar Lu I, Tablet 1 or 2).

All of the miscellaneous lexical texts and fragments from Emar were found in 'Temple' M₁. Of the two tablets and sixteen fragments, all but one fragment came from Locus 1 West (15, M III NE; 2, M III SE). The one remaining fragment was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973.

The layout and contents of several fragments make it probable that they came from some lexical text. However, whatever is preserved does not provide sufficient information for even a provisional identification of the specific text. In all probability these fragments belong to one of the texts discussed above.

Sixty-nine such fragments came from 'Temple' M₁. The vast majority were found in Locus 1 West (63, M III NE; 4, M III SE), while one outlier came from either Locus 1 or Locus 2 (M I NE) and another was found in 1973 in either Locus 1 or Locus 3.

There is a sizable collection of fragments that may belong to some lexical text. These pieces are highly uncertain, typically due to the extremely small size or poor preservation of the fragment in question.

All of these fragments were found in 'Temple' M₁. Two fragments were excavated from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973, and one fragment was subsequently found in either Locus 2 or Locus 3 (M I SE). The vast majority of these uncertain lexical fragments came from Locus 1 West (76, M III NE; 7, M III SE). One fragment came from Locus 1 North (M IV SW, surface clearing), two pieces came from some unknown unit in the building, and another was a surface find.

Table 13. 'Temple' M₁: Lexical Texts, Genre by Tablet Type

| <i>Lexical</i> | <i>Tablets</i> | | | | <i>Fragments</i> | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Syll. Voc. A | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| S ^a | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Paleo. S ^a | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 11 | 14 |
| S ^a Voc. | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Weidner | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |

¹⁰⁹ Perhaps this is some version of an acrographic list like Kagal (MSL 13, 77, 232; Wilhelm 1989) or Izi (MSL 13, 176).

Table 13 (*cont.*)

| <i>Lexical</i> | <i>Tablets</i> | | | | <i>Fragments</i> | | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Hh 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 10 | 12 |
| Hh 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| Hh 3–5a | 2 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Hh 5b–7 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Hh 8–9 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 12 | 15 |
| Hh 10 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Hh 11–12 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 22 | 29 |
| Hh 13 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 5 |
| Hh 14–15 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Hh 16 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| Hh 17 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Hh 18 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Hh 19 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Hh 20 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Hh 21a | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Hh 21b–22 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| Hh 23 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Hh 24 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 10 |
| Lu | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Izi | 0 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Diri | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Nigga | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Sag | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 13 | 16 |
| Fragments | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 63 | 68 |
| Uncertain | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 82 | 90 |
| TOTAL | 15 | 55 | 15 | 85 | 3 | 57 | 277 | 337 |
| % | 18 | 65 | 18 | 100 | 1 | 17 | 82 | 100 |

Divinatory Texts (Appendix B.6)

An abundance of textual information documents the practical and theoretical dimensions of divination throughout greater Mesopotamia in ancient times. One common element unifies the various manifestations of this specialized form of knowledge, namely, the notion that divine information is encoded in various observable or imaginable aspects of the world. Mesopotamian divination produced a specific kind of knowledge derived from detailed empirical reference to the cosmos. Specifically, this knowledge was concerned with perceiving and reading signs encoded in the observable world and, by extension, other configurations

that were merely conceivable in the world (Rochberg 1999b). In the theoretical dimension of Mesopotamian divination, these empirical observations were then coupled with a series of often seemingly unrelated results in the natural or social spheres of human experience. In Mesopotamia this formulation of cause and effect is common to omens (Maul 2003a: 45–50), diagnostic and prognostic medical texts (Heeßel 2000), and law collections (Roth 1997).¹¹⁰ Although it is sometimes possible to discern what connects the protasis and the apodosis in a particular omen, more often than not, the ancient logic behind the association is obscure. The schematic nature in which Mesopotamian omens were written was also the basis for significant systematization and theoretical elaboration. As written omen traditions developed in the second and first millennia BCE, there was an increasing tendency to expand the empirical field of cases well beyond what was strictly observable in the world. The result of this creative process was that the omen collections often came to treat what we know to be physically impossible or improbable cases. Nevertheless, these texts treat “observable objects, and objects of knowledge, regardless of their physical status” that were “necessarily only potentially observable, because in no case do the omens function as a record of observations of identifiable (i.e., datable) instances” but are rather “abstractions from experience and cognition” (Rochberg 1999b: 565).

Despite the fact that divination and diviners are described in Sumerian texts from the third and early second millennia BCE, it is significant that almost no omens are known to have been written in Sumerian, and those that have been identified appear to be later back translations from Akkadian (Michalowski 2006a). Thus, it appears that in the early second millennium omens were written down and compiled for the first time to form extensive divination handbooks, typically referred to as collections or compendia (Jeyes 1989: 8). Various lines of evidence, including colophons, catchlines, and numbered excerpt tablets (i.e., KI+n), point to the serialization of at least the extispicy omen compendia already in the OB period (Jeyes 1989: 8–14; Richter 1993; Glassner 2009; cf. Rochberg 2006).

¹¹⁰ See CAD Š/3 275–276 sub *šumma*. The similarities in formulation have led some scholars to characterize the law collections as compendia of “legal omens” (Heeßel 2000: 4; Maul 2003a: 46) and others to view the compendia of omens as collections of “divine laws” (Fincke 2006–2007). Such connections are perhaps overwrought in that they exaggerate the importance of a specific grammatical construct and attempt to generalize its cultural signification. The indigenous logical construct “*šumma* P, Q” was understood to be a powerful and malleable means of expressing different kinds of logical relationships (cf. Rochberg 1999b: 566–568, 2009, 2010).

The vast majority of this literature was composed in Akkadian, which continued to be the primary language of the various omen texts throughout the first millennium BCE as well. In some regions outside of Mesopotamia omens were composed in or translated into local languages. Many Hittite and Hurrian omen collections are known from Anatolia and Syria. Some collections of omens were written in alphabetic Ugaritic (see Dietrich and Loretz 1990a, 1990b; Tropper 1994; Pardee 2000: 532–564, no. 35, 763–765, no. 60), and a few Elamite omens have been identified, though Akkadian-language omen compendia are also known to have circulated in Elam (Rutz 2006b).

A number of subgenres of omens are present in the Emar corpus from 'Temple' M₁. These include compendia of omens related to extispicy (including liver models), celestial events, the calendar, the behavior of animals, malformed fetuses, the diagnosis of various symptoms, and miscellaneous uncertain fragments. The vast majority of omen collections written in Hurrian have not been published, but evidently many of these are difficult to ascribe to a specific subgenre. The earliest anecdotal account suggests that Hurrian-language extispicy and diagnostic omen collections were present (Laroche 1980a: 244). Finally, a small group of texts contain oracles written in Hittite cuneiform.

The following presents the different genres as they are catalogued in Appendix B.6.

Extispicy Omens

Extispicy Compendia

The first systematic records of extispicy omens come from the OB period, and some copies even bear dates placing them during the reigns of Samsu-iluna and Ammi-šaduqa (Jeyes 1989: 5–6). The textual tradition was already highly structured by this point, so the earliest preserved corpus appears to constitute the end of a process and not its beginning. If it existed in written form, this earlier stage is not preserved in the archaeological record we have before us. In any case, these compendia were probably copied as educational tools for apprentice diviners (Glassner 2004a) and as reference works kept in a diviner or scholar's personal tablet collection.¹¹¹ By the latter half of the second millennium these collections

¹¹¹ In an unpublished dissertation and a series of articles Dyckhoff (1998, 2002) has proposed an association between the OB compendia published in YOS 10 and a temple archive and library in Larsa. Although it is a profitable exercise to contrast textual aspects of the

were found throughout Mesopotamia, including Susiana, Syria, and Anatolia. These hepatoscopy omen collections later became long, elaborate, systematic treatises attested in the first millennium (e.g., Koch-Westenholz 2000). Near the end of the second millennium, some unknown diviners and scholars brought together a variety of different texts and created an ancient composition called *bārûtu* “the seer’s craft” (CAD B 132–133). This work consisted of thousands of omens collected in about one hundred sections or tablets, which in turn were organized into ten divisions (Maul 2003a: 71–74). In all periods these texts list omens that correlate some aspect of the liver or entrails with a particular event in the phenomenal world. The relationship between Mesopotamian omen compendia and the corpus of omen reports is unclear in the second-millennium text corpus,¹¹² but some connections are evident by the first millennium.¹¹³

By the latter half of the second millennium omen compendia relating to the exta are attested from southwestern Iran up into Anatolia. Middle Elamite omen compendia are known from Susa, Haft Tepe, and elsewhere.¹¹⁴ In Anatolia texts of this kind are known from Ḫattuša, where omen compendia are preserved in Akkadian, Hurrian, and Hittite.¹¹⁵ In Syria both Emar (see below) and Ugarit have produced omen collections treating

so-called northern and southern Babylonian omen traditions (Jeyes 1989: 4–14), Dyckhoff’s argument is precisely the kind eschewed in the present work (note also the critique by Brisch 2007: 32–34). That is, internal textual criteria can illustrate one kind of coherence in a group of texts, but such criteria cannot be used as evidence of archival unity. Moreover, with the exception of the omen compendium fragment from Haft Tepe (Herrero and Glassner 1993: 126–133, no. 207; Daneshmand 2004), which was found in a monumental building that may have been an Elamite temple (Potts 1999: 199–200), and some of the tablets from Ḫattuša (van den Hout 2005, 2008), excavated omen compendia dating to the second millennium have, so far, not been found in temples (Rutz forthcoming b).

¹¹² VS 24, 116 is one example of such an interaction in the OB period (Mayer 1987; cf. Veldhuis 2006a). For the corpus of OB omen reports, see the following: Koch-Westenholz 2002; Richardson 2002, 2007. For MB, see Kraus 1985. I have identified a handful of additional unpublished fragments of omen reports from Nippur, and I will discuss these elsewhere: N 3188, N 4017, CBS 10847 +’ Ni 13061, CBS 14003. Ni 2854 (Brinkman 1976: 115) is also an omen report (e.g., line 16: ZE₂ IGI-ša a-na ZAG GAR-nu, cf. Kraus 1985: 176 Je), and, like CBS 13517 (Kraus 1985: 147–150, no. 18), it mentions dreams (lines 25, 31). Both are dated to the twenty-first year of Burna-Buriaš II’ (Brinkman 1976: 100, 115): CBS 13517 (IV/22/21); Ni 2854 (V/[–]/21).

¹¹³ For the first-millennium reports, see Starr 1990. An example of the connection between the reports and the compendia can be found in SAA 4, 149 (Esarhaddon), which quotes a text akin to the compendium KAR 423 rev. ii 2.

¹¹⁴ Labat 1974: nos. 3–7; Haft Tepe: Herrero and Glassner 1993: 126–133, no. 207 (H.T. 152) = Daneshmand 2004; perhaps Chogha Pahn West: Biggs and Stolper 1983. For the context, see Rutz 2006b.

¹¹⁵ CTH 548–556; van den Hout 2003a. For Akkadian and Hittite, see Riemschneider 2004: 9–10; for Hurrian, see de Martino 1992: nos. 3–43.

the exta.¹¹⁶ The texts from Ugarit are preserved in Akkadian, unlike some other genres for which there are Ugaritic-language versions.

Kassite omen compendia treating the exta are known from Babylon¹¹⁷ and perhaps Nippur.¹¹⁸ In addition, some copies of MB manuscripts were also preserved in MA¹¹⁹ or later NA¹²⁰ tablet collections found in Assyria to the north. Other MB manuscripts, some of which have compelling NA and LB parallels, are unprovenanced (e.g., Jeyes 2000).

Omen compendia from the MA period are attested in Assur, and the bulk of these manuscripts were incorporated into later NA collections.¹²¹ A MA compendium of lung omens appears to have found its way into Ashurbanipal's library in Nineveh.¹²² Another unpublished piece was evidently recovered from the NA Nabû temple in Nineveh.¹²³ Finally, there are also anecdotal accounts of the discovery of four MA extract tablets at Sabi Abyad in 2004.¹²⁴

Arnaud identified several pieces of extispicy omen compendia from Emar (*Emar* 666–684). It is uncertain whether *Iraq* 54, no. 7 comes from Emar, so it is excluded from the 'Temple' M₁ tablet collection (Dalley and Teissier 1992: 108–109). Even the editors of that text had their doubts about placing it in the Emar text corpus. In addition to the tablets

¹¹⁶ For Ugarit: Arnaud 1996b, 2007: 47, no. 2, frag., 2 cols.

¹¹⁷ E.g., BRM 4, 15–16 and YOS 10, 63, which were among the tablets excavated in the Merkes section of Babylon in 1908 that subsequently disappeared in 1917 (Weidner 1952–1953a: 73). Note also Pedersén 2005: 78–83, M4, nos. 2–6, 14, 15, 20–27, 43–46, 48, 52, 53, 57, 59–61.

¹¹⁸ I have identified a handful of unpublished omen compendia that may be MB in date, and I will discuss these manuscripts elsewhere: CBS 8540; CBS 14048; UM 29-16-250; UM 29-16-668. None is dated, so they can only provisionally be assigned to the Kassite period based on paleography and orthography.

¹¹⁹ E.g., in Assur: KAR 447 (Pedersén 1985: 41, M2 no. 51); KAR 450 (Pedersén 1985: 41, M2 no. 50); KAR 452 (Pedersén 1985: 39, M2 no. 23); unpub. MB extispicy omens (Pedersén 1985: 39, M2 no. 28).

¹²⁰ E.g., in Assur: KAR 454 (Pedersén 1986: 24, N1 no. 85); KAR 451 (Pedersén 1986: 24, N1 no. 91).

¹²¹ E.g., in Assur: KAR 152 (Pedersén 1986: 23–24, N1 no. 74); KAR 445 (Pedersén 1986: 26, N1 no. 116); KAR 427 (Pedersén 1986: 24, N1 no. 76); KAR 428 (Pedersén 1986: 21, N1 no. 35); KAR 446 (Pedersén 1986: 26, N1 no. 115); KAR 433 (Pedersén 1986: 20, N1 no. 18); KAR 422 (Pedersén 1986: 27, N1 no. 147); KAR 434 (Pedersén 1986: 27, N1 no. 145); KAR 426 (Pedersén 1986: 21, N1 no. 25); KAR 148 (Pedersén 1986: 23, N1 no. 67); KAR 431 (Pedersén 1986: 26, N1 no. 118); AfO 16, Pl. 13 (Weidner 1952–1953: 210 no. 77; Pedersén 1986: 27, N1 no. 136); AfO 22, 61 (Tschinkowitz 1968–1969; Pedersén 1986: 23, N1 no. 73); and an unpub. compendium concerned with the *ubānu* and the *kakku* (Pedersén 1986: 24, N1 no. 92).

¹²² AfO 16, Pl. 12a (K.205 + Rm. 2, 101), see George 1988b: 35–37, no. 3.

¹²³ BM 121114, see Jakob 2003: 525 n. 86.

¹²⁴ These pieces are to be published by F. A. M. Wiggermann.

and fragments assembled by Arnaud, I have identified two fragments of extispicy omens: Msk 74100b and Msk 74129a. When diagnostic sign forms are present, all of these manuscripts appear to have been written in the Syrian style. Other omen compendia were written in Hurrian. In 1974 excavators at Emar uncovered in ‘Temple’ M₁ “une douzaine de grandes tablettes et des centaines d’éclats, rédigés en langue hourrite” (Laroche 1980a: 244). According to another preliminary report (Laroche 1982: 53) the finds consist of “plusieurs dizaines de grandes tablettes et de fragments relevant de la *bārûtu* babylonienne sous déguisement hourrite,” which makes these texts extremely difficult to interpret and translate. Based on the published anecdotal accounts alone, it is difficult to assess just how many individual pieces and total manuscripts were present. Some recent studies seem to have grossly overestimated the actual number of manuscripts.¹²⁵ We should not expect the number of Hurrian omen compendia to eclipse the rest of the tablet collection in size, but it is a possibility. Only the publication of this difficult group of texts will resolve questions about the number of sources and their exact contents (Salvini forthcoming). The only manuscript that is identifiable at present is Tablet 7 mentioned below.

Only fragmentary apodosis are preserved from Tablet 1, *Emar* 684 = Msk 74165a + Msk 74173d, which was written in the Syrian script. One fragment preserves the upper edge of the tablet and a portion of the obverse (Msk 74165a), while the other fragment (Msk 74173d) has text from the obverse and reverse, as well as a highly fragmentary cryptic colophon and scribal colophon (*Emar* 684:36’–40’, cf. *Emar* 6/2, p. 439). Arnaud suggested that this manuscript contained omens related to the ribs, GAG.TI = *sikkat šēli* (CAD S 246–247), and this interpretation is consistent with the traces from the middle of the tablet that may represent the beginning of a protasis (*Emar* 684:14). The two fragments *Emar* 682 = Msk 74125a and *Emar* 683 = Msk 74125b are more readily identifiable with *sikkat šēli* omens (BE GAG.TI, etc.), and they may be from the same manuscript. Only a physical examination of all the pieces will determine whether *Emar* 682–684 all form one manuscript. For the time being they are kept separate.

The Syrian-type Tablet 2, *Emar* 678 = Msk 731023, is a compendium of omens relating to the colon, Akkadian *tīrānū* (Durand and Marti 2004: 43–53, 61 photo rev.). None of the protases is preserved in its entirety, but

¹²⁵ It remains to be seen whether there were really “hundert hurritische Texte” (Belmonte 2001: xxiv), unless “text” subsumes both complete tablets as well as tiny fragments, i.e., both tablets and fragments in the lexicon of this book.

the reconstruction is clear: [BE *ti*]-*ra-nu*, first-millennium BE ŠA₃.NIGIN. All that is preserved of this manuscript is a large fragment from the middle of the tablet, and the obverse is badly worn and damaged. Two additional fragments appear to preserve more of this text, *Emar* 679 = Msk 731089b and *Emar* 680 = Msk 731089a, but it is not clear whether they belong to Tablet 2 or a separate manuscript. *Emar* 679 is a fragment of the left edge with the protasis construction BE ŠA₃, and *Emar* 680 is only classified with *Emar* 679 because the two pieces were allegedly found together (*Emar* 6/4, p. 305).

Only a small fragment of Tablet 3 is preserved, *Emar* 681 = Msk 731089h. Based on the formulation, DIŠ A₂ ŠA₃, this piece cannot be from Tablet 2 or, for that matter, from the same source as the fragment *Emar* 679.

Only the lower half of Tablet 4, *Emar* 670 = Msk 731040, is preserved (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 70–77, cf. 126–130; Durand and Marti 2004: 24–43, 59–60 photos). This Syrian-type manuscript has omens relating to the “Presence” *mazzāzu*, formulated BE KI.GUB, in later texts BE NA. In contrast to *Emar* 669 (see below), Tablet 4 is “manifestement de la tradition babylonienne” (Durand and Marti 2004: 24). Partial duplicates are known from the Kassite period (YOS 10, 63; *Emar* 6/4, p. 292),¹²⁶ as well as from first-millennium Huzirina (STT 308; STT 319) and Assur (KAR 456).

Most of Tablet 5, *Emar* 671 = Msk 731043, is preserved, and it is also written in the Syrian script. All of the corners of the tablet are gone, but some of the left edge is present. Like Tablet 4, this collection also treats the “Presence” *mazzāzu*, again formulated BE KI.GUB. Enough of the outline of the obverse exists to differentiate this manuscript from Tablet 4. Arnaud (*Emar* 6/4, p. 298) noted that Msk 731089d also has omens related to the *mazzāzu*. This piece may also belong to Tablet 5. The fragment *Emar* 672 = Msk 731089g is a second fragment that may have omens of the same kind as Tablets 4 and 5. However, *Emar* 672 may be formulated in a different way, namely DIŠ *ina* ŠA₃ K[I².GUB], in which case it would necessarily constitute a separate manuscript. I have identified an additional fragment, Msk 74129a (*Emar* 6/1, p. 331), which is difficult to place. It may have come from Tablet 5 or, perhaps, Tablet 4.

Tablet 6, *Emar* 669 = Msk 731029, is nearly complete and is missing only part of the upper left edge (Durand and Marti 2004: 10–24, 57–58 photos). Written in the Syrian script, this tablet is a collection of omens relating to the gall bladder, Akkadian *martu*, which is written SIPA, i.e.,

¹²⁶ YOS 10, 63 is from Babylon (Pedersén 2005: 81, M4:14), not Kish, an attributed provenience that was already considered suspect (Clayden 1990: 144).

following the formulation BE SIPA (Durand and Marti 2004: 3; cf. CAD R 312a; Glassner 2005: 283–284, 289–290). The formulation BE SIPA stands in contrast to the standard logographic writing BE ZE₂ known from later sources. The fragment *Emar* 673 = Msk 74100j, which Arnaud identified as omens relating to the “Weapon” ^{gis}TUKUL = *kakku*, may in fact fill some of the lacuna on the left edge of Tablet 6, so perhaps the signs there should be read BE SIPA as well.

Tablet 7, Msk 74192a, is a large, well-preserved compendium of omens written in Hurrian (see Haas and Wegner 2004: 340). As noted already above, an unknown number of additional, as yet unpublished Hurrian-language extispicy omen compendia were also excavated (Salvini forthcoming).

Only a small fragment remains of Tablet 8, *Emar* 677 = Msk 74124h. This piece is identifiable as a separate manuscript because the text employs a variant orthography. Namely, the protases appear to be formulated beginning with UD, unlike DIŠ or, most common, BE.¹²⁷ This variety of means of writing *šumma* is attested in the so-called southern OB corpus (Jeyes 1989: 12; Fincke 2006–2007: 133–137).

Finally, four fragments remain that probably belong to this genre, but too little is preserved to identify the text more precisely. Each piece may constitute another manuscript or join one of the texts already identified above. *Emar* 674 = Msk 731080q (+?) *Emar* 675 = Msk 731080p are two large fragments from the body of a tablet, but not enough of the left edge is preserved to identify the specific text. The script of *Emar* 674 in particular is probably Syrian. *Emar* 676 = Msk 731075r is a fragment near the right edge, so little of the protases are preserved. *Emar* 705 = Msk 7491b is a left edge fragment that employs the stereotypical language of the extispicy omen genre. I have identified one additional Syrian-type fragment, Msk 74100b, that should belong to this genre as well.

All of the extispicy omen compendia from Emar were found in ‘Temple’ M₁. Twelve pieces were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973, and one such piece may join a fragment from Locus 1 West (Tablet 6). The remaining pieces were found in Locus 1 West (5, M III NE; 4, M III SE). It is unclear where the Hurrian compendium was found (Tablet 7), but anecdotal accounts of the excavation indicate that it and the other Hurrian-language pieces may have come from Locus 1 West (Pedersén 1998: 62).

¹²⁷ A looted tablet employs the writing UD = *šumma* (*Iraq* 54, no. 7), but its left edge is entirely preserved, so it is impossible to join it with the excavated fragment.

Liver Models

Models of a sacrificial animal's organs are attested in the Near East beginning in the early second millennium (Rutz forthcoming b). These models are readily identifiable because of their relative anatomical precision and realism (Leiderer 1990). Liver models are the most common, but the lungs, spleen, and colon (e.g., PBS 14, 1060; YOS 10, 64–66, pl. 133) were also represented. Such models have been discovered throughout Mesopotamia, the Levant, Cyprus, and Anatolia in houses, palaces, and temples (Meyer 1987a, 1987b).¹²⁸ The primary material used for the manufacture of these models was clay, though a few ivory models are also known from thirteenth-century Ugarit on the Syrian coast (Gachet and Pardee 2001). By the late first millennium the practice of manufacturing liver models had spread to Italy, where an Etruscan bronze liver model was found at Piacenza (Collins 2008: 326–327).

The earliest known piece is a model spleen from Mari on the Euphrates (Meyer 1993b). By the early second millennium BCE manufacturers of these objects in Babylonia, in the Diyala River basin (e.g., Meyer 2003), and at Mari began to inscribe some liver models with cuneiform texts in the Akkadian language. Later models also used the Hittite or Ugaritic languages native to Anatolia and Syria. The production of inscribed lung models is also known in the first millennium (Meyer 1993a: 532; Leichty 1993b; CTN 4, 60).

The models appear to fit into the two broad categories of hepatoscopy literature, i.e., reports and compendia, with the major difference that liver models physically represent the marks and abnormalities that texts can only describe (Meyer 1987b). Some models appear to represent a single act of hepatoscopy and are, therefore, like the written reports. For example, in the royal archives of OB Mari there is a possible description of a liver model being baked¹²⁹ and sent to the king for verification (ARM 26/1, 98). Others are more like compendia and appear to have been used for educational purposes. These models would teach the diviner the appearance

¹²⁸ The unedited model from Nippur (CBS 2448) appears in photographs in Meyer 1987b: pl. 27, but it is not properly identified and catalogued. It bears an extremely worn series of inscriptions, but based on the paleography and orthography of what can be discerned, it is OB in date.

¹²⁹ The verb is *šarāpu*. For this view, see Heimpel 2003: 173–174, 213–214; compare CAD § 102–104 sub *šarāpu* A. In contrast, Glassner (2005: 277) proposes that the actual liver was immersed in some sort of preservative, like alcohol, and then actually conveyed on to the king; see CAD § 104–105 sub *šarāpu* B, where the possibility is entertained that this verb refers basically to soaking, albeit usually in tannin or dye.

and interpretation of various possible configurations of the liver, reinforcing what had been learned copying omen collections.

Very few OB liver models have been properly excavated, but the corpus appears to come from northern Babylonia. Exemplars from the early part of the second millennium are also known from Palestine, illustrating the relatively early spread of this aspect of cuneiform culture. In MBA Hazor both inscribed and uninscribed terracotta liver models were found (Landsberger and Tadmor 1964).¹³⁰ An additional MBA/OB terracotta model was found in Hazor in 2007 (Horowitz et al. 2010). An uninscribed terracotta liver model was found in Megiddo (Meyer 1987b: 29–32).

Despite the fact that in Mesopotamia proper models depicting the coils of the colon (Akkadian *tīrānū*) were found in MB contexts in Babylon (Pedersén 2005: 80–82, M4), curiously, in the later second millennium the geographic distribution of excavated models shifts considerably to the northwest. Too many of these objects are attested, some even inscribed in local languages, for this to be evidence of antiquarian preservation of heirlooms, foreign curiosities from Babylonia. Liver models are known from Ḫattuša, where these objects were often inscribed in Akkadian and Hittite.¹³¹ Most of these date to the empire period, but at least a couple of bilingual Akkadian-Hittite liver models are written in the Old Script, ca. 1650–1500 BCE (van den Hout 2003b: 121). Uninscribed models are not yet attested in Anatolia. Only uninscribed liver models were found in LBA Ekalte on the Middle Euphrates.¹³² In Ugarit there were a number of inscribed terracotta lung¹³³ and liver¹³⁴ models. In addition, excavators also found a number of uninscribed terracotta liver models (Courtois 1969; Meyer 1987b: 32–34). All of these pieces came from one room in the so-called House of the Hurrian Priest (PH; Courtois in Pardee 1988:

¹³⁰ See further Meyer 1987b: 24–29; Goren 2000: 36–37; Horowitz et al. 2002: 757; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 66–68, 209–210, 226–227. Horowitz and Oshima (2006: 67) propose an emendation of the first person singular possessive suffix in the OB model from Hazor: ¹³²KUR₂ *a-na ma-ti-im* (IA) *i-t[e-bi]* (cf. Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 209 copy, 226 photo). However, this emendation is unnecessary, since both first and second person verbal forms and pronouns appear throughout the OB omen corpus (see Jeyes 1989: 21–22, 37).

¹³¹ See Güterbock 1987; Meyer 1987b: 38–44; KBo 43, 53.

¹³² Meyer 1987b: 36–38; Werner in Czichon and Werner 1998: 111–112, Pls. 102–103, 204–205.

¹³³ KTU² 1.127 = RS 24.277 (Pardee 2000: 712–727, no. 751).

¹³⁴ KTU² 1.141 = RS 24.312 (Pardee 2000: 766–768, no. 61); KTU² 1.142 = RS 24.323 (Pardee 2000: 769–772, no. 62); KTU² 1.143 = RS 24.326 (Pardee 2000: 773–774, no. 63); KTU² 1.144 = RS 24.327 (Pardee 2000: 775–776, no. 64); KTU² 1.155 = RS 24.654 (Pardee 2000: 811–812, no. 69).

4–12; van Soldt 1991: 194–203), also known now as “la maison des cultes,” among other names (Malbran-Labat 2002: 176 with n. 24). The inscribed models all bear Ugaritic text, and a few refer to the object itself (Ugaritic *kbd* “liver”)¹³⁵ or allude to the act of sacrifice that provided the organ for examination (Ugaritic *dbht* “sacrificial consultation;” Pardee 2002: 128, 132 n. 5).¹³⁶ Furthermore, both inscribed and uninscribed ivory liver models have been identified in the southwest part of the palace in Ugarit as well (Gachet and Pardee 2001).

Two inscribed liver models were excavated in Emar. Both objects bear Akkadian text and were probably written in the Syrian script. According to Meyer’s typology, both are compendia (Meyer 1987: 35–36). Object 1, *Emar* 667 = Msk 7430, is completely preserved (Durand and Marti 2004: 6, 54 photo). Two complete omens are present. Only the first of the two is introduced with BE, since the second is not introduced at all.

One quarter of Object 2, *Emar* 668 = Msk 7431, is missing (Durand and Marti 2004: 6–10, 55–56 photos). Based on the continued text of the reverse, there were at least four separate inscriptions, the fourth of which is preserved only in traces from the reverse. Where preserved, the omens are all introduced with BE. Both liver models were excavated from ‘Temple’ M₁, Locus 1 West (1, M III SE; 1, M III NE).

Celestial Omens

The first-millennium series of celestial omens is known by the mythological incipit *Enūma Anu Enlil* (EAE) “When An, Enlil” (Verderame 2002b: 9). The canonical versions of EAE consist of over sixty tablets that cover a variety of phenomena in the sky, such as events involving the moon, the sun, meteorological phenomena, the planets, and fixed stars (Maul 2003a: 52–53; Reiner and Pingree 2005; Gehlken 2005, 2008). The early history of this series is poorly documented, but various lines of evidence suggest

¹³⁵ Cf. Akkadian *kabattu*, which, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., the synonym list CT 18, 9, K.4233+ ii 14: [ka]-bat-tu₄ = ka₃-bi-du ša₂ [o]), denotes merely the “inside of a (human) body” (CAD K 11–14, esp. discussion on pp. 13–14). However, 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵 = *ka-bi-tu₄* occurs in *Emar* S^a Voc. (Cohen 2002), and note the Sumerian-Akkadian-Hurrian polyglot Ugarit S^a Voc., RS 94.2939 i 6: [𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎵] = *ka-bi-tu₃* = *ur-mi* (André-Salvini and Salvini 1998: 5, 20–21, 34 photo; cf. André-Salvini and Salvini 1999c: 434).

¹³⁶ Ugaritic *dbht* /dabḥatu(?)/ is derived from the more common Ugaritic term *dbḥ* /dabḥu/ “sacrifice” (Pardee 2001: 771). Note the Sumerian-Akkadian-Hurrian-Ugaritic Ugarit S^a Voc. entry: EZEN = *i-si₂-nu* = *e-¹li¹* = *da-ab-ḥu* (Huehnergard 1987b: 42–43, 197.1). Both terms are cognate (Semitic root ḏ-b-ḥ) with the term *zābiḥu* “ritual slaughterer” which is found in the *Emar* lexicon (Pentiuc 2001: 193–194; cf. CAD T̄ 6–8 sub *ṭābiḥu*).

that parts of the text of EAE began to take shape toward the end of the second millennium (Al-Rawi and George 2006: 50–55; Rutz 2006b: 72–77). The first known collections of celestial omens date to the OB period, though detailed astronomical observations must have been made in the third millennium (Rochberg 2006). Eight OB manuscripts are known, only three of which have been published. The so-called “Šilejko Tablet” contains omens generally related to cloud formations and meteorological phenomena (Horowitz 2000: 203–206, Text III). A short collection of lunar eclipse omens was found in Mari (ARM 26/1, 248; Heimpel 2003: 271–272). It should be noted that the Mari tablet is the only OB source that was properly excavated. Both the “Šilejko Tablet” and ARM 26/1, 248 are written in a predominantly syllabic orthography, which stands in contrast to the rest of the OB celestial omen text corpus. A short extract tablet of unknown provenance treats solar eclipses (Dietrich 1996). Five unpublished texts have been identified in the British Museum. Four deal with lunar eclipses (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 19), and these texts generally show a number of textual affinities with their first-millennium descendants (Rochberg 2006: 344–345). The fifth, the unpublished omen extract BM 97210, is a small tablet written parallel to the long axis of the tablet. It has a total of nine omens relating to the visibility of the sun at various times (three omens, lines 1–6), the earliness or tardiness of the annual rains (two omens, lines 7–12), and the behavior of the south, north, east, and west winds at sunrise (four omens, lines 13–17). The last line of the text, written partially on the upper edge, reads: IM.GID₂.DA ^dUTU ^dIŠ[KUR . . .] “Extract tablet: Šamaš, Ad[ad (room for three to four signs)].”¹³⁷ Because the lunar eclipse omens constitute the only section to exhibit strong parallels between early and canonical versions of the text, it appears likely that this group of celestial omens was among the first to stabilize textually.

Another piece of evidence adduced in favor of an early second-millennium stabilization of Mesopotamian celestial omen traditions is a pair of entries in one of the OB text inventories from Ur (UET 6/1, 123:49–50; Kramer 1961), which reads:

- | | |
|----|---|
| 49 | ud an-ne ₂ |
| 50 | i-nu AN u ₃ ^d En-lil ₂ |
| 49 | When An . . . |
| 50 | When An and Enlil . . . |

¹³⁷ Jon Taylor of the British Museum generously provided photographs of BM 97210. Cf. Rochberg 2009: 18.

The noteworthy presence of an Akkadian composition in a list of Sumerian texts has motivated speculation as to what text this may be. Some have equated this pair of entries with the bilingual incipit of the first-millennium series (Charpin 1986: 457; Brown 2000: 248–249). However, other interpretations are possible. For example, Michalowski (1984) views this incipit as a reference to the bilingual royal hymn Samsu-iluna A. In contrast, Groneberg (2003: 56) suggests that the text might be an incantation. Finally, Glassner (2004b: 42, 52, 126–135) sees the referent of these incipits as the OB version of the Babylonian Royal Chronicle, since the Sumerian King List is also present in the Ur catalogue (line 25). This scattered array of views serves to underscore the problems with trying to identify a specific catalogue entry with a composition known from a number of different places and times (Hunger and Pingree 1999: 7).

The corpus of celestial omen texts from Mesopotamia in the latter half of the second millennium is also rather small. Three MB tablets are known from Nippur: an extract with meteorological omens (PBS 2/2, 123); a compendium of solar omens that was copied from a writing board from Susa (Rutz 2006b); and an unpublished lunar eclipse omen compendium (Ni. 1856; see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 19, 25). One source for canonical EAE 20 reports in its colophon that it was copied from a writing board dated to the eleventh year of Adad-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, i.e., during the eleventh century BCE (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 215–216, S; Al-Rawi and George 2006: 36). The situation in Assyria to the north is similarly sparse. In contrast to the large number of MA extispicy omen compendia from Assur, very few celestial divination texts are known from the site. One fragment of EAE 15 is a MA source from Assur (Weidner 1954–1956: 71; Rochberg-Halton 1988: 70–74, B). A fragmentary manuscript of EAE 20 is also known from Assur (Weidner 1954–1956: 82, pl. II; Rochberg-Halton 1988: 217–218, Y). The fragment KAR 366 can be identified as a celestial omen text, but it is not clear to which section of EAE it belongs (Jakob 2003: 527 n. 107).¹³⁸ Finally, a large fragment of lunar omens from EAE in the British Museum may also date to the MA period (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 23–25, 273–279, BM 121034).¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Manuscript Z of EAE 20 from Assur is NA in date and not MA. See Al-Rawi and George 2006: 36; cf. Rochberg-Halton 1988: 175, Assur 10145, VAT 9740+.

¹³⁹ The MA date of BM 121034 depends in particular on the seal impressions it bears (cf. Stein 1994: 306–307, §7. Glyptik). In any event, the practice of sealing a scholarly text of this kind is unusual.

One curious facet of the textual history EAE and its second-millennium versions is that many more sources are known from outside Mesopotamia proper. A fragment from Susa points to a second-millennium version of EAE 22 (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 31, 271, MDP 18, 258), and other connections between Susa and the corpus of Mesopotamian celestial omen texts are attested (Farber 1993; Rutz 2006b). In late-second-millennium Hattuša, compendia of lunar omens (531–533), solar omens (CTH 534), and omens pertaining other astral phenomena (CTH 535) are preserved in Akkadian, Hittite, and perhaps Hurrian (Koch-Westenholz 1993; Riemschneider 2004: 4–6, *passim*). There is some indication that a version of the mythological incipit of EAE was translated into Hittite in the second millennium, but the text is highly fragmentary (Riemschneider 2004: 119–120). In addition to the tablet collections from Hittite Anatolia, a number of sites in northern Syria have furnished second-millennium texts relevant to astral divination. Two lunar eclipse omen compendia were found in Alalāḥ (ALT 450 and ALT 451; Rochberg-Halton 1988: 32–33).¹⁴⁰ There is also a fragment of lunar eclipse omens from Qatna (Bottéro 1950: 105–112, 117; Rochberg-Halton 1988: 271–272). Only three syllabic celestial omen texts are presently known from Ugarit. Two are collections of solar omens (Arnaud 1996a, 2007: 51–54, no. 8), and the third is a small fragment (Arnaud 2007: 51–54, nos. 7–9). In addition to the syllabic texts from Ugarit, two alphabetic texts from the same vicinity also deal with celestial divination. There is one small compendium of lunar omens written in alphabetic Ugaritic, KTU² 1.163 = RIH 78/14, which comes from Ras ibn Hani,¹⁴¹ the summer residence of the kings of Ugarit (Pardee 2000: 859–871, no. 79). Although a number of elements from the protases and apodoses are reminiscent of the Mesopotamian lunar omen texts, there are no direct parallels.¹⁴² Finally, the Ugaritic alphabetic text KTU² 1.78 = RS 12.061 is a report on some astral event (Pardee 2000: 416–427, 1271).¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ These tablets may have been copied by the same scribe (Koch-Westenholz 1993: 236). The two tablets were found in close proximity to one another (von Dassow 2005: 40, 48).

¹⁴¹ Perhaps ancient Rašū (alphabetic *riš*, syllabic ^{𐎒𐎓}SAG.DU), see Belmonte 2001: 231–232; van Soldt 2005: 40, 142–144.

¹⁴² Unlike the Ugaritic-language compendia concerning malformed births (see 4.1.6.5 below), KTU² 1.163 formulates each protasis with the particle *hm*.

¹⁴³ The phenomenon in question was either a solar eclipse (Dietrich and Loretz 2002–2003) or, more likely, the heliacal setting of Mars (Hunger and Pingree 1999: 10–11; Pardee 2000: 423–425). The end of the text either gives evidence of the use of extispicy to check the meaning of the event or refers to men(?) seeking out the governor for some unknown reason (Pardee 2002: 132).

Arnaud identified twenty tablets and fragments belonging to celestial omen compendia in the Emar text corpus (*Emar* 650–665). I have identified six more fragments: Msk 7488e, which probably joins the reverse of Tablet 3 (Msk 7470); Msk 74228d, which is probably from Tablet 4 (Msk 74235a); Msk 74345b,¹⁴⁴ which either duplicates or is from the same source as Tablet 4 (Msk 74235a); Msk 74122ap, which may come from Tablet 6; Msk 74226d;¹⁴⁵ and Msk 74238y.

It is possible to differentiate at least six separate sources and fourteen fragments, at least a few of which almost certainly belong to one of the main manuscripts.

Tablet 1, *Emar* 650 = Msk 74140c (+) Msk 74195a (+) Msk 74195b, is a large fragment that preserves the upper and right edges of the manuscript, which is written in the Syro-Hittite style. There appear to be traces of a cryptic colophon on the reverse of Tablet 1, but no scribal colophon is preserved. Because the left edge is missing, it is unclear how exactly the protases were formulated, but it appears that the text contains lunar omens (see Verderame 2002a). An entry on the reverse gives some indication that the scribe used BE to formulate the protases (*Emar* 650:39).¹⁴⁶ In any case, the loss of the left edge makes it difficult to identify the text, since only parts of the protases are preserved and many apodoses are drawn from a set of stereotypical stock phrases. However, for a sequence of seven lines on the obverse (*Emar* 650:8–14) it is possible to cite later parallels with first-millennium EAE 1 (Verderame 2002b: 17–26, EAE 1:1b–7, 26–27). Because of the fragmentary preservation of EAE 1:39ff, it is impossible at present to discern first-millennium parallels for the bottom section of the obverse and top of the reverse of Tablet 1. However, one line from the reverse of Tablet 1 also appears to be a partial duplicate of EAE 1:44–46 (Verderame 2002b: 12). After the *Glossenkeil* marking a new omen read (cf. *Emar* 650:39’):

Msk 74195b (*Emar* 6/2, p. 480)

39’ BE 30 E₃-š_u2 še-es-su₂ ga₅-al-t[a-at]

39’ If at moonrise¹⁴⁷ its (i.e., the moon’s) light¹⁴⁸ is frighten[ing]

¹⁴⁴ Noted also by Arnaud (*Emar* 6/4, p. 269).

¹⁴⁵ Edited as *Emar* 66i. There Arnaud erroneously refers to “Msk 74266d,” which does not exist.

¹⁴⁶ However, scribes would sometimes write BE = *šumma* when the word was not at the beginning of the line (Stol 1993: 92). It remains to be seen whether this practice was operative in Emar.

¹⁴⁷ Perhaps read BE 30 <ina(AŠ)> E₃-š_u2.

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion of the term UD.DA = *šetū* (CAD § 150–153), see Verderame 2002b: 6.

Although the first-millennium parallels treat various colors instead of moonrise, the text is incomplete in this section. Therefore, the Emar version may preserve a protasis that has yet to be recovered in the canonical text of EAE 1. Arnaud (Emar 6/4, p. 254) proposed that *Emar* 650 (Tablet 1) and *Emar* 651 (see Tablets 2 and 3 below) were the long and short versions of EAE 21, respectively. Based on the observations about Tablet 1 above and the discussion of Tablets 2 and 3 below, Arnaud's hypothesis must be abandoned. It must also be noted that none of these texts (Tablets 1–3) shows the slightest similarity with EAE 21 (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 230–250).

Tablet 2, *Emar* 651 A = Msk 731041, is the lower half of a large lunar omen compendium written in the Syrian style. The protases all begin with BE. As noted by Güterbock (1988), Tablet 2 parallels a Akkadian-Hittite bilingual lunar omen compendium from Ḫattuša (*Emar* 651:8'–19' // CTH 533.3). The traces from the reverse of the manuscript from Ḫattuša also parallel the reverse of Tablet 2 from Emar (*Emar* 651:65'; see Güterbock 1988: 165, 172–173).¹⁴⁹ Tablet 2 also exhibits a number of parallels with several sections from first-millennium EAE, most of the manuscripts of which are from Nineveh, Kalḫu, Uruk, and elsewhere. The number and variety of first-millennium versions makes a uniform composite text difficult to reconstruct, but many of the individual sections and elements illustrate the connections:

| <i>Emar</i> 651 (lines) | EAE | Edition (Verderame 2002b) |
|-------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| 8'–9' | 5 | cf. V.3.1.1.1a–b? (112, 145–146) |
| 10'–11' | 5 | V.3.1.1.4a–b (113, 145–146) |
| 12'–15' | 5 | V.3.3.1–2 (121, 139, 142, 153) |
| 16'–19' | 5 | V.3.3.2 (121, 146) |
| 20' | 5 | V.3.3.1.2 (121, 146) |
| 21'–23' | 5 | V.3.2.3,6,12 (116–118) ¹⁵⁰ |
| 24'–28' | 5? | — |
| 29'–30' | 5 | V.3.2.9 (117, 141, 153, 157) |
| 31' | 5 | V.3.7.1 (124, 133–134, 149, 160, 164) |
| 32'–33' | 5 | cf. V.3.7.5 (125) |
| 34'–36' | ? | — |
| 37' | 3 | III.3.1.1 (62–63, 80) |

¹⁴⁹ For CTH 533.3, see also Riemschneider 2004: 80–81, 108–112.

¹⁵⁰ The omen found in *Emar* 651:21 is even preserved in a late antique omen collection written in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, see the first omen in the text published by Greenfield and Sokoloff 1989: 203–204, 206. Note that the apodosis is markedly different.

| | | |
|-----|------|--|
| 38' | 3 | III.3.1.4.6 (71, 80, 87) |
| 39' | 3 | III.3.1.4.1 (69, 88) |
| 40' | 3 | III.3.1.1.7 (65) |
| 41' | 3 | cf. III.3.1.3.3? (68) |
| 42' | 5/6? | V.3.7.1 (124, 158, 160) / VI.4.1 (170–172) |

The remainder of the text is difficult to assign, primarily due to the poor preservation of both the Emar text and potential parallels from later periods.

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>Emar</i> 651 | EAE | Edition |
| 43'–56' | 8/9/10? | — ¹⁵¹ |
| 57'–66' | 11/12/13? | — ¹⁵² |

Although it is different from what occurs in the first-millennium recensions, it is possible to discern some thematic organizational principles in the Emar version. The beginning of the text is unclear (lines 1'–7'), since only the beginning of each protasis is preserved. The first large division (8'–33') treats various phenomena related to the lunar crescent, i.e., the moon's "horn(s)" *si* = *qarnu* (Verderame 2002a: 451). Various subsections are also discernable.¹⁵³ A short intermediate section without obvious parallels (lines 34'–36') seems to address the size of the moon. The next section (lines 37'–41') deals with various types of "crowns" *aga* = *agû* or coronal phenomena (Verderame 2002a: 450). Two lines (42'–43') address events happening at the appearance of the moon.¹⁵⁴ This section appears to act as a bridge with the next section (lines 43'–56'), which addresses various phenomena involving the "pen" *tur*₃ = *tarbašu* or halos (Verderame 2002a: 449). The last preserved section is badly damaged (lines 57'–66'), but it appears to treat interactions between the moon and various planets.

Based on the text, orthography, and script it is possible to designate *Emar* 651 C (+) B (+) Msk 7488e (+) D as Tablet 3, which is a Syro-Hittite duplicate of Tablet 2. The new fragment Msk 7488e probably joins the reverse of the main fragment B: Msk 7470 + Msk 74206a. The new piece preserves the following protases:

¹⁵¹ For the time being, see Weidner 1941–1944: 313–316; Verderame 2002a: 457.

¹⁵² For the time being, see Weidner 1941–1944: 316–317; Verderame 2002a: 457.

¹⁵³ E.g., lines 8'–11', 12'–15', 16'–19', 20'–28'(?), 29'–30', 31'–33'.

¹⁵⁴ This is despite the fact that other omens (lines 1'–7', 16'–19') had already located different phenomena at this time.

Msk 7488e (Emar 6/1, p. 222)

- 1' [BE 30 ina(AŠ) IGI.D]U₈.A AGA [*a-pi₂-ir* etc.]
 2' [BE 30 AGA] *er-pe₂-ti a-p[i₂-ir* etc.]
 3' [BE 30 AGA] ^[d]TIR.AN.NA [*a-pi₂-ir* etc.]
 4' [BE 30 AGA A]N.TA u KI.T[A *a-pi₂-ir* etc.]
 5' [BE 30 AGA *šu-t*]a-[*aš₂-nu¹*]^[u₂] [*a-pi₂-ir* etc.]

This piece provides definitive evidence for correcting [*el-*]*pi₂-ti* (Tablet 2) in the edition to [*er-*]*pe₂-ti* (cf. *Emar* 651:38').¹⁵⁵ This small fragment also contributes to the debate about the Akkadian reading of the combination DUNGU(IM.DIRI) as *erpetu* or *urpatu*.¹⁵⁶

Tablet 4, *Emar* 652 = Msk 74235a, is a large compendium of lunar eclipse omens written in the Syro-Hittite style. The copyist was probably the diviner Šaggar-abu, ^{ld}30'(20)-*a-bu* (see Appendix C.1.1).¹⁵⁷ Arnaud (Emar 6/4, p. 268) pointed out that *Emar* 652 is a duplicate of the lunar eclipse omen compendia from Qatna (Bottéro 1950: 105–112, 117; Rochberg-Halton 1988: 271–272) and Alalāḫ (ALT 452). Furthermore, *Emar* 652 was already recognized as being similar in content to first-millennium EAE 17–18, even without the benefit of Arnaud's edition (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 32). However, the view has persisted that *Emar* 652 is a forerunner to "EAE 21–22" (Koch-Westenholz 1995: 47; Cohen 2003: 377–385, 2009: 211). Koch-Westenholz (1993: 237) has noted that the text's "pattern is known from EAE tablets 17, 18 and 19, and also from tablets 21 and 22," observing that "the second-millennium texts agree neither with the canonical EAE, nor with each other." She then illustrates her point by showing textual connections and disjunctions between the versions from Ḫattuša (CTH 532.2.1 = KUB 8, 1 // KBo 13, 18), *Emar* (*Emar* 652), first-millennium EAE 21, and first-millennium EAE 22 for months VI, VII, VIII (Koch-Westenholz 1993: 241–246). One drawback of that presentation is that it levels each text to its simplest formulation, for example, by excising the more complex elements found in the first-millennium protases of EAE 21. Furthermore, it appears that first-millennium EAE 17–18 provides the most direct continuation of the OB traditions, albeit with some textual accretions

¹⁵⁵ Already noted by Verderame 2002b: 71 n. 223 even without the benefit of Msk 7488e.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. CAD E 304a sub *erpetu*; AGA *urpati* in CAD A/1 156b sub *agû*; CAD U/W 236 sub *urpatu* A.

¹⁵⁷ Although it is surprising that a scribe would make an error in writing his own name, there are no other attestations of the theophoric PNs with a DN written ^d20 in the *Emar* corpus (Pruzsinszky 2003: 40, 51, 128; Cohen 2009: 168).

(Rochberg-Halton 1988: 139; Rochberg 2006: 344–345). Predictably enough, the Emar version adheres closely to the OB paradigm of calendrical days for the eclipse (14th, 15th, 16th, 20th, 21st) but adds a catch-all omen that refers to an unexpected time, *ina lā idānīšu / lādānīšu* (*Emar* 652:6, 15, 21, 28, 34, 40, etc.).¹⁵⁸ Because both *Emar* 652 and EAE 17–18 are not completely preserved, it is difficult to compare each and every omen found in the respective versions. However, certain sections of EAE 17–18 do have demonstrable parallels with *Emar* 652. This is particularly evident when preserved sections of first-millennium EAE can point to improved readings in the Emar text. For example, EAE 17 Part II § I (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 123–126, G, D, and E) has parallels with the first section of Emar Tablet 4 (month I), resulting in the following modifications to Arnaud’s text edition:

Msk 74235a (*Emar* 6/2, p. 550)

- 1 DIŠ *ina*(AŠ) ^{iti}BARA₂.ZAG.GAR UD.14 GE₆ [GAR A]N.TA.LU₃ GAR-*i*[*n* EŠ].BAR
[LU]GAL URI^{ki} URU *u* UN.MEŠ *šal-mu šum-ma* LUGAL NU B[A.UG₇ (...)]
- 2 MIN UD.15 GE₆ GAR DINGIR *ina*(AŠ) 𒄩UL ŠA₃-*bi it-bal* ^{u₃}[MU]L GAL ŠUB
URU LUGAL UN.MEŠ.BI KUR.BI[(...)]
- 3 MIN [U]D.[1][†]6[†] GE₆ GAR SA₅-*šu pe₂-li nu-ḥuš* UN.MEŠ LUGA[L *a-na*] LUGAL
sa-li-ma i-šap-pa-ar

If in the month of Nisannu (on) day fourteen [there is] an eclipse:¹⁵⁹ an eclipse will occur; [de]cision of/concerning the [ki]ng of Akkad; the city and people will be well; if the king does not [die ...].¹⁶⁰

Ditto (on) day fifteen there is an eclipse, the god disappears in distress,¹⁶¹ and a [met]eor falls: someone will conquer¹⁶² the city of the king (and) his people [...]

¹⁵⁸ To complicate matters further, it appears that EAE 20, which was previously thought to have no second-millennium analogues, parallels the structure of *Emar* 652 in places as well (Al-Rawi and George 2006: 50–55).

¹⁵⁹ For lines 1–5 it is of interest that GE₆(MI) “darkness” is employed. Typical writings are AN.TA.LU₃ (OB) and AN.GE₆ (first millennium and elsewhere in *Emar* 652). A formulation of lunar eclipse omens with the verb *adāru*, written syllabically or with the logogram KA×MI, is so far only attested in the first millennium. For OB parallels to lines 1–6, see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 114–115; Rochberg 2006.

¹⁶⁰ Partial duplicate of one of the versions of EAE 17 Part II § I.4 (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 123, G 6–8); however, the apodosis should contain at least one additional element.

¹⁶¹ This expression also appears in the unpublished OB sources (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 115).

¹⁶² The parallel EAE 17 Part II § I (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 125, D ii 5) suggests that KUR.BI (// KUR-*ad*) should be interpreted as a writing of the impersonal construction *ikaššadšu*.

Ditto (on) day six[teen] there is an eclipse, (and) its redness is red:¹⁶³ prosperity for the people;¹⁶⁴ kin[g] will convey good will [to] king.¹⁶⁵

Other textual improvements are relatively minor.¹⁶⁶ One section from the obverse (*Emar* 652:16–21) presents significant difficulties, since it appears to be out of place, i.e., month XII where month IV should be. The textual parallels with EAE 17 Part II § V (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 132, F) for month V are also compelling (*Emar* 652:22–28).¹⁶⁷

The next section for which there is a good parallel treats the last months of the Babylonian calendar XII and XII* (*Emar* 652:66'–76'). The text of Tablet 4 does not preserve any of the dates, but the apodoses exhibit a number of parallels with both the unpublished OB manuscripts (BM 22696; BM 86381) and the reverse of the MA source (BM 121034; see Rochberg-Halton 1988: 276). This is despite the fact that the obverse of the MA source has nothing in common with the OB tablet or *Emar* 652.

The second to last section of the text of Tablet 4 gives omens for lunar eclipses during the first seven months of the standard Babylonian calendar without a specified date (*Emar* 652:77'–79'). As with the previous section the closest parallel can be found in the MA celestial omen compendium BM 121034 (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 278), the reconstruction of which depends heavily on *iqqur īpuš* §70 (Labat 1965: 144–145). This duplicate suggests a number of improvements to the reconstruction of the *Emar* version of the text:

- 77' DIŠ [*ina*(AŠ) ^{iti}BAR₂.ZAG.GAR GE₆ GAR SA₅-š]u₂ pe₂-li nu-ḫuš ni-ši DIŠ
ina(AŠ) ^{iti}GU₄.SLS[A₂ KIMIN pi-ši-ir-tu (or: nap-ša-ar-tu) GAL₂-ši]
 78' DIŠ [*ina*(AŠ) ^{iti}SI₁]G₄[.GA KIMIN GU₂.GAL SI.SA₂] DIŠ *ina*(AŠ)
^{iti}SU.NUMUN.NA KIMIN ŠE.I₃.GIŠ SI.SA₂ D[IŠ *ina*(AŠ) ^{iti}NE.NE.GAR KIMIN
 ŠE.I₃.GIŠ SI.SA₂]
 79' DIŠ *ina*(AŠ) ^{iti}KIN.^dINA[NNA K]I.^fMIN¹ [ZU₂.LUM S]I.SA₂ DIŠ *ina*(AŠ)
^{iti}DU₆.KU₃ KIMIN mi-šir₃-ti S[I.SA₂]

¹⁶³ The expression *sūmšu peli*, “its ‘red’ (glow) is ‘red-hued,’” is attested in throughout the EAE tradition, even in the OB version BM 22696:25, *su₂-um-šu pe₂-li* (CAD S 382a; CAD P 319b); see also *Emar* 652:77' below. Color schemes are typically more systematic in first-millennium EAE (Verderame 2004). However, the red hue of the moon is a special phenomenon that is systematically incorporated into first-millennium EAE 17 Part II (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 114–115), just like the anger of the god and the falling meteor.

¹⁶⁴ For examples of the apodosis *nuḫuš niši*, “prosperity for the people,” in the celestial omen literature see CAD N/2 321a.

¹⁶⁵ See EAE 17 Part II § I (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 125, D ii 6); however, that manuscript of first-millennium EAE 17 Part II lacks the second apodosis preserved in the present text.

¹⁶⁶ E.g., the apodosis for VIII/21 (*Emar* 652:45): ZI.GA ELAM.MA^{ki} u BURU₅ *ina*(AŠ) KUR GA[L₂-š]i “uprising of Elam and there will be pestilence in the land.”

¹⁶⁷ Cf. also ALT 452:56–58.

If [in the month of Nisannu there is an eclipse, (and) i]ts [redness] is red: prosperity for the people. If in the month of Ayyaru [ditto: there will be¹⁶⁸]

If [in the month of]S[imānu ditto: peas will thrive.] If in the month of Du'ūzu ditto: *šamaššammū* (flax?) will prosper. I[f in the month of Abu ditto: *šamaššammū* (flax?) will prosper.]

If in the month of Ulū[lu di]tto: [dates w]ill prosper. If in the month of Tašrītu ditto: produce¹⁶⁹ will be abu[ndant].

Both the MA text and the Emar text stand in contrast to the text of the OB extract from Mari that has a very similar arrangement of the text (ARM 26/1, 248).

The last section of Tablet 4 appears to provide the first instance of the mythological accretion to first-millennium EAE (Verderame 2002b: 2, 9, 13, 36–37). There it serves as an introduction and thus supplies the traditional incipit for the canonical text.

Tablet 5, *Emar* 653 = Msk 74229, is a large Syro-Hittite-type tablet with two columns per side. Most of the left half of the tablet is gone, so all columns but the third are very badly damaged. Tablet 5 contains various omens relating to the appearance of the sun. It is difficult to relate these omens to any other solar omen compendia, such as the OB extract (Dietrich 1996), the Akkadian and Hittite texts from Ḫattuša (CTH 534), the compendium from Kassite Nippur (Rutz 2006b), or the subsequent first-millennium EAE recensions (van Soldt 1995b; Weidner 1968–1969: 68–69; cf. Rutz 2006b: 65–69). The first column of *Emar* 653 appears to treat various eclipse and occultation phenomena (line 1: GE₆, lines 3, 15', 19', 23', 24': *a-dir*). The second column contains omens formulated BE ^dUTU (line 44'), but little more can be said. On the reverse, the third column has omens related to the presence of designs surrounding the sun (lines 47'–58': BE ^dUTU GIŠ.ḪUR NIGIN₂-*mi*) and omens dealing with the occurrence of various phenomena at sunset (line 59': BE ^dUTU *ina* KU₄-*šu*; lines 60'–81': ^dUTU *ina* KU₄-*šu*). The last column is very poorly preserved. Traces of a scribal colophon mention one [Zū(?)]-Ba'la and probably, on the following line, the title "scribe" [LU₂.DU]B.SAR. Based on the usual layout of

¹⁶⁸ Line 77': the restoration of this passage is problematic, but *piširtu* "(an agricultural activity)" (CAD P 428) is possible based on BM 121034 rev. 16' [*pi-ši-i*]r-ti-ia; the converging wedges of IR are evident in the photograph (Rochberg-Halton 1988: 279). Another possibility for the Emar text is *napšartu* "barley prepared for shipment, basket for such barley" (CAD N/1 316).

¹⁶⁹ Line 79': Arnaud's restoration of <...> after *miširtu* is unnecessary (cf. CAD M/2 123–125). Although *miširtu* does sometimes function as the *nomen regens* in a construct chain, in a number of examples the lexeme stands alone (BM 121034 rev. 21' // Labat 1965: 144–145, *iqqur ipuš* §70:7; Rochberg-Halton 1988: 278).

the Emar colophons, it is unclear whether the title should be associated with the broken PN (cf. Cohen 2009: 181).

Tablet 6, *Emar* 655 = Msk 74233d + Msk 74238p + Msk 74238q, was originally a large tablet with two columns per side. The script is uncertain because no unambiguous diagnostic sign forms are present.¹⁷⁰ The lower left corner and right edge of the tablet are preserved, but all that remains of the reverse are a few signs from the last column. The small fragment Msk 74122ap (*Emar* 6/1, p. 311) preserves the left edge and may come from Tablet 6: [B]E MU[L] (line 5'). The fragment *Emar* 660 = Msk 74215a may also belong to Tablet 6. The protases are formulated with BE. The text is concerned with movements and interactions between various planets and fixed stars (both MUL),¹⁷¹ the moon, and the sun.

The remaining fragments are difficult to assign to any one tablet in particular.¹⁷²

All of the tablets and fragments were found in 'Temple' M₁. Tablet 1 was found in Locus 1 West (2, M III NE; 1, M III SE). Tablet 2 was excavated in 1973 from either Locus 1 or Locus 3. All of the fragments of Tablet 3 were found in Locus 1 West (6, M III NE; 1, M III SE). Tablet 4 was found in Locus 1 West (1, M III NE; 1, M III SE). Tablet 5 was excavated from Locus 1 West (M III SE). Tablet 6 was also found in Locus 1 West (M III NE). The find-spot square of one fragment is unclear. The remaining fragments were all excavated from Locus 1 West (11, M III NE; 2, M III SE).

Calendrical Omens

Calendrical divination is concerned not only with events and the divine signs embedded within them but also with when exactly the events occur. These texts collect records of auspicious and inauspicious days and months, as well as when activities should and should not be performed (Maul 2003a: 57–58). Unlike extispicy and celestial divination, calendrical divination is necessarily and intimately tied to a particular calendrical system. Although there may well have been third-millennium traditions about good and bad days for various activities, the final shape that these texts took would have been possible only after the standardization of the

¹⁷⁰ What may be a Syrian AH sign is present in col. i (*Emar* 655:14'; *Emar* 6/2, p. 561).

¹⁷¹ Namely ^{mul}MAŠ.TAB.BA, ^{mul,giš}MAR.GID₂.DA, and ^{mul}dil-bat.

¹⁷² E.g., *Emar* 662 = Msk 7495b seems like it could join Msk 74238p (*Emar* 655:8'–13'), but the rulings do not match. *Emar* 657 = Msk 74114a could be from Tablet 6, since their layouts are similar and both mention months of the year. If they do belong to the same source, the obverse and verse of *Emar* 657 should probably be switched.

Nippur-based Babylonian calendar in the early second millennium (Cohen 1993: 225–228, 297–342).¹⁷³ Thus, hemerologies are first attested in the OB period, albeit sparsely. Sumerian hemerologies are known from Nippur (Ni 4128, ISET 2 94), Ur (UET 6/2, 184, see Römer 2002), and elsewhere (PRAK C 14, see Cavigneaux 1987: 52–53, no. 9; CT 42, 36 + CT 58, 45, see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 96–97). Two Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual hemerologies come from Meturan (H 77 and H 88, see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 95–104).¹⁷⁴ In contrast to the subsequent development of this genre, the OB texts are quite limited in their scope, treating only significant days of the calendar, specifically, the dangerous seventh day of the seventh month (Cohen 1993: 391–392).¹⁷⁵ There are other hints that beliefs about propitious and unpropitious days were operative in the OB period.¹⁷⁶

Sometime during the second millennium various traditions of Babylonian hemerologies and menologies were organized in a very wide array of formats and given a number of different names (Labat 1972–1975). Some texts are lists or tables of propitious and unpropitious days arranged in columns (BRM 4, 24 rev.), sections (KAR 177 iv 1–24), horizontal lines (MIO 5, pls. XII–XIII), or some combination thereof (CTN 4, 56). Other texts, referred to as the Babylonian Almanac, list every day of the year and simply deem each day favorable or unfavorable (Labat 1943). Extracts of this type of text are also known, some of which treat only one month (Labat 1957: 312, 337, VAT 3; George 1988a: 152–155, BM 67304). A number of other hemerological texts were compiled in the first millennium, typically with a focus on a particular month or activity.¹⁷⁷ Finally, hemerological omens

¹⁷³ Glassner (2005: 297) suggests that it is not a mere coincidence that the Babylonian calendar was standardized during the same period (OB) that diviners were recording and systematizing their literature.

¹⁷⁴ For an overview of the setting and finds, see Cavigneaux 1999: 251–258, 272 fig. 1; cf. Jean 2006: 159–161.

¹⁷⁵ A few centuries later an elaborate tradition of taboos and prohibitions is documented for the first ten days of the seventh month (DU₆.KU₃ = Tašrītu). Both MB and NA copies of this hemerological text are known (Casaburi 2000).

¹⁷⁶ E.g., the observation by Reiter (1993) that in ARM 26, 469 Hammurapi appears to have followed a hemerology about the 25th day of the month with reference to treaty-making (Heimpel 2003: 380–381).

¹⁷⁷ These texts, too numerous to discuss in detail, include: the so-called Hemerologies of Assur, whose name is something of a misnomer (KAR 178 and dupls.; Casaburi 2003; Livingstone 2006); the Assyrian royal composition *Inbu bēl arḫi* (see Labat 1965: pls. XLIV–XLVI; Livingstone 1993a); partial hemerologies, such as the hemerology for month VII (Casaburi 2000); and various ritual, occasional, and professional hemerologies (Labat 1972–1975: 320–321; Livingstone 1993a).

were collected to create a text known by the name *iqqur ipuš*,¹⁷⁸ which is the title of the composition known from colophons (e.g., Labat 1965: 16, 172, 196) and catalogues (e.g., SAA 7, 50, 51, 55). This title is a shortened form of the expression *šumma (ina MN bīta) iqqur ipuš* “If he demolishes (and then) builds (a house in the month of MN),”¹⁷⁹ but in a break with normative practice this title is not, strictly speaking, the incipit of the composition (Labat 1965: 6). In contrast to the other hemerological texts that focus on specific days in the calendar year, *iqqur ipuš* is concerned solely with the month during which a specific thing happens. Therefore, technically speaking *iqqur ipuš* is actually a menology or a hemerological menology (Livingstone 1993b: 59). The first part of the text of *iqqur ipuš* covers many activities and occurrences from daily life, including events pertaining to a house and its inhabitants, the care of sacred sites and objects, the performance of various rites, agricultural activities, illness, encounters with snakes, marriages and births, and the appearance of fires (Labat 1965: 8). Many of the omens in this section have analogues in the first-millennium series *šumma ālu* (Freedman 1998: 11; Maul 2003a: 58–62; Freedman 2006: 11–12). The second part deals with celestial phenomena, including events of the moon, the sun, Venus, various meteorological phenomena, earthquakes, mudslides, and flooding (Labat 1965: 9). Not surprisingly, these sections of *iqqur ipuš* have considerable overlap with EAE (see above). The text of *iqqur ipuš* was organized in two different styles of presentation, the general series and the monthly series (see below). Both forms of the text were expressed in the standard omen format (protasis, apodosis) or as a table that would express only whether a given month was favorable for a specific activity or event (e.g., Labat 1965: 11–12, pl. I).

As noted already above, OB sources are very few and exhibit only the most minimal correspondence with the content and format found in later tradition. The calendrical divination literature appears to have taken its lasting form in the Kassite period. A large source for the Babylonian Almanac was found in Dūr-Kurigalzu (Labat 1952, IM 50969), and a fragmentary

¹⁷⁸ The hemerology texts in general and *iqqur ipuš* in particular have been the topic of two unpublished Heidelberg Habilitationsschriften by Alasdair Livingstone (1992) and Jeanette Fincke (2006), both of whom are reportedly revising their works for publication.

¹⁷⁹ These omens occur in the general series of *iqqur ipuš* §§ 5, 7 (Labat 1965: 62–65). The monthly series (month IX) has the same protases (Labat 1965: 224, Bab 36410 rev. iii 30’–31’); cf. month XI in the Emar versions, e.g., DIŠ E₂ DU₃-u₃, DIŠ E₂ *iq-qur* (Emar 610:182’–183’ // Emar 615:72’–73’). Note that, like the designation *ūmē tābūti*, the title *iqqur ipuš* was somewhat fluid, since at least one text (MIO 5, pl. XI) of the Babylonian Almanac is referred to as an extract of *iqqur ipuš* (Labat 1972–1975: 321).

copy of *iqqur īpuš* (monthly series) was excavated in Babylon (Labat 1965: 218–236, pls. 41–43, 49–50; Pedersén 2005: 81, M4:30, Bab 36410). Other texts hint at editorial work on the calendrical omen texts taking place in the Kassite period. For example, according to the colophon that ends one section of text (KAR 177 iv 25–v 3; Lambert 1957: 8–9; Hunger 1969: 90), part of the Assur manuscript KAR 177 was actually excerpted and produced in Kassite Babylonia during the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282 BCE, Brinkman 1999). This section of KAR 177 bears the title *ūmē ṭābūti*, “good days,” which, it should be noted, also referred to a number of hemerological compositions, such as the Hemerologies of Assur (KAR 178 and dupls.; Livingstone 2006: 138). Fragmentary sources are also known from Ḫattuša (CTH 546), Ugarit (Arnaud 1993), and Emar (see below).

Three types of compositions treating calendrical omens are present in the Emar text corpus: the Babylonian Almanac; the general series of the text *iqqur īpuš*; and the monthly series of the text *iqqur īpuš*.

Almanac

The vast majority of copies of the Babylonian Almanac are known from the first millennium (e.g., Labat 1943; Matouš 1961; STT 301; CTN 4, 56), though the text had its origins in the second millennium (Labat 1952). Despite the expected chronological and regional variations found in the text, it is appropriate to speak of the Babylonian Almanac as a single, standardized text (Livingstone 2006: 140), just as one speaks of different versions and recensions of the text of EAE.

Arnaud identified four fragments of the Babylonian Almanac in the Emar text corpus (Livingstone 2007). In all probability these four pieces should be assigned to two copies at most. Tablet 1, *Emar* 605 A: Msk 74266c (+) *Emar* 607 = Msk 74266a, appears to have originally had six columns per side, one for each month of the calendar (Arnaud 1975–1976: 227). It was written in the Syro-Hittite style. Only months III–V are identifiable (*Emar* 605 A), but parts of at least two other months are preserved (*Emar* 607). The most obvious parallel to this manuscript of the Babylonian Almanac from Emar is the Kassite source from Dūr-Kurigalzu (Labat 1952, IM 50969). Tablet 1 parallels later texts as well, with some significant variants for specific days (e.g., Livingstone 2000: 384–385).

Tablet 2, *Emar* 605 B: Msk 74163a, is a partial duplicate of Tablet 1, but it has a very different layout. Probably also written in the Syro-Hittite style, in all likelihood all twelve months of the almanac were crowded onto the obverse of Tablet 2, and a selection of the general series of *iqqur īpuš* was copied on the reverse (Arnaud 1975–1976: 227). The reverse of Msk 74163a =

Emar 608 is discussed in the following section. The layout of Tablet 2 is paralleled by a fragmentary Akkadian manuscript from Ḫattuša: KBo 36, 54 (+) 55. The obverse of one piece (KBo 36, 55) has the Almanac, while the reverse of the other (KBo 36, 54) appears to have a version of the general series of *iqqur īpuš*, but only the month names are preserved (Babylonian months I, II, III, VII, XI, XII). In contrast, a fragment from Ugarit appears to have the monthly series of *iqqur īpuš* and the Almanac in two columns on the same side of the tablet (Arnaud 1993, RS 25.141).¹⁸⁰ Contrary to the view expressed by Arnaud (1993: 124), this combination of *iqqur īpuš* and the Almanac is not unique to the sources known from LBA Syria. A handful of first-millennium manuscripts bear texts of this kind (Labat 1965: 11, with pl. X, VAT 9591).

The fragment *Emar* 606 = Msk 731085e probably belongs to either Tablet 1 or Tablet 2.

All of the fragments of the *Emar* version of the Almanac were found in 'Temple' M₁. Both pieces of Tablet 1 came from Locus 1 Center (M I NW). Tablet 2 was excavated from Locus 1 West (M III NE), while the unsigned fragment was found in 1973 in either Locus 1 or Locus 3.

Hemerological Omens, iqqur īpuš, General Series

The most prevalent form of the first-millennium omen series *iqqur īpuš* is the "série générale" (Labat 1965: 13–16, 27–197). The general series consists of a series of ruled sections, each of which usually has twelve lines for the twelve months of the year. Each section is devoted to an activity or a phenomenon, which is stated in the first line of the section for month I. The text then provides apodoses that result from the performance or occurrence of the specified activity or phenomenon during each month. Some sources are large, multicolumn tablets (e.g., CTN 4, 50; VAT 9772, Labat 1965: pls. XV–XXX), while others have only one column per side (K. 2049, from Ashurbanipal's library, Labat 1965: pls. XXXV–XXXVIII). The earliest attestation of the general series is an extract tablet from Nuzi (Lacheman 1937). This extract covers earthquakes (*iqqur īpuš* §§ 100–101, Labat 1965: 188–191), and is written along the long axis of the tablet. Based on the notations *ḫi-pi*₂, the Nuzi tablet was copied from a damaged source manuscript. Other excerpts from the general series of *iqqur īpuš* were

¹⁸⁰ Arnaud (1993: 123–127, pl. I) identifies the section of *iqqur īpuš* as months V and VI, but only a couple of lines have compelling parallels in the text as it is currently known. The months found in the column with the Almanac are unclear.

incorporated into celestial omen compendia (*Emar* 652:77’–79’ // BM 121034, Rochberg-Halton 1988: 278).

Two manuscripts in the Emar text corpus correspond with the general series of *iqqur īpuš*. The first, Tablet 1*,¹⁸¹ *Emar* 608 = Msk 74163a, has the Babylonian Almanac on the obverse, and on the reverse it has the sections of the general series that deal with the occurrence of thunder (*iqqur īpuš* §§ 88–89, Labat 1965: 172–175). As noted already above, Tablet 1* was probably written in the Syro-Hittite style. Month X appears to have been omitted by the scribe. Omens related to the sound of thunder form a section of EAE (Gehlken 2005, 2008), and an extract of this kind is known from Kassite Nippur (PBS 2/2, 123).

The second, Tablet 1, *Emar* 609 = Msk 74209d + Msk 74123j, has omens for the moon being surrounded by various designs in the twelve months of the year (*iqqur īpuš* § 77’, Labat 1965: 156–157), with the exception of month X, which the scribe again neglected to include. Tablet 1 was written in the Syro-Hittite style and, like most other Emar scholarly tablets, employs a version of the longer Babylonian month names (e.g., I: ^{iti}BAR₂.ZAG.GAR, II: ^{iti}GUD.SI.SA₂, etc.). These longer logographic writings continued to be used well into the reign of Kadašman-Turgu (ca. 1281–1264), when abbreviated logographic writings became more common (Brinkman 1976: 397–401).¹⁸² This practice in Tablet 1 stands in contrast to the Nuzi extract, which, with the exception of the first month (I: ^{iti}BAR₂.ZAG.GAR), uses abbreviated month names (e.g., II: ^{iti}GUD, III: ^{iti}SIG₄, etc.).

All of the sources for Emar *iqqur īpuš*, general series, come from ‘Temple’ M₁. Both pieces of Tablet 1 were found in Locus 1 West (1, M III NE; 1, M III SE). Tablet 1* also came from Locus 1 West (M III NE). In the present study it is reckoned among the sources for the Babylonian Almanac (see above).

Hemerological Omens, iqqur īpuš, Monthly Series

Although Arnaud termed each of these texts a “ménologie,” this term can be misleading. As noted already above, the Mesopotamian menologies (e.g., “Astrolabe B,” Horowitz 1998: 154–166) should not be confused with what are properly “die menologischen Hemerologien” found in both presentations of *iqqur īpuš*, i.e., the general series and the monthly series

¹⁸¹ This source is given the designation “Tablet 1*” here so as to avoid counting Msk 74163a twice.

¹⁸² It is worth noting that the use of these longer writings persisted well into the first millennium.

(Livingstone 1993b: 59). With the notable exception of the two tablets discussed above that represent the general series of the text, the vast majority of sources for Emar *iqqur ĩpuš* should be classified as the “série mensuelle” (Labat 1965: 16–19, 205–239). The Emar texts are all the more important, since there are relatively few sources for the text of the monthly series in any period (Labat 1965: 207; STT 305–306 extract).

Two recensions of the monthly series are found in the Emar text corpus, the short recension and the long recension. The short recension has a shorter text due to the fact that all twelve months appear on one tablet and that certain omen apodoses are omitted (Labat 1965: 17–18). In contrast, the long recension breaks the text into multiple tablets, a layout that allows for more omens for each month.

A number of factors make it difficult to reconstruct the Emar version of *iqqur ĩpuš*. First, there are multiple copies of both long and short recensions of the text. Second, both the protases and apodoses are quite repetitive, so a particular section is difficult to isolate on a small fragment, given the self-same micro-structure of text. That said, it is possible to isolate six distinct albeit fragmentary manuscripts. The very large number of unassigned fragments probably belong to one of these sources, but it is impossible to rule out the existence of some additional unidentifiable source(s).

There are two copies of the short recension. Tablet 1, *Emar* 610 C: Msk 74159a+ (see Appendix B.6.3.2.2), is a large Syro-Hittite manuscript with two columns per side. Column ii is badly broken, and there are several gaps in column i. Furthermore, because of damage to the left edge, no colophon of any kind is preserved. With the assigned fragments, omens are preserved for all months of the year except for month IV. In contrast to the ideal layout proposed by Labat (1965: 18), Tablet 1 crowded months I through part of VII on obverse, leaving the rest of VII through XII for the reverse.

Tablet 2, *Emar* 610 D: Msk 74143l, is a small fragment preserving what appears to be the right upper edge of the tablet.¹⁸³ Like Tablet 1 it originally had two columns per side and was in all likelihood written in the Syro-Hittite style, though diagnostic sign forms are not present. Tablet 2 is only recognizable due to the fact that D is a duplicate of C (Tablet 1). The reverse has omens for month X (also col. iii in Tablet 1). Traces from one line on the obverse are difficult to place, due to the fragmentary state of

¹⁸³ Probably switch the obverse and reverse (*Emar* 6/1, p. 353).

column ii of Tablet 1. Based on the probable layout of the tablet as whole (Labat 1965: 18), the omen is probably for month IV. Needless to say, some of the fragments assigned to Tablet 1 could just as easily be assigned to the highly fragmentary Tablet 2.

Curiously, the text of the short recension is principally known from the tablet Bab 36410, a Kassite manuscript from the MB diviners' tablet collection in Babylon (Labat 1965: 218–236, pls. 41–43, 49–50; Pedersén 2005: 81, M4:30).¹⁸⁴ Though the Kassite source originally had the entire calendar year on one tablet, only months VIII, IX, XI (traces), and XII are preserved. A handful of scribal notes (*hi-pi₂*) indicate that Bab 36410 was itself copied from a damaged original. The Emar and Babylon versions do exhibit some textual affinity, but in places they are also very different. Note the following parallels, only some of which were noted by Arnaud (Emar 6/4, pp. 238–239):

| Month | <i>Emar</i> 610 | Bab 36410 |
|-------|---------------------|-------------|
| VIII | 109' | iii 2'? |
| | 110' ¹⁸⁵ | iii 3' |
| | 114' | iii 14' |
| | 115' | cf. iii 15' |
| | 116' | iii 16'? |
| | 123' | iii 23'? |
| | 124' | iii 24'? |
| | 126' | iii 28' |
| | 128' ¹⁸⁶ | iii 29' |
| | 130' | iii 30'? |
| IX | 131' | iii 34'? |
| | 132' ¹⁸⁷ | iii 37' |
| | 133' | iii 38' |
| | 134' | iii 42'? |
| | 135' | iii 43' |
| | 136' | iii 44' |
| | 137' | cf. iii 45' |
| | 138' | iii 46'? |
| | 139' | iii 47'? |

¹⁸⁴ Based on the context in which it was found, Bab 36410 cannot be Neo-Babylonian, as Labat (1965: 219 n. 6) originally had thought. Another unpublished fragment found in the same area, Bab 36398a, may belong to the same manuscript as Bab 36410 (Pedersén 2005: 80–81, M4:6).

¹⁸⁵ Probably reconstruct the apodosis [$\check{S}A_3(.B1) \check{t}]a_3-ab$ (Emar 6/2, p. 398, Msk 74159a).

¹⁸⁶ The MN is written ⁱⁱⁱGAN_x(KAM).A.N[A] (Emar 6/2, p. 398, Msk 74159a).

¹⁸⁷ Instead of LUGAL KI-š[u₂], perhaps read SUḪUŠⁱ-š[u₂] (Emar 6/2, p. 398, Msk 74159a).

| | | |
|-----|-----------|-------------|
| XII | 207' | iv 11'? |
| | 208'–209' | iv 12'–13'? |
| | 209' | iv 14' |
| | 210' | iv 15' |
| | 211' | iv 16' |
| | 212' | iv 17'–18' |
| | 213' | iv 19' |
| | 214' | iv 20' |
| | 215' | iv 22' |
| | 216' | iv 22' |
| | 216' | cf. iv 23' |
| | 217' | iv 24' |
| | 224' | iv 29' |

Although some of these correspondences are compelling, a certain textual fluidity is also evident in the later second millennium. The internal structure of each text is not even stable and consistent across the months, resulting in different numbers of omens per month.¹⁸⁸

There appear to be four manuscripts with the long recension, three of which cover the first part of the long recension and one of which covers the second part.

Only the lower left part of Tablet 3, *Emar* 611 A: Msk 74296a, is preserved. This Syro-Hittite-style tablet originally had two columns per side, but at present only parts of months I, II, V, and VI have survived. The colophon on the left edge indicates that Tablet 3 was the work of Ba'1-mālik, son of Ba'1-qarrād, scribe and diviner of the gods of Emar (Appendix C.1.2).

Less is preserved of the Syro-Hittite-style Tablet 4, *Emar* 611 B: Msk 74342g(+), which is identifiable as a duplicate of Tablet 3 (see Appendix B.6.3.2.2). A small fragment from column i is all that remains of the obverse, but the remaining fragments preserve much of the lower part of both columns of the reverse, including the upper edge. Only months II, IV, V, and VI are present.

Tablet 5, *Emar* 611 E: Msk 74170, is a highly fragmentary duplicate of both Tablets 3 and 4. Although some textual problems remain, Tablet 5 appears to preserve months II and V. It was written in the Syro-Hittite script.

¹⁸⁸ E.g., for source *Emar* 610 C from Emar (Tablet 1), the months for which the total number of omens is near complete include: I (twenty-two), VIII (twenty), IX (sixteen), X (at least thirty-six), XI (twenty-seven), XII (thirty-one).

A number of other fragments of the first tablet of the long recension are identifiable: *Emar* 611 F–J, *Emar* 612–614, Msk 74342k (see Appendix B.6.3.2.2). In fact, *Emar* 612, *Emar* 613, and *Emar* 614 were all identified by Arnaud “à cause de leur proximité archéologique” (*Emar* 6/4, p. 231). Regardless, because at least three fragmentary copies of the text were present, it is difficult to assign each fragment precisely. The only copy of the second tablet of the long recension is Tablet 6, *Emar* 615 B: Msk 74173a(+) (see Appendix B.6.3.2.2). Also written in the Syro-Hittite style, Tablet 6 has parts of months VIII, IX, X, XI, XII. Two additional fragments, *Emar* 615 D: Msk 74128w and *Emar* 616 A: Msk 731063, may belong to the same manuscript. *Emar* 616 A preserves some of the left edge, where there are the traces of a scribal colophon. At present it is unclear who wrote this piece.¹⁸⁹

All of the pieces assigned to Tablets 1 and 2 came from Locus 1 West (4, M III NE; 4, M III SE). Tablet 3 was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW), while the pieces of Tablet 4 came from the surface clearing of Locus 1 North (M IV SW). Tablets 5 and 6 both came from Locus 1 West (M III NE). There are additional fragments of the first tablet of the long recension that were found during the clearing of Locus 1 North (6, M IV SW), and these may thus belong to Tablet 4. Twenty-seven fragments were found in Locus 1 West (19, M III NE; 8, M III SE), and two more fragments came from Locus 1 Center (M I NW). One fragment was excavated either from Locus 1 or Locus 3 (M I SW), and another came from either Locus 1 or Locus 2 (M I NE). Four fragments were excavated from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in the 1973. The find-spot of one fragment is unclear, and another fragment was a surface find from 1975.

Behavioral Omens

Certain collections of omens treat various behaviors by both humans and animals. This rubric is a thoroughly modern one, since omens of this kind are distributed across a number of different ancient texts. These texts include the series *iqqur īpuš* (see above), *šumma ālu* (Freedman 1998, 2006), certain physiognomic omen texts such as *kataduggû* (Böck 2000), as well as *šumma immeru*, which registers omens pertaining to the behavior of the sacrificial sheep prior to and just after slaughter. Only *šumma immeru* and some other similar texts are attested in the Emar text corpus.

¹⁸⁹ On the unlikely hypothesis that Ribi-Dagān was the copyist, see below.

Sacrificial Sheep

Like most Mesopotamian omen compendia, the earliest sources for the text of *šumma immeru* date to the OB period (e.g., YOS 10, 47–49), and a number of manuscripts dating to the first millennium are also known, especially from Nineveh and Uruk (Leichty 1993a). So far no MB sources have been identified from Babylonia, but a version is preserved from Anatolia and north Syria. Building on observations by Hoffner (1993) about the Hittite-language version of *šumma immeru*, Cohen (2007) has established that the Akkadian sources for the text from Ḫattuša and Emar properly document one version of the text. Two Hurrian copies of the text are known Ḫattuša as well (ChS I/7, 1–2), and these fragments evidently exhibit some structural similarities with the Emar version (de Martino 1992: 4–5).

There is some question about the number of copies of this text from Emar. Prior to the publication of the first critical edition Arnaud (1975–1976: 222) observed that there were three copies that exhibit only minor differences, such as physical layout and orthographic variants. At that time he attributed all three copies to the diviner Baʿl-mālik. In the critical edition Arnaud listed seven fragmentary sources: *Emar* 698 A (+) F, B-E; *Emar* 699; *Emar* 701. Cohen (2007: 237 n. 5) viewed this as representing six separate manuscripts. However, based on the text and layout at least two duplicates can be identified, and it is possible that the remaining fragments belonged to one of those two manuscripts.

Only the left half of Tablet 1, *Emar* 698 A: Msk 731077a + Msk 731077b (+) F: Msk 74261c is preserved. Tablet 1 is written in the Syro-Hittite style. The manuscript originally had two columns per side, but most of columns ii and iii are lost (Cohen 2007: 246, fig. 1a). Based on the location of the colophon in column iii, the last column must be blank. Heavy rulings separate sections of omens, and indented lines are consistently marked with *Glossenkeil*. Although the colophon is partly broken, the copyist of the tablet should probably be identified as the diviner Baʿl-mālik (Appendix C.1.2).

Tablet 2, *Emar* 698 B: Msk 74104c (+?) C: Msk 74212, is a Syro-Hittite duplicate of Tablet 1 written with only one column per side. Because only the upper edge (B) and left edge (C) are preserved, it is uncertain how Tablet 2 formulates its protases. The fragmentary scribal colophon indicates that a diviner copied the text, so it is possible that the diviner Baʿl-mālik was responsible for copying this tablet as well as Tablet 1. The fragment *Emar* 698 E: Msk 74203a formulates its protases with BE and is also a duplicate of Tablet 1. It is not clear from the copy, but this

fragment may be near the left edge. If so, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that *Emar* 698 E belongs to Tablet 2. Perhaps the small fragment assigned provisionally to *alamdimmu* (*Emar* 685 = Msk 74135m) also belongs to *Emar* 698 E, reading (lines 3'–5') BE G[U₂¹] (*Emar* 6/1, p. 343), like DIŠ GU₂ UDU in Tablet 1 (*Emar* 698:63'–65'). The use of the first person possessive suffix in the small fragment *Emar* 701 = Msk 731075z may indicate that it too belongs to Tablet 2.

Of the two remaining fragments, *Emar* 698 D: Msk 74101w probably belongs to either Tablet 1 or Tablet 2. *Emar* 699 = Msk 74132e bears a fragmentary formulation that is unlike anything in Tablet 1, and the protases of Tablet 2 are too fragmentary for a proper comparison. However, it is uncertain whether the formulation in *Emar* 699 is different enough to merit designating it a separate tablet. For the time being it is simply counted as a fragment of the text.

All of the pieces of *Emar šumma immeru* were found in 'Temple' M₁. The three pieces assigned to Tablet 1 were found in Locus 1 Center (1, M I NW) and in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973. The fragments of Tablet 2 and three unassigned fragments all come from Locus 1 West (4, M III NE; 1, M III SE). One unassigned fragment was also excavated from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in the 1973.

Oxen

A separate text from the *šumma immeru* tradition has omens pertaining to oxen. This small fragment from the left edge has a series of protases that begin BE GUD.ḪIA = *šumma alpū* (*Emar* 700 = Msk 74107k). Maul (2003a: 59) has pointed out that this fragment is similar in structure to *šumma ālu* 42 (Freedman 1998: 20, 334), where one finds omens that begin DIŠ GUD.MEŠ etc. (CT 40, 30). Without the rest of the tablet or a compelling second-millennium duplicate, little more can be said about this fragment. The sole fragment was recovered from Locus 1 West (M III NE) in 'Temple' M₁.

Teratological Omens

Abnormal or malformed births were also the subject of an omen series, namely *šumma izbu* (Maul 2003a: 62–64).¹⁹⁰ Like the other subgenres of

¹⁹⁰ Although there are differences between the formation of the protases of the sections treating humans (e.g., *šumma sinništu*) and animals (e.g., *šumma izbu* or *šumma* followed by an animal term), for convenience, the text as a whole will be referred to here as *šumma*

Mesopotamian divination, the first teratological omen compendia date to the early second millennium. The OB version of *šumma izbu* is best known from two manuscripts of unknown provenance (YOS 10, 56 and 12; Leichty 1970: 201–207). The OB text exhibits a few textual similarities with the content of the “canonical” version, which, it should be noted preserves OB orthography in places, but it is difficult to trace direct textual transmission from the second millennium into the first (Leichty 1970: 23–24). For example, in the OB texts there is no evidence of the highly systematized structure found in the later versions. Be that as it may, there is also evidence for the observation of malformed births, which, as with every other subgenre, must have prompted the tradition of recording omens in the first place. A letter found in Mari documents a report to the king of a malformed birth (ARM 26/1, 241; Guichard 1997: 305–313), a type of report that is also documented later on in Sargonid Assyria (SAA 10, 2, cf. 265), where these omens had a reputation for being difficult to interpret (SAA 10, 60, 276; cf. Leichty 1970: 9).

The situation from the later second millennium is more complex. The few sources from Assyria and Babylonia seem to correspond more or less with the canonical text.¹⁹¹ For example, the source from Assur KAR 403 represents a late MA witness of *Izbu* 7 (Leichty 1970: 20, 92–100). The MB sources from Babylon were generally so close to the standard text that it was not originally recognized that they date to the Kassite period,¹⁹² and a fragment from Kassite Nippur is close to the canonical text as well.¹⁹³ Outside of Mesopotamia proper, the situation is markedly different. The omen compendia from late second-millennium Susa show little in common with the standard text (Labat 1974: nos. 9–10; for the context, see Rutz 2006b). A handful of fragments of the Akkadian version of *šumma izbu* has been identified from Ugarit (Arnaud 1982b: 217–218; Arnaud 2007: 47–51, nos. 3–6), but as in Susa the tradition is difficult to square with the standardized version (Arnaud 2007: 29–30). Moreover, there was a tradition in Ugarit whereby omens of this kind were written down in alphabetic

izbu. This is for good reason, since catchlines and colophons treat the text as a whole in the first millennium (e.g., Leichty 1970: 52, 65, 101, 113, etc.).

¹⁹¹ The point of departure for the canonical text is still the edition by Leichty 1970. Additional witnesses have come to light since then, for example: CTN 4, 31–35; Heeßel 2007: nos. 47–48; LKU 124; SpTU 1, 69–72; SpTU 3, 90–94; SpTU 4, 142; CTMMA 2, 40–41.

¹⁹² MB *Izbu* from Babylon (Pedersén 2005: 78–82, M4: 7, 17, 29); *Izbu* 11 text c (Leichty 1970: 130–134); *Izbu* 8 text f (Leichty 1970: 113); *Izbu* 17 text d (Leichty 1970: 168–170).

¹⁹³ The unpublished fragment UM 29-16-194 corresponds to *Izbu* 20.

cuneiform as well (Pardee 1986).¹⁹⁴ Both Akkadian and Hittite versions of the teratological omen series are represented in the text corpus from Ḫattuša (CTH 538–540; Leichty 1970: 207–210; Cohen 2007: 250). A Hurrian version of *šumma izbu* was in circulation in Ḫattuša as well (KUB 29, 12; ChS I/7, 44). It should also be noted that so-called non-canonical versions of the text also survived into the first millennium (e.g., STT 307, see Leichty 1970: 21).

Early on Arnaud (1976–1977: 210) recognized the presence of *šumma izbu* in Emar, and he later edited the fragments as *Emar* 686–693. There Arnaud (*Emar* 6/4, p. 314) also suggested that Msk 74135s could be a piece of the text. I have identified an additional possible fragment: Msk 74133c. There are a total of ten fragments from at least one tablet. Since there are no duplicates or obvious joins in this group, the fragments are all kept separate in the present study. It may be that they all came from one tablet or that each originally constituted part of a separate source. As with the OB and other LBA versions of the text, there appear to be some thematic sub-groupings in the Emar version, but no direct connection with the later standardized text is evident.

Tablet 1, *Emar* 686 = Msk 74161, is very fragmentary. The script appears to be Syro-Hittite, and the protases are formulated with BE. Due to certain epigraphic affinities, Arnaud (2007: 8) sees Msk 74161 as a Babylonian import, possibly from the same Babylonian scriptorium as RS 7.001 and RS 94.2473. In that case the script of Tablet 1 cannot be properly characterized as Syro-Hittite. However, without a systematic presentation of the evidence from each source from Emar and Ugarit, it is impossible to evaluate Arnaud's claim.

All of the fragments of *šumma izbu* from Emar are from 'Temple' M₁. The majority of pieces were found in Locus 1 West (7, M III NE; 2, M III SE), but one fragment came from Locus 1 Center (M I NW).

Medical Diagnostic-Prognostic Texts

The corpus of Mesopotamian diagnostic-prognostic texts show overlap with both omens and medical texts in their structure and content,

¹⁹⁴ Ugaritic *šumma izbu*: KTU² 1.103 + 1.145 = RS 24.247+ (Pardee 2000: 532–564, no. 35); KTU² 1.140 = RS 24.302 (Pardee 2000: 763–765, no. 60).

respectively.¹⁹⁵ These texts, generally written in Akkadian,¹⁹⁶ report various symptoms in the protasis, and the apodosis generally gives either the malady's cause(s) (often supernatural) or the patient's prognosis (Maul 2003a: 64–66). As with every other genre of omen text, the earliest diagnostic and prognostic collections date to the OB period, though only one text of this kind is presently known, and it is unprovenienced (Heeßel 2000: 97–99; Geller 2001–2002: 73–74).¹⁹⁷ Four MB extract tablets with medical omens are known from Nippur, all of which were written parallel to the long axis of the tablet and have numeric cryptic colophons (Rutz 2011).¹⁹⁸ In addition to these extract tablets, there is a longer diagnostic compendium from MB Nippur (2 NT 336 = IM 57947,¹⁹⁹ Labat 1956), which was found in Trench TA 70 III 2.²⁰⁰ This manuscript bears witness to a textual tradition that was not directly adopted into the subsequently standardized version. The colophon inscribed on the left edge reads: DUB.2.KAM DIŠ GIG *i-na* TE-ka “Second tablet: ‘If when you approach a sick man’” (Labat 1956: 122). Although this incipit is taken up as the name of the second sub-series of the canonical version of diagnostic omens, the Kassite source shows little correspondence with the specific contents of that text.²⁰¹ Even less is known about diagnostic omen traditions in circulation in Assyria in the later second millennium (Heeßel 2010). Several fragmentary texts of this kind are also known from late-second-millennium Ḫattuša, all of which were written in Akkadian with some Hittite, Luwian, and Hurrian glosses

¹⁹⁵ Although incantations were found in Emar that dealt with medical predicaments (see below), no medical prescriptive texts were excavated. The tablet edited by Tsukimoto 1999 may come from Emar, but because it was not excavated, it is excluded from the ‘Temple’ M₁ tablet collection. For these reasons I discuss the medical diagnostic-prognostic series here alongside the omen collections.

¹⁹⁶ A very few Seleucid Sumerian-Akkadian bilinguals were sometimes organized around a particular apodosis, e.g., *maršu šū ul iballuṭ* “this patient will not live” (SpTU 3, 86; Heeßel 2000: 130). As with the omen compendia dealing with the exta, the Sumerian version was probably a secondary back-translation.

¹⁹⁷ The contents of the unpublished OB medical texts from Ur are not clear (Finkel 2004), but perhaps there is some content relevant to medical diagnosis.

¹⁹⁸ The published pieces are: PBS 2/2, 104 = CBS 3424A (Heeßel 2000: 99–101); Ni 470 (Kraus 1987: 196–202, No. 2). I have identified two additional MB extracts CBS 3831 and CBS 12580 (Rutz 2011). CBS 12580 has the same layout and hand as CBS 3424A. Because Ni 470 was only published in transliteration, it is unclear whether it was also copied by the same scribe.

¹⁹⁹ “2 NB 336” is a corruption of 2 NT 336.

²⁰⁰ I am grateful to Richard Zettler for giving me the information about this tablet's find-spot.

²⁰¹ However, there are hints that this variant tradition persisted into the first millennium (STT 89; Stol 1993: 91–98).

(Wilhelm 1994; cf. Rutz 2011, forthcoming a). Curiously, none has yet been found in Ugarit.

The most substantial text corpus of medical omens is a product of the last century of the second millennium. The text is often referred to by the incipit *enūma ana bīt marši āšipu illaku* “When the exorcist goes to the patient’s house” (George 1991: 142, 142). Known also by the ancient title SA.GIG = *sakikkû*,²⁰² this omen series consisted of forty tablets organized into six sub-series (Heeßel 2000: 131–146). Despite the fact that the vast majority of sources for SA.GIG come from the first millennium (e.g., Nineveh, Kallû, Huzirîna, Babylon, Borsippa, and Uruk), it appears to have been organized and standardized in the later part of the second millennium. Several first-millennium texts attribute the editorial work that produced the series to one Esagil-kîn-apli, a scholar (*ummânu*) from Borsippa who served king Adad-apla-iddina (1068–1047 BCE),²⁰³ and was the putative descendant (*māru*) of one Asalluḫi-mansum, a sage (*apkallu*) in the time of Hammurapi of Babylon.²⁰⁴ The catalogue itself refers to the series SA.GIG as *rikis murši u rikis kûri* “the (tablet) collection (pertaining to) disease and the (tablet) collection (pertaining to) distress” (Finkel 1988: 148–149; CAD R 351b).²⁰⁵

Based on this information about when SA.GIG took its final form and the existence of texts like 2 NT 336 from Nippur, it is not surprising that the fragments from Emar correspond with the later texts only in part. Arnaud identified only three pieces (*Emar* 694, *Emar* 695, *Emar* 697). The Hurrian diagnostic omens from Emar remain unpublished, and even the total number of tablets and fragments is unknown (Laroche 1980a: 244).

Tablet 1, *Emar* 694 = Msk 74122a, consists of a large fragment from the middle of what is either the obverse or the reverse. The rulings are heavy, and the text is written in what appears to be the Syro-Hittite script. Part of

²⁰² SA.GIG = *sakikkû* is used to refer to both the name of a specific symptom and the series as a whole (CAD S 75). In the latter case “Symptome” may be the best gloss for SA.GIG (Heeßel 2000: 95–96).

²⁰³ Despite that fact that Esagil-kîn-apli is described as the DUMU = *mār* “son of” Asalluḫi-mansum, the former did not live during the reign of Hammurapi (so Jean 2006: 62, 72, 73 n. 268), which the colophon of the SA.GIG catalogue makes clear: *i-na BAL-e* ^[1d]ISKUR¹-DUMU.NITA-SUM-na LUGAL ^[KA₂]1.DINGIR.RA^[ki] “In the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, king of Babylon” (Finkel 1988: 148, A 53 = CTN 4, 17, cf. B 19’ = BM 41237+ with minor orthographic variants, Finkel 1988: 157).

²⁰⁴ For CTN 4, 71 and dupls., see Finkel 1988; for KAR 44 and dupls., see Geller 2000; Jean 2006: 63–82.

²⁰⁵ Note also the commentary on the first tablet of SA.GIG that gives the gloss SA.GIG : *ri-kis mur-šu* (CAD R 347b).

the text of Tablet 1 duplicates the text of SA.GIG 26, which bears the incipit *šumma miqtu inqussūma* ‘If *miqtu* (epilepsy) falls on him and,’ the first tablet of the fourth sub-series that bears the same name, *šumma miqtu inqussūma* (Stol 1993: 55–90; Heeßel 2000: 103, 278, 292). The term *miqtu* here refers to epilepsy (Stol 1993: 9–12), and another term for epilepsy, *bennu* (*Emar* 694:7’), also occurs in this text (Stol 1993: 5–7; cf. Avalos 2007: 134).²⁰⁶ Because the thematic organization of the earliest material is not systematic, it is impossible to determine whether the other fragments of diagnostic texts belong to Tablet 1 or constitute separate manuscripts. For that reason, they are kept separate in the present study and simply deemed fragments. An examination of the hand, layout, and physical characteristics of each fragment may clarify the manuscript situation.

In the case of the largest fragment (*Emar* 694) the situation is more complex, since Arnaud identified a parallel entry from *Sakikkû* 10 (TDP 82:27) in line 6’ (*Emar* 6/4, p. 317), and the last section preserved may parallel an entry in one of the sources from Ḫattuša (Wilhelm 1994: 31, A = KUB 37, 193+ r.9’). I have identified some additional parallels between entries in *Sakikkû* 16 (Heeßel 2000: 180) and *Emar* 694:15’–17’

Msk 74122a (*Emar* 6/1, p. 301)

15’ [DIŠ UD.MEŠ-š]u GID₂.DA-*ma gu-uḫ-ḫu* DAB-su ^{giš}NU.UR₂.M[A *i-ri-iš* BA.UG₇]

16:98’ DIŠ KIMIN(= UD.MEŠ-š_{u2} GID₂.DA.MEŠ-*ma*) *ḫu-qu* DAB.DAB-su ^{giš}NU.UR₂.MA APIN-*iš* GAM

If his life is long²⁰⁷ and cough²⁰⁸/*ḫūqu*²⁰⁹ (continually) seizes him, (and) he asks for a pomegranate, he will die.

16’ [DIŠ UD.MEŠ]-š_u GID₂.DA-*ma* SU-š_{u2} GIN₇ *si-ka-a-ti ša* [GA.RAŠ^{sar} SIG₇ ŠA₃.MEŠ-š_u *nap-ḫu*]

17’ [SA(.MEŠ) Š]A₃.MEŠ-š_u SIG₇-*tu₄* *ina*(AŠ) ŠA₃-*bi pur-ru-ku₈* BA.[UG₇]

16:92’ DIŠ KIMIN(= UD.MEŠ-š_{u2} GID₂.DA.MEŠ-*ma*) SU-š_{u2} GIN₇ KIMIN(= *si-ka-a-ti ana* GA.RAŠ^{sar})

SIG₇ ŠA₃.MEŠ-š_{u2} *nap-ḫu* SA ŠA₃-š_{u2} SIG₇ GIB.ME GAM

²⁰⁶ The cluster of terms and associated texts that Stol (1993) identifies as epilepsy may in fact treat a variety of convulsive disorders. The terminology of epilepsy is difficult to pin down even in modern medical practice (Avalos 2007: 132–135).

²⁰⁷ Literally, ‘his days are long’. Relying on STT 2, 400:45–47 (note line 46: 70 UD.MEŠ GID₂.DA.ME[Š]), Scurlock translates DIŠ UD.MEŠ-š_{u2} GID₂.DA.MEŠ ‘If he is in his seventies’ (Scurlock and Anderson 2005: 24).

²⁰⁸ Following the *Emar* version; CAD G 125a sub *guḫḫu*; Scurlock and Anderson 2005: 178–179.

²⁰⁹ Following *Sakikkû*. The poorly attested (and possibly onomatopoeic?) symptom *ḫūqu* usually precedes death (Adamson 1979: 6; Scurlock and Anderson 2005: 560, Ap. 53). Perhaps *guḫḫu* and *ḫūqu* are related by metathesis?

If his life is long and his body is yellow like the powder²¹⁰ of²¹¹ a leek, his insides are bloated, (and) the yellow ‘cords’ of his insides lie across his abdomen,²¹² he will die.

The next entry in the Emar manuscript appears to duplicate another entry in *Sakikkû* 16, but the line needs to be collated:

18' [DIŠ UD.MEŠ-šu G]ID₂.DA-ma MUD₂¹² ina(AŠ) KIR₄¹²-šu [D]U-ku' x[
16:96' DIŠ KIMIN(= UD.MEŠ-šu₂ GID₂.DA.MEŠ-ma) MUD₂ ina(AŠ) KIR₄ DU-ku DIN

If his life is long and blood runs from (his) nose, he will recover.²¹³

Other parallels in this texts are even less certain,²¹⁴ including:

20' [] ša₂-qam₂-ma GU₇ ŠUKU-at [
16:97' DIŠ KIMIN(= UD.MEŠ-šu₂ GID₂.DA.MEŠ-ma) GU₇ u NAG NU ZU ŠUKU
KI.MAḤ-šu₂^{hi-pi₂}

If his life is long and he is unable to eat or drink,^{215 break} (he has taken)²¹⁶ the provisions for his grave, [he will die].

The fragment *Emar* 695 = Msk 74127a, is either the upper or lower right corner. The text shares some affinities with the text of *Sakikkû* 29, *šumma*

²¹⁰ The writing *si-ka-a-ti* occurs in both sources (LBA Emar and LB Uruk, SpTU 2, 44), but its meaning has been disputed. Based on *sikkatu*, ‘peg, nail’, Scurlock has suggested that *si-ka-a-ti ana* G.A.R.AŠ^{sar} is “the ‘peg’ on a leek” (Scurlock and Anderson 2005: 24–25 with n. 74), but I am not aware of any attestation of a leek (or any plant) being described as having a *sikkatu* (CAD S 247–251 sub *sikkatu* A). Following von Weiher, Heeßel (2000: 185) translates *si-ka-a-tu* “das Zerstoßene” without comment, clearly based on *siktu* ‘powder(?)’ (CAD S 259–260 sub *siktu*). It is interesting to note that crushed leeks do appear in some medical prescriptions, e.g., DIŠ KIMIN(= NA ŠA₃-šu₂ GIG) G.A.R.AŠ^{sar} *pu-ut-ta-ti ta-sak₃ ina* GA NAG, “If ditto (= a man’s insides are sick), you crush . . . leeks (and) he drinks (them) in milk” (BAM VI, 575 i 19, cf. CAD P 546b sub *puttû*). The comparison NA₄ GAR-šu₂ GIN₇ G.A.R.AŠ^{sar} SIG₇ also occurs in a Middle Assyrian text of *abnu šikinšu* (BAM II, 194 vii’ 11’, see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 33).

²¹¹ The Emar version would seem to give some credence to Heeßel’s (2000: 193) suspicion that *ana*(DIŠ) should be read *ša₂*’ (cf. Emar: *ša*) in *Sakikkû* 16:91’.

²¹² This translation follows the Emar version, cf. Heeßel 2000: 185; Scurlock and Anderson 2005: 546, 20.94. The last expression bears some resemblance to an entry in Tablet 36 of *Sakikkû*: DIŠ (TU *mu-uh₂* UBUR-ša₂ SA.MEŠ) SIG₇.MEŠ *pur-ru-ku* (TDP 204:55).

²¹³ Cf. Scurlock and Anderson 2005, 547, 20.98.

²¹⁴ Line 4’, cf. *Sakikkû* 23 (TDP 180:29); line 5’, cf. *Sakikkû* 14 (TDP 130:30; cf. Wilhelm 1994: 51; Heeßel 2000: 373 on *Sakikkû* 33:102); lines 11’–12’, cf. *Sakikkû* 13 (TDP 116:56’–59’); parallels for lines 13’–14’ are still unclear to me; line 19’, cf. *Sakikkû* 16:93’–95’ (Heeßel 2000: 180); in line 21’ perhaps read [DIŠ *pi*]-*ri-it* SAG.DU-šu *zaq_x/sa_x* (SAG)-*pat₂ ina*(AŠ) E[*DIN*’], cf. *Sakikkû* 3 (TDP 30:101–102; cf. Wilhelm 1994: 60, H, line 2; CAD S 226–227 sub *sepû* A).

²¹⁵ The translation follows *Sakikkû*. The Emar version could be based on NAG = *ša₂qû* ‘to give to drink’ versus the expected NAG = *šatû* ‘to drink.’

²¹⁶ Cf. ŠUKU *qu-bu-ri-šu₂ il-qe₂* GAM (*Sakikkû* 17:24, see Heeßel 2000: 197).

bēl ūri (^dLUGAL.UR₃.RA) *ittišu alid* “If ‘the Lord of the Roof’/Lugalurra²¹⁷ is born with him,” the poorly documented and idiosyncratic fourth tablet of the fourth sub-series *šumma miqtu imqussūma* (Heeßel 2000: 318–338, esp. 335).²¹⁸ The expression *riḫûṭ*(A.RI.A) ^d*Šul-pa-e₃[-a]* “sperm of Šulpaea” (*Emar* 695:4) is yet another expression related to seizures (Stol 1993: 14–16; CAD R 342b; cf. Avalos 2007: 134–135).

The third fragment, *Emar* 697 = Msk 74159aa, is a tiny piece from the left corner. Only the first few signs of the protases are preserved, but *Emar* 697 most resembles part of *Sakikkû* 6, *šumma appašu* “If his nose,” the fourth tablet of the second sub-series *ana marši ina teḫīka* “When you approach a sick man” (Finkel 1988: 146; Heeßel 2000: 133, 142).²¹⁹ The expression *šār appi* (written IM KA = TU₁₅ KIR₄), literally “wind of the nose,” is a locution for breathing through the nose (CAD Š/2 139b sub *šāru* A). Significantly, the phrase occurs in *Sakikkû*, albeit in a somewhat broken context, for example: DIŠ TU₁₅ KIR₄-*šu₂* *ina* KA-*šu₂* E₃-*a* “if the breath of his nose comes out of his mouth” (Labat 1951: 56, pl. X, K. 2243+:32). The same phrase, written syllabically [*ša*]-*a-ar ap-pi₂-šu*, also appears in the protases of a few diagnostic omens found in one of the manuscripts from Ḫattuša (Wilhelm 1994: 22, 24–25, 29, pl. I, A:15–22).²²⁰ The *Emar* fragment reads as follows:

Msk 74159aa (*Emar* 6/2, p. 407)

- 1 DIŠ IM KIR₁₄-[*šu₂*
- 2 DIŠ IM KIR₁₄-*šu₂* [
- 3 [DIŠ *in*]a(A)Š] SA[G KIR₁₄-*šu₂*(?)

If the breath (lit. ‘wind’) from [his] nose [
 If the breath from his nose [
 [If] on top [of his nose] (?)

It is worth noting that *Emar* 694–695 are both written in the familiar Syro-Hittite style (Cohen 2009: 214), but it is the orthography and paleography of this third source from *Emar* that is the most intriguing.

²¹⁷ On the DN ^dLUGAL.UR₃.RA, see Stol 1993: 16–19, 88–89. The demon associated with the roof (^dLUGAL.UR₃.RA) survives in the later Aramaic expression *bny ṽgry* “sons of the roof,” which is found in a variety of textual genres from late antiquity (Kwasman 2007: 165–169, 180–183).

²¹⁸ Kinnier Wilson (2007) has suggested that this text deals with childhood convulsions.

²¹⁹ As noted above, although the incipit *ana marši ina teḫīka* “When you approach the patient” is attested in the colophon of one MB compendium from Nippur (2 NT 336 le. ed.), the texts bear little else in common.

²²⁰ Wilhelm (1994: 74) also notes that KBo 35, 15 also may belong to his Tablet A, since it reads *ša-a-ar [ap-pi₂-šu₂]*.

The logogram for 'nose' is usually KA = KIR₄ in Mesopotamian cuneiform, but in both instances where it occurs in this fragment the sign appears to be KA×GAG = KIR₁₄ (HZL no. 140). As far as I know, this sign is not attested in Babylonia or Assyria in any period, so its existence should be attributed to an Anatolian or North Syrian scribal innovation. A number of inscribed KA-signs were added to the inventory used to write the Hittite text corpus, among them KA×U for 'mouth'²²¹ and KA×UD = ZU₉ for 'tooth' (usually KA = ZU₂; cf. ZU₉ in Wilhelm 1994: 57, G r.3'). The sign KIR₁₄ occurs in a variety of types of tablets found in Ḫattuša, including a diagnostic-prognostic fragment (Wilhelm 1994: 69, M // *Sakikkû* 36) as well as in texts that were certainly produced locally.²²² *Emar* 697 is a small fragment, so it would be imprudent to make it bear too heavy a burden in the reconstruction of textual transmission; nevertheless, the sign choice suggests a Hittite or North Syrian origin of this particular manuscript or, at very least, its pedigree.²²³ It is also worth noting that the first two lines of *Emar* 697 illustrate the use of DIŠ to introduce the protasis in the entry, which occurs in some sources from Ḫattuša but not in others.

Finally, still unpublished from the diviners' tablet collection in Emar are "une douzaine de grandes tablettes et des centaines d'éclats, rédigés en langue hurrite", among them an unspecified number "des pronostics médicaux" (Laroche 1980a: 244). From this anecdotal account it is impossible to determine the degree to which any of the Hurrian sources reflect Babylonian/Assyrian originals let alone whether there are any discernible parallels to be found in the standard diagnostic-prognostic series.

The three Akkadian fragments all came from Locus 1 West (2, M III NE; 1, M III SE). A number of Hurrian fragments were recovered somewhere in the building, but nothing of substance has been published, neither their number nor the information about where they were found.

²²¹ The sign KA×U is also attested sporadically in some copies of literary texts from Amarna (EA 359, see Izre'el 1997: 66–68), Emar (*Emar* 778; 781 = George 2003: 328–331; 783 = Wilcke 1989) and Ugarit (*Emar* 778 // *Ugaritica* 5, 163 = Arnaud 2007: no. 49, see p. 161).

²²² E.g., translations of Akkadian texts, such as Hittite divination compendia of physiognomic omens (KUB 43, 8, see Riemschneider 2004: 149) and teratological omens (KBo 13, 34, iii? 17', see Riemschneider 1970: 26), as well as genuine Hittite compositions like the Hittite Laws, copies of which stem from multiple periods (Hoffner 1997: 320).

²²³ That is, perhaps much in the same way that "hethitische Schreiber bei der Abschrift akkadischer Texte mittanischer Herkunft die Zeichenformen der Vorlagen zu imitieren suchten" (Wilhelm 1994: 8).

Oracle Reports

Like Mesopotamian extispicy reports,²²⁴ the Hittite oracle texts created a means by which humans could solicit divine information (van den Hout 2003b). A number of different techniques were employed including extispicy, animal behavior, birds (exta and behavior), and lots. The corpus of oracle texts from Ḫattuša is relatively large, and most of the sources date to the last two or three generations of the Hittite empire (ca. 1240–1180 BCE). Texts of this kind are attested elsewhere as well, including at sites such as Kuşaklı (ancient Šarišša, Wilhelm 1997: *passim*), Maşat-Höyük, Ortaköy (ancient Šapinuwa), and Alalaḫ (ALT 454, edited by O. R. Gurney in Wiseman 1953: 116–118).

The four Hittite oracles from Emar, or “compte-rendus divinatoires,” contain considerably less detail than their counterparts from Anatolia proper, and in size and format the Emar oracles are more akin to letters (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 247). The texts share enough traits in common to suggest that they are all contemporary, and the use of both the local pantheon and local cultic vocabulary suggest that they were produced in Emar (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 248 and *passim*). However, in the first description of the Hittite text corpus from Emar, Laroche (1980a: 241) noted that the oracles “se distinguent aussitôt des documents émarites par la couleur [not always a valid criterion], le ductus, la facture et le syllabiare, qui sont hittites et non syriens.” Thus, these tablets appear to have been imported to the site or were produced by Hittite scribes residing in Emar.

The structure of the Hittite oracle texts is consistent across the manuscripts (already Laroche 1980a). In all of the texts the gods express anger over matters related to their temples as well as the behavior of the king. In these texts the figure of the king most likely refers to the king of Karkamiš and not the great king in Ḫattuša (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 236). What follows is a series of queries about specific offenses, objects, or festivals, followed by some corrective and/or the resulting observation. Between each response and the next query is inserted “observation favorable.” The queries thus created a chain, since the answer to one led to the next. Each text begins with a query put to the temple of a specific deity. The last section following all of the questions and answers consists of a laconic description of the animal’s exta. It may be tempting to try to

²²⁴ See above.

connect the missing silver objects mentioned in these texts with the affair of Tawannanna in the court of Muṣṣili II, but the overlap in subject matter is probably merely a coincidence.²²⁵

The excavation numbers of the Hittite oracle reports require some modification. This is due to the fact that several of the excavation numbers of Hittite fragments are identical to those of pieces inscribed in Sumerian and/or Akkadian.²²⁶ In Emar 6/1–4 the means of resolving this issue was to assign sequential letters of the alphabet to separate pieces, which, for whatever reason, all bear the same excavation number.

Tablet 1, *SMEA* 45, 3 = Msk 7457 + Msk 7498a², is nearly complete, since only the lower right corner is missing. Based on the sequence Msk 7498b–o (Emar 6/1, p. 11), it seems likely that the Hittite fragment bore the number given here. The text of Tablet 1 consists of a query about the temple of the goddess Ninkur. The end of the text indicates that two methods were employed for the query, lots (KIN) and extispicy (SU.MEŠ).

Tablet 2, *SMEA* 45, 4 = Msk 7458 + Msk 74114m¹² + Msk 74126e¹², is almost intact. Only the upper right corner is missing. Based on the sequence Msk 74114a–l (Emar 6/1, p. 13) and the sequence Msk 74126a–d (Emar 6/1, p. 14), it appears that the excavation numbers here require some modification. The text of Tablet 2 consists of a query about the temple of the protective deity of the market ⁴LAMMA KI.LAM. Extispicy is the only divinatory technique indicated in the text.

Tablet 3, *SMEA* 45, 5 = Msk 7492 + Msk 74102q¹² + Msk 74110l¹², is missing the lower left quarter (Laroche 1982: 54–55, fig. 2), but a looted fragment from the antiquities market appears to fill some of the gap (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 259–260). Based on the sequence Msk 74102a–p (Emar 6/1, p. 11) and the sequence Msk 74110a–k (Emar 6/1, pp. 12–13), two of the excavation numbers require further modification. Unlike the other oracle reports from Emar, Tablet 3 has two queries. The obverse and top of the reverse are concerned with a query about the temple of the goddess Ištar

²²⁵ See the discussion of this episode by Singer (2002: 70–77). Tawannanna, the daughter of a Kassite king of Babylonia and the second wife of Šuppiluliuma I, survived her husband and remained actively involved in the court and cult during the reigns of Arnuwanda II and, shortly thereafter, Muṣṣili II. When the latter's wife became ill and died, the blame eventually came to fall on Tawannanna. Among her alleged perfidious acts was some effort to abscond with what is referred to only as the silver of the land of Aštata. Although tantalizing, this court drama in Ḫattuša probably has no direct bearing on the excavated text corpus from Emar.

²²⁶ This evidently also happened with the preliminary description of some of the fragments of the Weidner God List discussed above.

of Battle. The remainder of the reverse has a query about the temple of the moon-god Šaggar. Both were carried out with extispicy.

Tablet 4, *SMEA* 45, 6 = Msk 731096, is only fragmentary. Some of the upper and right edges are preserved. The text is unorthodox in that on the reverse some of the inscription runs perpendicular to the expected layout. The object of the query is uncertain.

All of the Hittite oracle reports from Emar were found in 'Temple' M₁, but the specific find-spot units are not given in the publication (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 225). Based on its 730000 number, one piece was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973. The remaining tablets and fragments were found in 1974, and at some point one piece was looted from the site. However, as already noted, further information about where these pieces were found remains unpublished. Other pieces written in Akkadian and Sumerian bear excavation numbers that are identical to or close to those of the Hittite oracle reports. Based on these numbers and the sequence of excavation numbers (see references above), it is at least plausible that all of the pieces excavated in 1974 came from Locus 1 West (M III NE). Until the final report is published, this remains mere conjecture.

Miscellaneous Omen Compendia and Fragments

Based on content and phraseology, it is possible to categorize a few more fragments as omen texts. However, due to incomplete preservation, it is not possible to specify a subgenre or name a textual tradition. Arnaud edited many of these fragments and made a few provisional identifications (see Appendix B.6.8.1). I have identified five more possible fragmentary pieces of omen compendia: Msk 74159m; Msk 74198ab; Msk 74234l; Msk 74345e; Msk 7482e.

Tablet 1, Msk 74224 (Laroche 1982: 59–60, fig. 9), is the one piece identifiable here as a discrete source. Based on certain elements of nominal and verbal morphology, it is clear that Tablet 1 was written in Hurrian, albeit a mixed Akkadian-Hurrian dialect (Laroche 1982: 60). It is difficult to determine the precise nature of the omen text because the protases all begin BE MIN "If ditto." However, it is worth noting that the text refers to Syrian toponyms such as Aleppo, Ebla, and Karkamiš.

All of the omen texts from Emar were found in 'Temple' M₁. It is unclear where exactly the Hurrian tablets were excavated, but based on the sequence Msk 74221d (M III NE), Msk 74224 = Tablet 1, Msk 74226a (M III SE) it is likely that Msk 74224 came from Locus 1 West. Most of the fragments were excavated in Locus 1 West (26, M III NE; 5, M III SE). Two fragments

Table 14. ‘Temple’ M₁: Divinatory Texts, Genre by Tablet Type

| <i>Divinatory</i> | <i>Tablets</i> | | | | <i>Fragments</i> | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| <i>bārûtu</i> | 6 | 0 | 2 | 8* | 3 | 0 | 6 | 9* |
| Liver Models | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| EAE | 1 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 13 | 14 |
| Almanac | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>iqqur îpuš G</i> | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>iqqur îpuš M</i> | 0 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 10 | 33 | 43 |
| <i>šumma immeru</i> | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| <i>šumma alpû</i> | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>šumma izbu</i> | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| SA.GIG | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1* | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2* |
| Reports | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 29 | 34 |
| Uncertain | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 30 | 35 |
| TOTAL | 7 | 16 | 12 | 35* | 4 | 26 | 121 | 151* |
| % | 20 | 46 | 34 | 100 | 3 | 17 | 80 | 100 |

* The total number of unpublished Hurrian tablets and fragments is uncertain.

were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973. For one fragment, the find-spot square and unit are unclear.

The last group of omen texts are uncertain fragments, the generic classification of which is highly uncertain. Most of the uncertain omen fragments were found in Locus 1 West (28, M III NE; 5, M III SE). One uncertain fragment was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973, and the find-spot of another fragment is uncertain.

Incantations and Rituals (Appendix B.7)

Incantations are attested in cuneiform starting in the mid-third millennium (Falkenstein 1931; Geller 2002). ED incantations in Sumerian and Akkadian are known from Fara, Abu Salabikh, and Ebla (Krebernik 1984, 1996b), and a number of Sumerian incantations are attested in Nippur in the Ur III period (van Dijk and Geller 2003). Taken together, these third-millennium sources form a relatively heterogeneous group. Both Sumerian and Akkadian incantation traditions continued to circulate in the OB period (Cunningham 1997; Geller 1999–2000). At that time a tradition also existed in Babylonia whereby incantations in other languages were copied, including incantations in Elamite and Hurrian (van Dijk 1982; Krebernik 2001: 157–159; Prechel and Richter 2001; Böck 2007: 309–310).

This practice continued in the latter half of the second millennium, especially in Syria and Anatolia. Syllabic Sumerian and Akkadian incantations as well as alphabetic incantations in Ugaritic and Hurrian are known from Ugarit, and a very large number of incantations were recovered from Hattuša in Hittite as well as in a large number of foreign languages, among them Hattic, Luwian, Hurrian, Sumerian, and Akkadian. This great profusion of different types of incantation texts in a great number of different languages highlights one of the most salient features of incantations as a genre, namely that their efficacy was believed to depend heavily on the power of the words themselves. This fact explains the persistence of texts written in languages well outside of the spoken or even written vernacular of a given place and time. As with many other genres of cuneiform literature, incantations underwent an editing process that resulted in a number of incantation series. There are indications that some elements of this process took place toward the end of the second millennium, but here the evidence is less secure than with other genres (Schramm 2001: 11; see Al-Jadir 1987: 21, 23).

The text corpus of incantations from Emar is relatively small and requires some further clarification. In his edition Arnaud differentiates between “incantations mésopotamiennes” (*Emar* 729–738) and “rituels mésopotamiens” (*Emar* 739–766). In terms of the fragmentary texts present in Emar this distinction is not altogether clear, all the more so due to the fact that not a single “rituel mésopotamien” is preserved in its entirety. Certain key terms and expressions occur in both groups.²²⁷ Elements of ritual are found in at least one incantation,²²⁸ and incantations are named in what Arnaud terms rituals.²²⁹

As with a number of the other genres discussed above, a handful of tablets from the antiquities market have been described as incantations from Emar. Two other therapeutic texts were looted from the Middle Euphrates

²²⁷ Note the presences of the quintessential rubric $tu_6 en_2 e_2-nu-ru$ in different forms in both types of text (Krebern timer 1984: 197–200); cf. one Ur III writing $[e]n-in-nu-ri_x$ (NE.RU) (Waetzoldt and Yildiz 1986: 296–297). For the incantations, note: $en_2 e_2-ne-nu-ru$ (*Emar* 729:9, 23, 50; cf. *Emar* 735:35'); $tu e-ne-nu-ra$ (*Emar* 737:15). For the rituals, note: $[(tu_6) en_2 e_2-n]e-nu-ru$ (*Emar* 758:4'). Note also the expressions $eme-hul-gal_2 bar-še_3 he_2-en-da-gub$ (“incantation”: *Emar* 729:22, 34, in line 22 the sign is EME = KA×ME; cf. “ritual”: *Emar* 743:3) and $zi an-na he_2-pad_3$ (“incantation”: *Emar* 729:23; cf. “ritual”: *Emar* 742:4').

²²⁸ See *Emar* 735:36'–42', which begins with the heading $KID_3.KID_3.B[1]$ (cf. Maul 2009) followed by various ritual items. It must be noted that what is lacking here is a ritual proper.

²²⁹ Note the expressions that indicate incantations $ka-inim-ma$ (*Emar* 739:18'; *Emar* 753:2') and tu_6-tu_6 (*Emar* 757:10').

(SMEA 30, no. 27; Tsukimoto 1999; cf. Böck 2007: 42; Cohen 2009: 216–219). Another text attributed to Emar is an Akkadian ŠU.IL₂.LA₂ from the antiquities market (Zgoll 2003: 24–25, 107–147, Ištār 10 E), but no text of this kind was excavated. None of these tablets can be clearly placed in the tablet collection from 'Temple' M₁.

Tablet 1, *Emar* 729 = Msk 74102a + Msk 74107ai, is almost completely preserved, with only the lower right corner of the tablet missing. Written in the Syro-Hittite style, the text of Tablet 1 corresponds more or less to the third tablet of the first-millennium incantation series UDUG.ĪL.A.MEŠ = *utukkū lemnūtu* (Geller 2008: xi). The text can be divided into four sections: lines 1–9 (cf. Geller 2008: 108); lines 10–23 (cf. Geller 2008: 122–123); lines 24–35 (cf. Geller 2008: 100–101); and lines 36–50. Unlike the bilingual canonical series, the first three sections of the Emar text are written only in Sumerian, a trait Tablet 1 shares in common with the OB text of *udug-Īl* (Geller 1985). However, the last few lines of Tablet 1 (section four, lines 36–50) contain a few phrases in Akkadian.

Tablet 2, *Emar* 732 = Msk 74107ak, is known only from a small fragment from the upper left corner. If this piece is from the obverse, then the incipit is *sag-gig kur-ta* [...] "Headache... from the mountain/netherworld..." (*Emar* 732:1). Typically SAG.GIG is a writing for Akkadian *dī'u* (CAD D 165–166), but note the Akkadianized form of the word found in Ugarit *sak-ki-ga-a* (Arnaud 2007: 78, no. 21:36). The incipit of Tablet 2 appears to have been corrupted from something akin to the first line of the first tablet of the series SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ (CT 17, 25:1–2²³⁰):

sag-gig e₂-kur-ta nam-ta-e₃

dī-'u ul-tu E₂-kur it-ta-ša-a

However, the subsequent lines of Tablet 2 do not follow the first-millennium version. There are demonstrable connections between the series *Muššu'u* and the incantation series SAG.GIG.GA.MEŠ (Finkel 1991: 93–96 100–101; Böck 2007: 23–24). The incipit *en₂ sag-gig* 'e₂¹-[ku]r-ta is also cited in a first-millennium *Muššu'u* ritual tablet from Nineveh (Böck 2003: 3, line 5).

Tablet 3, *Emar* 735 = Msk 74147b (+) Msk 74179 (+) *Emar* 736 = Msk 74146q, is fragmentary. Only the upper half of this Syro-Hittite tablet is preserved, and the upper right quadrant of the obverse is badly effaced.

²³⁰ Restored from CT 17, 26:51–52, which adds *a-a-ġu₁₀* // *a-bi* at the beginning of the line.

Nevertheless, the text is identifiable as a version of the later incantation series *Muššu'u* (Böck 2007: 25–26, 42, 261–279, Q, EN₂ *šim-ma-tum šim-ma-tum*). The intent of this incantation is to counteract paralysis, as is indicated by its incipit: *šimmatu šimmatu* “Paralysis, paralysis” (*Emar* 735:1; cf. CAD Š/3 7–8). A similar incantation is included in a MB compendium of prescriptions from Nippur (Ni. 178; BAM 398 rev. 4'–23'; Böck 2007: 264–281). However, the overlap between the Emar and Nippur texts is minimal (Böck 2007: 272, lines 33–37). There are contemporary parallels that were later incorporated into the same incantation series. In Ugarit there were two copies of a forerunner to the fifth tablet of *Muššu'u* (Böck 2007: 42, 43, cf. 191–196, U; Arnaud 2007: 77–88, no. 21: RS 15.152 // RS 17.155), and from Ḫattuša there is a second-millennium version of part of what eventually became the sixth tablet of *Muššu'u* (Böck 2007: 42, 227–233, F).

Tablet 4*, *Emar* 737 = Msk 731030, is not properly a separate tablet. The Akkadian incantation in question constitutes an appendix to the copy of Hh 3–5a written by the junior diviner (I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR) Ribī-Dagān (see Appendix C.1.3). The incantation is a partial duplicate of a later incantation that deals with some gastrointestinal ailment (BAM 574 iv 17–22, 24–29, 34–35; see Scurlock and Anderson 2005: 116–117, 6.1).

A number of other fragments in both Sumerian and Akkadian have phraseology that is indicative of incantations as a genre. However, identifications and joins are very difficult to make in this group of texts. It may be that some of these fragments constitute separate manuscripts, but this study will err on the side of caution and count these pieces as discrete fragments.

All of the Mesopotamian incantations and associated rituals were excavated from ‘Temple’ M₁. The vast majority of incantation fragments were excavated from Locus 1 West (30, M III NE; 5, M III SE). One fragment was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973.²³¹ One fragment came from either Locus 1 or Locus 2 (M I NE).

A handful of fragments may belong to some incantation text, but many of these pieces are uncertain. For example, one fragment that Arnaud identified as an incantation may be a piece of the bilingual literary text referred to as the Fowler (Msk 74238t; Civil 1989b: 7), but too little is preserved to tell.

²³¹ Note that Ribī-Dagān’s copy of Hh 3–5a (Msk 731030) with the Akkadian incantation appendix was also recovered from either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1973.

Table 15. 'Temple' M₁: Incantations and Rituals, Genre by Tablet Type

| <i>Incantation</i> | <i>Tablets</i> | | | | <i>Fragments</i> | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| udug-ḫul | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| sag-gig | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| šimmatu | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 20 | 29 |
| Uncertain | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 13 |
| TOTAL | 0* | 2 | 1 | 3* | 0 | 11 | 33 | 44 |
| % | 0 | 67 | 33 | 100 | 0 | 25 | 75 | 100 |

(* See also *Emar* 543–545 A = *Emar* 737)

All of the uncertain incantation fragments were found in 'Temple' M₁. Twelve pieces came from Locus 1 West (11, M III NE; 1, M III SE). One fragment was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 2 (M I NE).

Literary Texts (Appendix B.8)

The literary corpus from Emar consists of Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual compositions and Akkadian compositions. All of the texts are known from other contemporary sites or other periods. That is, unlike the indigenous literary output known from Ugarit (e.g., KTU² 1 passim), no unique literary texts are known to have been composed in Emar. Furthermore, while literary texts appear to have been integrated into the scribal curriculum at other sites and periods (e.g., OB period, Tinney 1999), none of the literary texts from Emar is obviously a school text per se. The total number of literary tablets is considerably fewer than that of other genres (about 4%, see Appendix D), and no text is extant in more than two copies. As one might expect, the themes of the Mesopotamian literature imported to Emar were those with some universal appeal, drawn typically from what is referred to in modern scholarship as wisdom literature (Klein 1999: 204).

As with other genres, only excavated tablets are considered to be a part of the tablet collection from 'Temple' M₁. As an example of what has been excluded, a rare Akkadian-Hurrian bilingual fragment (Krebernik 1996a) has been identified as a version of the Instructions of Šuruppak from Emar (Alster 2005: 48). However, it does not join any of the published fragments, and no text of this nature has been described in the published descriptions of the Hurrian texts from 'Temple' M₁ (Laroche 1980a, 1982, 1989). Significantly, Krebernik (1996a: 170) was less sanguine about ascribing a precise provenience to this text, suggesting merely a

late-second-millennium Anatolian or Syrian origin. Also excluded is the unprovenienced fragment AuOrS 1, 101 (Civil 1996), which is a piece of an OB literary letter from Šîn-iddinam, king of Larsa, to Utu (Brisch 2007: 75–81, 158–178, source Em).

Ballad of Early Rulers

The composition known by the incipit *ki ʿen-ki-ke₄ ḡiš-ḫur ḫur-ḫur-re / itti Ea uššurā ušurātu* “With Enki/Ea (divine) plans are drawn” has been edited under various modern titles, such as the “Sumerian poem about early rulers” (Alster and Jeyes 1986; Alster 1990, 2005: 288–322) and “La ‘Ballade des héros du temps jadis’” (*Emar* 767; Arnaud 2007: 142). The content of this short composition consists of a series of observations about the transience of mortal existence and the importance of leading a joyful life. To illustrate this point the text gives examples of great figures from Mesopotamian literature, most of whom are readily identifiable: Alulu (= Alulim), Entena (= Etana), Gilgameš, Ziusudra, Ḫuwawa, and Enkidu (Wilcke 1988: 134–136). The Emar version adds two otherwise unidentified characters to this list, Bazi and Zizi, who may derive from some Syrian tradition (Klein 1999: 207 n. 25). The earliest known version of this text is attested in copies that may come from OB Sippar (Alster 1999: 89, 2005: 298) or perhaps even Babylon.²³² Since none of these early second-millennium sources was excavated properly, the precursors of the LBA Syrian copies can tell us little about the possible origins of the later versions. However, it should be noted that this composition has not been found in the OB Nippur corpus, even if thematically similar minor compositions are known.²³³ Fragmentary sources of this text were identified at

²³² BM 80091 (collective; Alster and Jeyes 1986); CT 44, 18 (collective); and CBS 1208 (collective) rev. ii 95–98, Khabaza collection (Alster 1990; Alster 2005: 266, 288–311). Both CT 44, 18 and CBS 1208 are collectives with similar compositions, though CBS 1208 would appear to contain a shorter text of at least one composition. For example, CBS 1208 is the upper portion of a tablet that originally had at least four short compositions (Alster 2005: 266): Hymn to Marduk for a King (Black et al. 1998–2006 c.2.8.5.b): col. i 1–13 (ruling: “13 (lines)”; col. i 14–17, (gap) col. ii 1–9 (ruling: “16 (lines)”; Abi-Ešuh B (Black et al. 1998–2006 c.2.8.5.a): col. ii 10–15, col. iii (rev.) 1’–9’; “Nothing is of Value (niḡ₂-nam)” Version C (Alster 2005: 273–274): col. iii 10’–17’; Ballad of Early Rulers (Alster 2005: 298, 303–305): col. iv 1’–7’.

²³³ E.g., the large, difficult fragment CBS 13777, which is all that remains of a source that originally contained at least two compositions (Alster 2005: 266, 272–273, 282, 323–326). Though CBS 13777 does not duplicate any of the literary texts found in Emar, a bilingual version is attested in Ugarit, RS 25.130 (Ugaritica 5, 164; see Alster 1999: 89). Note that “CBS

Ugarit, and the Ugarit version, not surprisingly, shows great affinity with the version from Emar (Arnaud 2007: 142–148, no. 48). Only one manuscript from the first millennium has been found so far (Alster 2005: 299, 320–322). However, the incipit of the Ballad of Early Rulers appears to be given as the last entry in the first-millennium catalogue of compositions classified as Sidu (Finkel 1986, K.1870:35). The Fowler (see below) is also listed in this catalogue (line 11). Thus, from what we can tell at present, the series Sidu appears to have consisted of what we may now call wisdom literature.²³⁴

Arnaud identified nine fragments of this text (*Emar* 767) that can be assigned to two tablets. Tablet 1 consists of a large central piece, Aiv: Msk 74153+, to which several fragments can be joined. In addition to the fragments assembled by Arnaud, Civil (1989b: 7) identified a possible fragment of this manuscript that appears to preserve the left edge of the tablet: Msk 74159n. This copy was written in the Syro-Hittite style. The layout of the main manuscript exhibits a bilingual format with three columns per side: Sumerian (left), unorthographic (or phonetic) Sumerian (middle), and Akkadian (right). A similar format is found in Ḫattuša (Cooper 1971: 5–9; cf. Schwemer 2001: 191–196). One striking physical feature of the tablet is the fact that the three columns of text are written parallel to the long axis of the tablet. This layout is standard for the Syro-Hittite contracts, however, most Syro-Hittite-style scholarly tablets do not adhere to this convention. It may well be that this tablet shape was merely a product of the length of the text and the need for three columns. The paleographic colophon is partially damaged, but enough is preserved to identify the scribe as the diviner Šaggar-abu (Cohen 2006; see Appendix C.1.1, C3).

Only a small fragment of Tablet 2 is preserved, namely, B: Msk 74159j (cf. *Emar* 767:6–8). Although not certain, it was probably also written in the Syro-Hittite script. It is only possible to identify this piece as a separate source because it is a duplicate of Avi: Msk 74137m, the middle column of Tablet 1. The lineation of Tablet 2 also appears to be somewhat different, since the text of Avi (Tablet 1) occupies one line and the text of B (Tablet 2) occupies two.

1377" is an OB letter (AbB 11, 44), not "a Nippur ancestor with the end of this text in a different literary context" (Civil 1989b: 7), and thus simply a typo for the intended CBS 13777.

²³⁴ For a subsequent quotation from the wisdom series Sidu in a commentary from LB Uruk, see Finkel 2006: 141, 145; cf. Frahm 2010: 168–176.

Of the eight pieces from Tablet 1, seven came from Locus 1 West (3, M III NE-SE; 2, M III NE; 2, M III SE). It is unclear where the remaining fragment was found in ‘Temple’ M₁. The fragment of Tablet 2 was found in Locus 1 West (M III SE).

Benediction for the King

The tablet Msk 74243 is a perfectly preserved manuscript of a Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual composition is known by the incipit *ti-la lugal-ĝu₁₀ / buluṭ bēlī* (Emar 775). Msk 74243 is the only copy of the text from Emar. In the edition Arnaud (Emar 6/4, pp. 374–376) noted the fragmentary duplicates from Ugarit RS 79.025A (unorthographic Sumerian) // RS 79.025B (Akkadian) that he had edited a few years earlier (Arnaud 1982b: 209–216). The text is otherwise without parallel, so the source from Emar is of paramount importance. The text consists of twenty-three (fourteen obverse, nine reverse) blessings for a ruler (*lugal* // *bēlu*), whom the text addresses in the second person. Each section generally consists of one line in Sumerian followed by its Akkadian translation, and each blessing is followed by a double ruling. The composite pantheon of the text points east to Babylonia. Although the colophon is perfectly preserved, the identity of the copyist is a point of considerable contention and uncertainty, and I will return to it in the discussion of dossiers and colophons below.

In the edition of the fragments from Ugarit, Arnaud characterizes the Emar manuscript: “Les signes de la tablette émarite cherchent à reproduire le *ductus* lapidaire de l’écriture cunéiforme d’époque médio-babylonienne,” and he proposes that this text was originally copied from a monumental inscription (Arnaud 1982b: 216). Others have looked at the text as the literary byproduct of a royal coronation (Dietrich 1998–1999).

Msk 74243 was found in ‘Temple’ M₁ in Locus 1 Center (M I NW).

Date Palm and Tamarisk

The vast majority of so-called Mesopotamian debate poems were written in Sumerian and are preserved in copies from the OB period (Black et al. 1998–2006: 5.3; Vanstiphout 1990; 1991; 1992; Bottéro 1991). Disputation literature also exists later on in Akkadian, but too little of this minor text genre is preserved to address questions about textual transmission and translation. A Sumerian-language version of a debate between the date palm and the tamarisk is known from only one small extract from Susa (Cavigneaux 2003: 53–57, Sb 12354), while a fragmentary Akkadian text is attested throughout the second millennium in OB (Šaduppūm),

MA (Assur), MB (Emar), and NA (Assur) versions (Lambert 1960: 151–164; Wilcke 1989a: 170; Streck 2004).

Arnaud originally identified eleven fragments of the Akkadian version of this text from Emar, which he then assigned to two versions of this text, “version b” (*Emar* 783) and “version c” (*Emar* 784). Wilcke (1989a) subsequently identified two additional fragments, Msk 74123s = *Emar* 754 and Msk 74345c, and reassigned the known fragments to two basic manuscripts (see Appendix B.8.3).

Tablet 1, *Emar* 783 D = Msk 74143m(+), was written in the Syro-Hittite script by a scribe whose name is not preserved in the fragmentary paleographic colophon (see Appendix C.3). Much of the obverse can be reconstructed, while the reverse is largely gone (Wilcke 1989a: 165–166, figs. 1–2). Only a fragment of Tablet 2 remains, *Emar* 783 F = Msk 74128t. However, because it constitutes a duplicate of Tablet 1 (Wilcke 1989a: 176–177), it must be from a separate copy.

The vast majority of pieces assembled into Tablet 1 were found in ‘Temple’ M₁ in Locus 1 West (6, M III NE; 4, M III SE), but one piece came from Locus 1 North (M IV SW surface clearing). The fragment of Tablet 2 and the unplaced fragment both came from Locus 1 West (M III SE).

Enlil and Namzitara

The short composition Enlil and Namzitara (nam-zi-tar-ra ^den-lil₂ mu-zal-le “Namzitara passed by Enlil”) originated as a minor tale from OB Nippur known from only about six sources (Civil 1974; Black et al. 1998–2006: 5.7.1; Alster 2005: 327–338). The OB version of Enlil and Namzitara is found on both Type I²³⁵ and Type II²³⁶ school tablets from Nippur. Later bilingual versions of this text are known from Ugarit (Arnaud 2007: 140–141, no. 47) and Emar (Cooper 2011). The content of the text revolves around a conversation between one Namzitara and the god Enlil. The appeal of this minor composition probably lay in the pronouncements made by Enlil,

²³⁵ This composition is present on collectives that have other texts in the so-called “Lisina group”: 3N-T 326 + 3N-T 360 (originally with ten columns), *Kurzzeilen* (i.e., two or more lines per normal line length); UM 29-16-79A iii (upper part of a four-column tablet). Two other Type I sources are known: CBS 4605 (poorly written one-column tablet with two compositions); N 3097 (small fragment with at least two compositions), *Kurzzeilen*.

²³⁶ All exercise tablets (II/1, see MSL 12, 27–28, 51–52; MSL 13, 10); N 5149 obv. (rev.: Nigga, MSL 13, 94 Q₁), *Kurzzeilen*; N 5909 obv. (rev.: unidentified exercise); CBS 7917 + N 4784 obv. (rev.: OB Hh 13–14, animals, meat cuts?).

which resonate with the themes of what is presently referred to as wisdom literature.

Arnaud edited the Emar version of Enlil and Namzitara as simply a “texte littéraire bilingue” (*Emar* 771–774). Civil (1989a: 7) identified the text and added *Emar* 592 = Msk 74112b. I have identified a possible tiny fragment, Msk 74107a1, which may join Msk 74174a. Only one Syro-Hittite copy of the text is known from Emar, Tablet 1, *Emar* 771(+) = Msk 74174a(+). The layout of the Emar manuscript is curious in that the text appears in two columns of unequal width, with, as expected, the Sumerian text on the left and the Akkadian translation on the right. However, after twelve lines the left column of the reverse becomes Akkadian text as well (*Emar* 6/2, pp. 440–441). All of the fragments of this text were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE) in ‘Temple’ M₁.

Fowler

A first-millennium version of this minor Akkadian wisdom composition was edited as “The Fowler” (Lambert 1960: 221). This text evidently has nothing to do with the minor OB Sumerian composition “The Fowler and his Wife,” part of which, curiously, is attested on a MB extract (UM 29-15-848, see Veldhuis 2000: 72, 89; Alster 2005: 371–372). With so little of the text preserved, the precise contents of the narrative are elusive. However, as noted above, it does appear to have been catalogued in first-millennium collection *Sidu* (Finkel 1986; cf. Frahm 2010: 168–176).

Arnaud identified five fragments of this composition in the Emar corpus (Appendix B.8.5). However, the manuscript situation remains difficult. Like the “Ballad of Early Rulers,” this text appears to have been written in a format with three parallel columns for, from left to right, orthographic Sumerian, unorthographic Sumerian, and Akkadian. The problem is that no two Sumerian and Akkadian fragments can be joined to the same manuscript, and, as Arnaud (*Emar* 6/4, p. 366) noted, it is impossible to reconcile the lineation of the Sumerian and Akkadian fragments of the beginning of the text. Therefore, Arnaud concluded that there must be at least two duplicates of this text, and each surviving fragment came from a different copy. Physical examination of the originals may or may not validate this hypothesis, but in the absence of additional evidence Arnaud’s view is retained here.

Tablet 1, *Emar* 768 A = Msk 7498b (+) Msk 7478b, is a large fragment of the upper left corner of the tablet written in the Syro-Hittite script. Two columns have survived, with the first column containing the Sumerian

and the second the syllabic or unorthographic rendering of the Sumerian text. The reverse has only the left half of a paleographic colophon. Tablet 2, *Emar* 768 B = Msk 74137b, was also written in the Syro-Hittite script, but here only the left most column and right edge are preserved, i.e., the Akkadian version of the text. The paleographic colophon on the reverse has only the title (LU₂.AZU). Although only the title is preserved on Tablet 2, both Tablets 1 and 2 appear to have been copied by the diviner Šaggar-abu (Cohen 2006; see Appendix C.1.1). If there were originally two manuscripts of this text in 'Temple' M₁, then the two remaining fragments should each belong to one or the other, but without possible direct joins, the assignment of these fragments remains uncertain.

All of the fragments of this text were found in Locus 1 West (4, M III NE; 1 M III SE) in 'Temple' M₁.

Gilgamesh

Literary compositions about Gilgameš, the legendary king of Uruk, enjoyed an extremely broad distribution in both space and time throughout the Near East. Both Sumerian and Akkadian Gilgameš literature was produced in the OB period (Black et al. 1998–2006: 1.8.1; George 2003: 159–286). Textual witnesses from the latter half of the second millennium attest to the circulation of a number of different versions of these texts, all of which were based on the Akkadian Gilgameš traditions, since the Sumerian Gilgameš cycle was not transmitted after the OB period (George 2003: 24–27). For example, Gilgameš literature found its way to Ugarit (Arnaud 2007: 130–138, nos. 42–45) and Ḫattuša (CTH 341), where Akkadian (George 2003: 26, 306–326), as well as Hittite and Hurrian (Beckman 2003a; ChS I/6, 1–5, 44?) versions of the text were in circulation. Interestingly, one exercise extract from Ugarit (Arnaud 2007, no. 42: RS 94.2066) has a version of the prologue of the SB epic, beginning with the SB incipit *ša naqba imuru* "He who saw the Deep" (George 2007; cf. George 2003: 28, 444–445, 538). According to George, the Emar manuscripts belong to a late MB textual tradition that was probably exported to the Middle Euphrates either during or subsequent to the Amarna period.

Arnaud identified four fragments of Gilgameš, distinguishing between two manuscripts (*Emar* 781; *Emar* 782). Wilcke (1989b) proposed the identification of another fragment, *Emar* 760 = Msk 74105m. However, after having collated the Emar fragments, George (2003: 338–339, pl. 28) rejected this proposal. Both manuscripts were written in the Syro-Hittite script.

Only the upper right corner fragment *Emar* 781 = Msk 74128d remains from Tablet 1, which parallels SB Gilgameš 4–5 (George 2003: 328–331, MB *Emar*₁, pl. 28). Based on the physical features of this fragment, it may be that the original manuscript had two columns per side and not merely one. Regardless, where there is recognizable narrative, this text recounts some dialogue between Gilgameš and Enkidu before their sojourn to the Cedar Forest to confront Ḫumbaba. Though the episode is known in the SB Epic of Gilgameš, it is not possible to place this conversation within that textual framework with any precision.

Two columns are preserved from the obverse of Tablet 2, *Emar* 782 = Msk 7498n+, which parallels SB Gilgameš 6 (George 2003: 331–338, MB *Emar*₂, pl. 29).²³⁷ It is likely that Tablet 2 originally had only two columns per side. Unlike Tablet 1, Tablet 2 shows a number of textual affinities with the SB episode involving Gilgameš, Ištar, and the Bull of Heaven, though the text is slightly modified and essentially shorter than that of the SB Epic.

All four excavated fragments were found in Locus 1 West (2, M III NE; 2, M III SE) of ‘Temple’ M₁. Two additional fragments of Tablet 2 appear to have been looted from *Emar*.

Instructions of Šūpê-amēlī

One subgenre of Mesopotamian wisdom literature consists of instructions given in the literary context of a dialogue. The best example is the Instructions of Šuruppak, which is attested from the third millennium on (Alster 2005: 31–220). An Akkadian (and Akkadian-Hittite bilingual) composition of this kind is known from Ugarit, Ḫattuša, and *Emar* (Hurowitz 2007; Arnaud 2007: 148–179, no. 49, *Sagesse d’Uruk*; cf. Sallaberger 2010).

Msk 74107aj and Msk 74233r appear to be from different manuscripts. Evidently Arnaud employs the symbol “(+)” in an idiosyncratic way: “la présentation par (+) ne doit pas tromper; (+) ne marque que la continuité textuelle *théorique*, par souci de simplicité” (Arnaud 2007: 160, emphasis in original). Since this connector is typically used to indicate a non-contiguous join (i.e., that two or more fragments are from the same original source but do not physically join), there may be other instances where Arnaud’s use of the character in *Emar* 6/3–4 may require reconsideration. Nevertheless, it is not obvious why he thinks that the fragments Msk

²³⁷ George (2003: 327) physically joined the excavated fragments in 1999.

Table 16. 'Temple' M₁: Literary Texts, Genre by Tablet Type

| <i>Literary</i> | <i>Tablets</i> | | | | <i>Fragments</i> | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Ballad | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Benediction | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Date Palm | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Namzitara | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Fowler | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Gilgamesh | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Instructions | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Uncertain | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 11 | 14 |
| TOTAL | 0 | 11 | 1 | 12 | 0 | 8 | 17 | 25 |
| % | 0 | 92 | 8 | 100 | 0 | 32 | 68 | 100 |

74107aj and Msk 74233r are incommensurable. They are not duplicates. Arnaud tentatively assigned two additional fragments to this text (*Emar* 779; *Emar* 780) but makes no mention of them in his edition of the new source from Ugarit (Arnaud 2007: 160). All of the pieces of Tablet 1 were found in Locus 1 West (M III NE) in 'Temple' M₁, as was the fragment of Tablet 2.

Literary Fragments

A few fragments appear to come from literary texts but remain difficult to assign (Appendix B.8.8). These fragments were generally written in the Syro-Hittite script, as is the case with all the identified literary texts from Emar. With a few of these fragments, the script is not certain. One piece was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 'Temple' M₁ in 1973. The remaining fragments all came from Locus 1 West (3, M III NE; 2, M III SE).

An additional small group of fragments may belong to some literary text, but their contents are difficult to identify precisely. All of the uncertain literary fragments were excavated from Locus 1 West in 'Temple' M₁ (11, M III NE; 3, M III SE).

Uncertain Texts and Fragments (Appendix B.9)

A large number of fragments are impossible to assign definitively to any text or genre. Some of these are so small and insignificant that very few signs are preserved. Others exhibit textual features that make it impossible to assign them to one specific genre over another. Of the

Table 17. ‘Temple’ M₁: Uncertain Texts and Fragments, Genre by Tablet Type

| <i>Uncertain</i> | <i>Tablets</i> | | | | <i>Fragments</i> | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Un.</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Uncertain | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 14 | 256 | 272 |
| TOTAL | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 14 | 256 | 272 |
| % | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 94 | 100 |

many uncertain fragments that were recovered from ‘Temple’ M₁, in a few cases the precise locus is not clear. Four fragments were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in 1983, and two more fragments were found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3 in subsequent investigation of the site (M I SW). Three fragments were found in either Locus 2 or Locus 3 (M I SE). Four fragments came from Locus 1 Center (M I NW). However, the vast majority of uncertain fragments, some 257 pieces in all, were recovered from Locus 1 West (215, M III NE; 42, M III SE). One Syro-Hittite fragment was found during the surface clearing of Locus 1 North (M IV SW), and one last fragment was a surface find in 1975 in the vicinity of ‘Temple’ M₁.

One uncertain Syrian fragment was found in the Temple of the Storm-god in Area E, and it is likely that it should be assigned to either an administrative or legal text. One uncertain fragment was excavated in Area V I SW.

Appendix D.2 summarizes the information pertaining to the numbers of tablets and fragments of each type that were found in ‘Temple’ M₁. In addition to the information presented in Tables 9–17 above, Appendix D.2 also indicates the fraction of the total text corpus represented by each genre, i.e., the percentage of the total number of isolated tablets and fragments respectively.

Having now established the contents and distribution of tablets and fragments from ‘Temple’ M₁, I will address the question of who exactly appears in the documents discussed above.

ARCHIVE OR ARCHIVES?: DOSSIERS PRESENT IN THE TABLET COLLECTION

In order to interpret of the archaeological and generic distribution of finds from ‘Temple’ M₁, it is necessary to establish the fundamental prosopographic framework of the tablet collection as a whole. Provenience, generic classification, and prosopography are discrete axes of analysis that form the basis for any historical or literary investigation of an excavated

text corpus. The following is a survey of the names and titles, i.e., the dossiers, found in the documents from 'Temple' M₁. One of the main questions to address is whether 'Temple' M₁ housed one archive or multiple archives that were stored together for whatever reason. A related question is how outliers in the text corpus can be understood, that is, how the building came to contain tablets that do not obviously relate to any of the major dossiers in the collection.

Arnaud's hand copies and text editions provide the starting point for any analysis of the prosopography of the tablets excavated at Emar. Arnaud organized the text editions first by excavation area and then by generic and/or prosopographic groupings. For 'Temple' M₁ Arnaud's categories are as follows (Emar 6/3, p. 5; Emar 6/4, pp. 5–7):²³⁸

| Group | <i>Emar</i> |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Royal family's archives | 137–142 |
| Sales by Ninurta and the Elders | 143–155 |
| Property sales | 156–175 |
| Testaments | 176–198 |
| Diviners' archives | 199–226 |
| Fragmentary contracts | 227–251 |
| Various texts | 252–257 |
| Letters | 258–273, 536 |
| Cult administration | 274–368 |
| Ritual texts | 369–535, 451bis, 451ter |
| Library texts | 537–793 |

This structure has had far-reaching impact on the interpretation of the text corpus as a whole. Because Margueron interpreted 'Temple' M₁ as a temple, these different groupings of texts were presented as discrete archives that were housed in a temple that was integrated into the town's landscape. Before taking up the question of interpreting the architecture of 'Temple' M₁, I will first examine the names and titles of principals attested in the tablets found in 'Temple' M₁.

Given the myriad documents and numerous genres that constitute the text corpus from 'Temple' M₁, some clarification is needed about what is meant by a principal in any given text. The clearest cases involve legal documents, letters, lexical texts, omen compendia, and literary texts. For

²³⁸ These categories have been modified slightly to illustrate Arnaud's general groupings. The number of categories is actually appreciably larger, but the specifics of generic classification have been discussed above and are presented in Appendix B below.

the purposes of this investigation the transacting parties in legal documents, the sender(s) and recipient(s) of letters, and the copyist found in the colophons of lexical, literary, and omen texts can all be thought of as principals. Texts without colophons are difficult to analyze under this regime, such as the majority of incantations or lexical, divinatory, and literary texts for which colophons are absent or not preserved. Administrative records pose unique problems. In some instances it is possible to discern the principals of a documented administrative event, either someone named in the document or someone whose seal was used to mark the document. In other instances, it is not clear for whom or by whom a particular record was created. The ritual texts are also difficult to penetrate using this type of analysis, since these tablets lack scribal colophons, and titles, not personal names, were generally used to differentiate roles and responsibilities.

Few titles are known for principals in the tablets from 'Temple' M₁. This is somewhat surprising given the large variety of titles used in the Emar text corpus as a whole (Pruzsinszky 2003: 6–14). A number of diviners are mentioned in the texts, typically bearing one or more of six main titles. The only other clear uses of titles in the archive involve texts dealing with the local royal family. A few isolated texts refer to Hittite officials, such as the "Overseer of the Land" (UGULA.KALAM.MA), who was one of the local representatives of the king of Karkamiš. Except for these texts dealing with Hittite administration, the isolated dossiers show a remarkable paucity of titles.

The following sections will survey the constituent elements of the 'Temple' M₁ tablet collection, including the diviners' archive and library, the alleged royal archive, the so-called temple archive, and the various isolated dossiers that do not obviously connect with other elements in the collection as a whole.

Diviners' Archive and Library

For the purposes of this analysis the diviners of LBA Emar constitute two broad groups. First, the diviners from the family of Zū-Ba'la²³⁹ are the

²³⁹ There is conflicting evidence about how to read the first element in the PN ZU-Ba'la: Zū-Ba'la (syllabic: WSem. relative particle *zū* < *ḏū*) or Yadi-Ba'la (logographic: ZU = WSem. *yadi'* // Akk. *idû* "to know") (Schwemer 2001: 551, 565–566; Pruzsinszky 2003: 55, 186). The evidence for ZU-Ba'la = Yadi-Ba'la derives primarily from the Hittite hieroglyphs found on certain seals, as well as the existence of syllabic writings *ia-di*-DN. There are no syllabic writings of this kind for the diviner Zū-Ba'la, and, on the contrary, the Hittite texts that contain his name are probably purely syllabic.

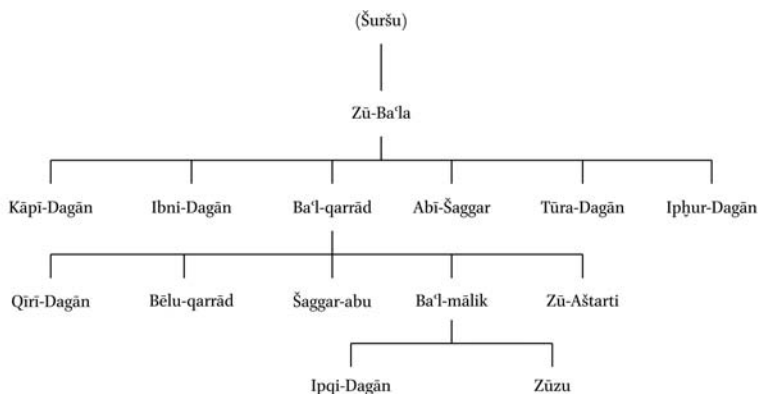


Fig. 18. Male Members of the Family of the Diviner Zū-Ba'la.

principal focus of this investigation as a whole, in as much as it is the archive of this family that is preserved in ‘Temple’ M₁ (Fig. 18).

Second, several other diviners are attested in the documents from ‘Temple’ M₁ as well as in the wider Emar text corpus. The chronological, socio-economic, and ideological relationships between these two groups are far from clear in each instance, but there are some general trends. Problems of data and method impede the detailed investigation of the second, more heterogeneous group. This loose collection of personal names and titles is, in many respects, weakened by the same types of deficiencies outlined in Chapter 1. However, it is both necessary and profitable to examine all the sources at our disposal.

The following is an inventory of the titles of principals (not every individual) in the various documents from ‘Temple’ M₁. When both the patronymic and the title are present, there is occasionally some question as to the referent of the title, e.g., PN DUMU PN₂ LU₂.ĪAL / DUMU ĪAL. There is reason to believe that the title may have been implicitly applied to the principal as well as to his father (Cavigneaux and Beyer 2006: 499 n. 14). In some cases scribes were very clear: RN LUGAL DUMU RN₂ LUGAL (Emar 256:33–34).²⁴⁰ In at least one instance, albeit one not related to the family of diviners per se, the referent of the title must be the first PN, i.e., the principal: ^fPN DUMU.MUNUS PN₂ NU.GIG (Emar 124:1). Although we know very little about the role of the NU.GIG on the Middle Euphrates

²⁴⁰ Cf. certain MA colophons from Assur that differentiate the titles of father (*tupšar šarri* “royal scribe”) and son (*tupšarru šeḫru* “junior scribe”) (Hunger 1968: 30; Wagensonner 2011: 662–678).

in the LBA, it is altogether probable that this title was held by women, as was the case in southern Mesopotamia. Thus the referent of the title should be the principal and not her father. The inevitable conclusion to be drawn from this example is that we are hostage to ancient scribal perceptions of when the referent of the title did and did not need to be disambiguated.

Titles, Names, and the Archaeological Provenience of Each Dossier

As many as six titles can be glossed “diviner” in documents from the text corpus found in ‘Temple’ M₁:

MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂
 AZU / UZU₂
 A.ZU and ZU.ZU
 ḪAL
 I₃.ZU and I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR

The Hurrian title *wurulenni* does not occur in the text corpus, but the related Hurrian term is attested in the unpublished Hurrian texts from ‘Temple’ M₁.²⁴¹

MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂

The Sumerian title *maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂* is among the oldest titles used to denote the office of diviner (Falkenstein 1966: 45–51).²⁴² This title is attested in Emar in both practical administrative records as well as in the colophons of scholarly tablets. MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ is the only title for diviner that appears in the Syrian-type documents from Ekalte, where it appears so far only once (*Ekalte* 96:29; cf. Frahm 1999; Roche 2003). In any case, the title *maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂* also appears in the lexical lists from ‘Temple’ M₁, such as in the bilingual version of Emar Hh 2 (*Emar* 542:167’–168’):

| | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| A: Msk 74191a col. iii (Emar 6/2, p. 468) | |
| maš ₂ -šu-gid ₂ -gid ₂ | <i>ba-ru-u</i> |
| ugula-maš ₂ -šu-gid ₂ -gid ₂ | <i>a-kil₂ ba-ri-i</i> |

²⁴¹ The Hurrian title *wurulenni* is attested mainly as a title in the colophons of a few alphabetic texts from Ugarit. The Hurrian loanword appears as Ug. *prln* (see Chapter 1). A handful of unpublished Hurrian texts from ‘Temple’ M₁ reportedly contain a related term: Msk 74224 6’ *pu-ru-li*; Msk 74171 A Vo 5’ *pu-ru-li-ra* (André-Salvini and Salvini 1998: 23).

²⁴² Note also the lexical texts ED Lu C 14 (Taylor 2003) and ED Lu E 130 (MSL 12, 19).

F: Msk 74148aa (Emar 6/1, p. 380)
 [maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂] *ba-ru-u*
 [ugula-maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂] *a-kil₂ ba-ri-i*

Another text, unilingual Emar Hh 13, contains entries that employ the title in question (*Emar* 550:50', 144'):

A: Msk 731079 col. i (Emar 6/1, p. 157)
 udu-m[aš₂-š]u-gid₂-gid₂
 I: Msk 7310800 (Emar 6/1, p. 158)
 sila₄-maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂

Unique to Emar is an acrographic exercise with a list of Sumerian terms that begin with the sign ŠU (*Emar* 572:12–14):

Msk 7433 rev. (Emar 6/1, p. 176)
 šu-gid₂ *qa-tu₄ ša-ba-tu₄*
 šu-gid₂ *ba-ru-u*
 šu-gid₂ *ma-[x¹-lu*

In this instance the Akkadian term *barû* is used to gloss the verbal complex of the title in question (Sjöberg 2006: 416). Although it is not preserved, based on the duplicate from Ugarit,²⁴³ it is likely that that the relevant section of Emar Syll. Voc. A may be reconstructed (cf. *Emar* 603:59–60):

igi-[bar MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂]

In addition to these attestations in the Emar lexical corpus, the title MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ occurs in the Emar ritual texts, most notably the ritual for six months (*Emar* 446), one of the few ritual texts written in the Syrian style. In that ritual text the diviner receives the remainder of various offerings, especially animal hides and meat cuts, and in one tantalizingly laconic ritual action the diviner “throws seed onto the ground” (Fleming 2000: 268–275, esp. lines 38–39, 44, 51–53, 81–82, 94–95, 102).

Four principals from the ‘Temple’ M₁ text corpus bear the title MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂:

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Zū-Ba'la</i> | <i>Emar</i> 201 (SH) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Šaggar-abu</i> | <i>Emar</i> 537 B (SH) | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| <i>Šuršū</i> | <i>Emar</i> 158 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Mašru-ḥamiš</i> | <i>Emar</i> 146 (S) | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3 |
| / <i>Mašru-ḥe</i> (?) | | | |
| * <i>Ba'l-bēlu</i> | see I ₃ .ZU, Ba'l-bārû below | | |

²⁴³ Nougayrol 1965: 35; cf. Sollberger 1965: 22.

Two of these principals, Zū-Ba'la and his grandson Šaggar-abu, are also given the titles AZU / UZU₂ and 𒀭AL. The principal *Ba'1-bēlu is not known to have held this title, and the text Arnaud ascribes to him is listed under I₃.ZU and I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR (Ba'1-bārû). One additional individual at Emar is known to have held this title:

Tūra-Dagān²⁴⁴

According to both legal documents (Skaist 2005–2006: 616–619) and colophons (Rutz 2006–2007), Zū-Ba'la's father was a certain Šuršu. However, it is unclear whether the diviner Šurši, son of Itti-Da, can be identified with Zū-Ba'la's father, who is only identified as Šuršu. At least two and as many as six individuals bore this PN in the preserved text corpus from Emar (Pruzsinszky 2003: CD 758). If Šuršu, son of Itti-Da, was the father of Zū-Ba'la, that would perhaps account for the presence of *Emar* 158 in the 'Temple' M₁ tablet collection. There would be no chronological problem with the diviner Šuršu, son of Itti-Da, being a contemporary of the king Pilsu-Dagān (*Emar* 158:24) and then father to Zū-Ba'la (cf. Cohen and D'Alfonso 2008: 25, Table 7; Di Filippo 2008: 62). However, without further evidence linking these individuals, this connection remains purely conjecture.

Mašru-ḥamiš, son of Ba'1-bārû, does not bear a title in *Emar* 146:13. However, the unusual patronymic and the synchronism with king Pilsu-Dagān, son of Ba'1-kabar I, suggest that this Mašru-ḥamiš is one and same as the diviner Mašru-ḥe who appears in a looted document (*ASJ* 12 no. 7; Pruzsinszky 2003: 127, 142 with n. 718) and is probably the scribe of *Emar* 161 (Cohen 2009: 123). The diviner Ba'1-bārû appears in the 'Temple' M₁ archive with the title I₃.ZU (see below).

The title MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ is the oldest of the titles attested in Emar, but it occurs in both older Syrian-type documents and in later Syro-Hittite documents that date to or describe the older heads of the Zū-Ba'la family, i.e., Zū-Ba'la himself and Šaggar-abu, his grandson (see Fig. 18).

AZU / UZU₂

The title NINDA₂×NUN, read AZU or UZU₂,²⁴⁵ derives from an old Sumerian title (Falkenstein 1966: 51–52; PSD A/1 205–208) and is not common in

²⁴⁴ A property holder in RE 24:3 (S).

²⁴⁵ The sign is given the reading *azu* in Proto-Ea 612 (MSL 14, 55, Is: CBS 15281, II/2). Both readings *uzu₂* and *azu* are attested in S^b Voc. 2:200 (MSL 3, 143). The earliest form of

practical documents from any period written in Akkadian.²⁴⁶ The title *azu* is so far very sparsely attested with an Akkadian gloss *bārûm* in the OB lexical corpus.²⁴⁷ The title LU₂.AZU or LU₂.UZU₂ occurs in only two rarefied contexts in the Emar text corpus: in two copies of a Hittite letter and in certain scribal colophons.

Two principals who bear this title are known from the ‘Temple’ M₁ text corpus:

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Zū-Ba’la</i> | Msk 731097 ²⁴⁸ (Hitt.) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Šaggar-abu</i> | <i>Emar</i> 767 (SH) | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 768 B(?) (SH)] | M III NE | Locus 1 West] |

Both Zū-Ba’la and his grandson Šaggar-abu also bear the titles MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ and 𒀭AL.

A.ZU and ZU.ZU

The titles A.ZU and ZU.ZU for “diviner” are both derived from Sum. *zu* “to know.” The title *zu-zu* is not attested so far in any Sumerian texts of the third and early second millennia, but along with *a-zu*, *zu-zu* appears in a lexical list with logographic renderings of *bārû* “diviner” found at Ugarit (Ugarit MBGT 2:123–136, MSL SS 1, 81; see Chapter 1) as well as in Syll. Voc. A in Emar (quoted under I₃.ZU and I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR below). In general, the title AZU in LBA Emar should not be conflated with A.ZU = *asû* “physician, healer,” which is attested in two documents from the site.²⁴⁹ However, the ornate colophon of *Emar* 767 may indicate that the title LU₂.A.[ZU] was a variant of title LU₂.AZU in this instance, where it occurs alongside the sole occurrence of LU₂.ZU.Z[U] (Cohen 2009: 169).

Šaggar-abu *Emar* 767 (SH) M III NE Locus 1 West

The diviner Šaggar-abu also bears the titles MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂, AZU, and 𒀭AL.

this lexeme is ZU₅+A (Krebernik 1998: 282), cf. a:zu₅ (ED Lu B iii 3–6, MSL 12, 13; ED Lu E 47, MSL 12, 17, with both a-zu₅ HSS 10 222 iii 1 and a:zu₅ OIP 99, 60 iii 9).

²⁴⁶ A handful of attestations in texts from OB Alalah are the exception that proves the rule, e.g., see *AIT 378 cited in Chapter 1 n. 11 above.

²⁴⁷ E.g., UET 7, 93 rev. 31–32. Strike CAD B 121a lex., where “Proto-Ea” is cited as giving a reference to *azu* = *bārûm* (MSL 2, 140). Collation of the source and a refinement in the understanding of the organization of the text of Proto-Aa make this OB example impossible (MSL 14, 100).

²⁴⁸ Zū-Ba’la is not a principal in this letter per se, but he and his legal rights are the topic of this letter, so it can confidently be assigned to his dossier. This Hittite letter is edited as RAI 47 (along with CM 13, no. 32) and SMEA 45, no. 1.

²⁴⁹ E.g., in ‘Temple’ M₁; *Emar* 229:6 (fragmentary contract); looted document: RE 22:10, 14.

ḪAL

The writing ḪAL for “diviner” is of uncertain origin. It is not attested so far in any Sumerian texts of the third and early second millennia. In OB Akkadian documents of all kinds the title MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ is the most common term, but by the latter half of the second millennium ḪAL was widely used in Babylonia (Sassmannshausen 2001: 68–69) and Assyria (Jakob 2003: 522–528). The writing ḫal = *bārû* is so far not attested in the Mesopotamian lexical corpus before the Middle Babylonian period.²⁵⁰ The relevant section of Nippur Proto-Aa is not preserved (MSL 14, 94). However, a so-called secondary branch of Proto-Aa is represented by a small extract that contains some Izi and Diri compounds (MSL 14, 108, YBC 5026). This lexical extract covers the signs AN and ḪAL, and the only Akkadian rendering for ḪAL here are *ellūtum*, *pirištum*, and *apsûm* (MSL 14, 142). It comes as no surprise then that the writing ḫal = *bārû* is not very well represented in the Emar copies of lexical texts. The sole exception is Emar S^a Voc.²⁵¹ (Emar 537:289–292; Sjöberg 1998: 259–260):

A: Msk 74171b col. iii (Emar 6/2, p. 430)

| | | |
|-------|------|--|
| [DIŠ] | ḪAL | <i>pi₂-ri-iš-tu₄</i> |
| [DIŠ] | ḪAL | <i>ba-ru-u</i> |
| [DIŠ | ḪA]L | <i>ša-mu-u</i> |

F: Msk 74231a (Emar 6/2, p. 534)

| | | |
|-----|-----|--|
| DIŠ | ḪAL | <i>pi^t(ME)-ri-il-tu₄</i> |
| DIŠ | ḪAL | <i>ba-ru-u</i> |
| DIŠ | ḪAL | <i>ša-^tmu¹-u</i> |
| DIS | bur | ḪAL <i>ḫal-lu</i> |

In addition to these references from the Emar lexical corpus, the title ḪAL also occurs in several ritual texts, including the ritual for the installation of the EREŠ.DINGIR-priestess, which he receives “silver payments and allotments in animal parts” (Fleming 1992a: 87–92, esp. 89).

ḪAL is by far the most common title for diviner in Emar, employed in the course of writing both practical administrative records and the colophons of learned texts. Both “diviner” LU₂.ḪAL and “son of a diviner” DUMU ḪAL occur (Seminara 1998: 37; cf. Brinkman 2006b: 27). The titles DUMU ḪAL and LU₂.ḪAL appear to be equivalents in Emar 225, where two brothers are referred to as ¹Zu-zu' DUMU ^dU-ma-lik DUMU ḪAL (Emar 225:1)

²⁵⁰ E.g., see Ugarit MBGT in Chapter 1.

²⁵¹ This section also occurs in the polyglot versions of Ugarit S^a Voc., see Chapter 1 n. 5 above.

and ¹I[p-q]i₂-^dKUR DUMU ^dU-ma-lik LU₂.ĤAL (*Emar* 225:5). The most explicit form of this title occurs in certain Emar colophons in the sequence “scribe, diviner of the gods of Emar” LU₂.DUB.SAR LU₂.ĤAL ša DINGIR.MEŠ ^{uru}E-mar (e.g., *Emar* 604.1; Fleming 2000: 26–27).

As many as six principals bear the title ĤAL in practical documents and colophons in the text corpus from ‘Temple’ M₁, and two of these principals are known by other titles as well:

| | | | |
|--|---|-------------------------|---------------|
| <i>Zū-Ba’la</i> | [<i>Emar</i> 199 (SH)] | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 200 (SH)] | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3] |
| | (Emar 201, see MAŠ ₂ .ŠU.GID ₂ .GID ₂ above) | | |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 202 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 203 (SH)] | M I SE | Locus 2 or 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 204 (SH)] | M I NE | Locus 1 or 2] |
| <i>Ibni-Dagān</i> ²⁵² | [<i>Emar</i> 177 (SH) his wife?] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 205 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Ba’l-qarrād</i> | [<i>Emar</i> 206 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 207 (SH)] | M ₁ R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 208 (SH, frag.)] | M I SW-II NW | Locus 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 209 (SH; no title)] | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 210 (SH)] | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 211 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>*Rašap-abu</i> <i>Šaggar-abu</i> | see Šaggar-abu ²⁵³ | | |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 545 AG(+)G+ (SH)] | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 538 I (SH)] | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 602 Ai (SH)] | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| <i>Ba’l-mālik</i> | [<i>Emar</i> 212 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 213 (SH)] | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 214 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 215 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 216 (SH)] | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 217 (SH)] | M ₁ R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 218 (SH)] | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 219 (SH)] | M ₁ R | Locus 1 or 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 220 (SH)] | Temple M ₂ | —] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 221 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 222 (SH, frag.)] | M I SW-II NW | Locus 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 223 (SH, frag.)] | M I SW-II NW | Locus 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 224 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3] |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 225 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 226 (SH)] | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |

²⁵² Also known as a witness to his brother Ba’l-qarrād’s testament (*SMEA* 30, no. 7:28); possibly *Emar* 279:16; *AuOr* 5, no. 12:4; and *AuOrSi*, no. 44:14.

²⁵³ See Rutz 2006–2007.

| | | | |
|-------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| | <i>Emar</i> 541 B (SH) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | <i>Emar</i> 545 V (SH) | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| | <i>Emar</i> 555 Ai + D (SH) | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| | <i>Emar</i> 604 1 (SH?) | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| | <i>Emar</i> 611 A (SH) | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | <i>Emar</i> 698 Ai (SH) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | <i>Emar</i> 698 C (SH) | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| [...]-Ba'la | <i>Emar</i> 548 H (SH) | M ₁ M III NE | Locus 1 West |
| | [<i>Emar</i> 653 (SH) (no title)] | M ₁ M III SE | Locus 1 West] |

At least three generations of the Zū-Ba'la family are known to have held this title. Both Zū-Ba'la and his grandson Šaggar-abu are associated with the titles MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ and AZU. The colophons that allegedly document a diviner *Rašap-abu in the family of Zū-Ba'la probably belong to the dossier of Šaggar-abu (Rutz 2006–2007). The PN [...]-Ba'la is an otherwise unknown son (and student?) of the diviner Ba'l-mālik, whose known sons are Zūzu and Iqqi-Dagān (*Emar* 225–226). There are a number of PNs that combine some element with the DN, such as Abda/i-Ba'la, Ḫinna-Ba'l, Zū-Ba'la, Abī-Ba'lu, Milkī-Ba'la, and Zimrī-Ba'lu (Pruzsinszky 2003: 156, 179–217; cf. Schwemer 2001: 563–569). It is unclear whether the copyist of *Emar* 548 H was the same as the copyist of *Emar* 653, but perhaps Zūzu should be understood to be a hypocoristic form of [Zū]-Ba'la (Cohen 2009: 179–181).

Up to fourteen other individuals may have held the title ḪAL in legal documents from Emar and the Middle Euphrates:

Abī-Šaggar,²⁵⁴ son of Zū-Ba'la
 Tūra-Dagān,²⁵⁵ son of Zū-Ba'la
 Kāpī-Dagān,²⁵⁶ son of Zū-Ba'la
 Bēlu-qarrād,²⁵⁷ son of Kāpī-Dagān

²⁵⁴ Known as a witness to his brother Ba'l-qarrād's testament (*SMEA* 30, no. 7:28).

²⁵⁵ Known as a witness to his brother Ba'l-qarrād's testament (*SMEA* 30, no. 7:29); perhaps also *Emar* 336:48. His other brother Iphur-Dagān (*SMEA* 30, no. 7:29) does not ever appear with the title "(son of) the diviner." It is unclear whether this is the same Tūra-Dagān who bore the title MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ in the Syrian-type text mentioned above (RE 24:3).

²⁵⁶ Note especially Subartu 17; perhaps *Emar* 99:11'. Known primarily by the use of his seals (Cohen 2009: 158–163): *Emar* 43 (Beyer 2001: A33, pl. 5a); *Emar* 118 (Beyer 2001: A33, pl. 12b); *Emar* 122 (Beyer 2001: A33, pl. 13c); AuOrS 1, no. 70 (Beyer 2001: A33, pl. 49a), also sealed by Ba'l-mālik; AuOrS 1, no. 72 (Beyer 2001: A32, pl. 43a); CM 31, no. 12 (Westenholz 2000: pls. xxix, xxxii); *ASJ* 12, no. 11 (A33); cf. *Emar* 285:11–12.

²⁵⁷ Note *Emar* 246. Like his father, Bēlu-qarrād is known primarily from his seal: *Emar* 93 (Beyer 2001: B4); *Emar* 57; *Emar* 243; perhaps *ASJ* 14, no. 45.

*Iliya²⁵⁸
Zū-Aštarti,²⁵⁹ son of Baʿl-qarrād
Ibni-Dagān,²⁶⁰ son of Zū-Aštarti
Baʿl-bēlu,²⁶¹ son of Šeʿi-Dagān
Dagān-qarrād,²⁶² son of Matkali-Dagān
Ewri-Teššup²⁶³
Imlik-Dagān²⁶⁴
Šaggar-tali²⁶⁵
Baba,²⁶⁶ son of Abdi-ilī
Tilaʿe²⁶⁷
Unknown²⁶⁸

The vast majority of the letters found in ‘Temple’ M₁ were discovered in Locus 1 (one was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3), and half of the sixteen letters can be associated with the Zū-Ba’la family (Appendix B.3.1). The two letters that use the title *diviner* (AZU; HAL) are included above, but

²⁵⁸ The layout in Arnaud's edition of *Emar* 243 is somewhat unclear, but it gives the impression that the bearer of one of the seals was a Iliya DUMU ḪAL (*Emar* 243:2; so Pruzsinszky 2003: CD 466). The second line of the left fragment, Msk 731080 (*Emar* 6/1, p. 160), reads: [Ṣ^{na}KIŠI]B *ʾl-i-ī-[a]* "Seal of Iliya." The second line of the right fragment, Msk 731085a (*Emar* 6/1, p. 165), contains the end of the PN Iliya: *-ī-[a]*. The first and the third lines of the right fragment show that the title DUMU ḪAL cannot apply to the PN Iliya, so the seal must belong to Bēlu-qarrād, whose name is also present on the fragment.

²⁵⁹ One of the sons of the diviner Ba'1-qarrād (SMEA 30, no. 7:4); perhaps the same individual is mentioned in *Emar* 279:5 (grain distribution).

²⁶⁰ Known to have used his seal (akin to Bēlu-qarrād's seal, Beyer 2001: B4) on a looted document (RE 11).

²⁶¹ Listed as a creditor in *RA* 77, no. 5 (= *ASJ* 13, no. 35); perhaps *Emar* 336:81.

²⁶² Known from GsKutscher no. 3:22 (witness); RE 12:6 (property owner); AuOrS 1, no. 43:25 (witness); perhaps *ASJ* 12, no. 9:6 (property owner; see Beckman 1996e: 21).

²⁶³ The diviner 'EN-^{di}ŠKUR = Ewri-Teššup is known only from a single seal impression on *Emar* 212 (Beyer 2001: 56–57, A14, pl. 25b), which is sealed by several Hittite officials. The reading of his name is based on the inscription on the seal (Cohen 2009: 39). Perhaps this diviner was based in Karkamiš.

²⁶⁴ *Emar* 22:1 (Area A).

²⁶⁵ Known from a PN list, where he appears along with his brother Išbi-bēlu (AuOrS 1, no. 98:1–2).

²⁶⁶ A witness and transacting party whose title is only partially preserved (*Emar* 116:1, 20).

²⁶⁷ Two sons of the diviner Tila'e are known as principals in a document looted from the Middle Euphrates (ASJ 13, no. 19). Internal criteria suggest a place of composition somewhere other than Emar, and it would be unwise to uncritically count it among the texts from the Emar corpus (e.g., Pruzsinszky 2003: 227 n. 48). First, the properties in question were located in Ḫaṣa (line 1). The curse also mentions ^dIŠTAR NIN / ^{uru}Ḫa-ṣa u₃ <1>² ^dKu-ba-ba NIN.NI 'Ištar/Aštar, Lady of Ḫaṣa, and Kubaba, her (i.e., their sister's) Lady' (lines 14–15). The goddess Kubaba was associated with the city of Karkamiš.

²⁶⁸ See *Emar* 79:12 (*Emar* 6/2, p. 735; not in Beyer 2001; contra Pruzsinszky 2003: CD 386); *Emar* 99:4 (cf. Kāpī-Dagān in line 11').

the rest of these probably belong to dossiers of members of the Zū-Ba'la family.

| To: | From: | Text | Provenience |
|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| [<i>Alziyamuwa</i> ²⁶⁹ | <i>Hittite Great King</i> | RAI 44 | Locus 1 or 3] |
| <i>Zū-Ba'la</i> (no title) | <i>Akal-Šimeki</i> (...) | <i>Emar</i> 268 (SH) | Locus 1 West |
| <i>Adda</i> ²⁷⁰ (no title) | <i>Šaggar-abu</i> (no title) | <i>Emar</i> 258 (SH) | Locus 1 West |
| <i>Adda</i> | <i>Šaggar-abu</i> | <i>Emar</i> 259 (SH) | Locus 1 West |
| <i>Adda</i> , ^f <i>Ammi</i> | <i>Šaggar-abu</i> | <i>Emar</i> 260 (SH) | Locus 1 West |
| <i>Adda</i> | <i>Kāpī-Dagān</i> , <i>Šaggar-abu</i> | <i>Emar</i> 261 (SH) | Locus 1 West |
| [<i>Ba'l-qarrād</i> ²⁷¹ | <i>Bēlu-qarrād</i> (son) | <i>Emar</i> 265 (SH) | Locus 1 West] |
| <i>Pirati</i> | <i>Ba'l-mālik</i> (no title) | <i>Emar</i> 264 (SH) | Locus 1 West |

These letters appear to include both copies of letters sent elsewhere as well as original letters that had been received. It seems likely that some of the individuals should be identified with the members of the Zū-Ba'la family who had the same name, such as Šaggar-abu.

I₃.ZU and I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR

The titles *I₃.ZU* “diviner” and *I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR* “junior diviner” are not common in practical documents from any period during which the cuneiform script was in use (Falkenstein 1966: 52; cf. PSD A/1 208). Like *A.ZU* and *ZU.ZU*, these titles derive from Sum. *zu* ‘to know,’ which is also the basis of the logographic writing *GAB₂.ZU.ZU* “student.” The combination *i₃-zu* occurs in a series of entries in *Emar Syll. Voc. A*²⁷² (*Emar* 603:90–105; *Emar* 6/2 pp. 497, 569):

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| A: Msk 74246b col. ii | B: Msk 74199w + 74256 col. ii |
| me-zu | [me]-zu |
| <i>ba-r[u-u₂]</i> | [b]a-ru ₃ -u |
| (no entry) | <i>mu-di par₂-ši</i> |
| me-wa-zu | me-wa-[z]u |
| <i>ba-[ru-u₂]</i> | <i>ba-ru₃-u</i> |
| <i>e[m²-qu]</i> | [e]m-qu |
| [] | x-mu-TUM |
| (no entry) | <i>ḥa-si-su</i> |
| <i>i₃-zu</i> | <i>i₃-z[u]</i> |
| [] | <i>ba-ru₃-u</i> |
| (no entry) | <i>mu-di I₃.ME[š]</i> |

²⁶⁹ See the discussion of the title *AZU* / *UZU₂* above.

²⁷⁰ Based on *Emar* 259 Durand (1990b: 76–77) plausibly suggests that Adda or Addā “father” in the letters from ‘Temple’ M₁ is to be identified with the diviner Ba'l-qarrād of the Zū-Ba'la family.

²⁷¹ This is the one letter in which a principal (Ba'l-qarrād) is referred to with the title *ḫAL*, see above.

²⁷² Contrast with the Akkadian glosses found in the OB versions of this section (Sollberger 1965: 23; Farber 1999: 128).

| | | | |
|--------|------------|-------|------------------------------|
| a-z[u |] | a-zu | <i>ba-ru₃-u</i> |
| | (no entry) | | <i>mu-di</i> A.MEŠ |
| zu-[zu |] | zu-zu | <i>ba-ru₃-u</i> |
| | (lacuna) | | <i>em-qu</i> |
| | | | <i>lum-mu-du₄</i> |
| | | | <i>la-ma-du₄</i> |
| | | | <i>ḥa-si-s[u]</i> |
| | | | (lacuna) ²⁷³ |

A similar sequence appears in canonical Erimḥuš 5:137–142 (MSL 17, 73).²⁷⁴ Interestingly, manuscript B decomposes some of the sign combinations that are glossed “diviner” *bārû*: *me-zu* = *mu-di par₂-ši*, “one who knows rites,” which could be written logographically ZU ME in Akk. Similarly, the entries *i₃-zu* = *mu-di* I₃.ME[Š], “one who knows (how to read) oil” (ZU I₃ / I₃.MEŠ), and *a-zu* = *mu-di* A.MEŠ, “one who knows water” (ZU A / A.MEŠ).

In Emar the titles I₃.ZU “diviner” and I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR “junior diviner” appear only in the colophons of scholarly tablets written in the Syrian style. So far the title is not preserved in any practical administrative records from Emar or the wider Middle Euphrates.

Five principals bear one of these related titles in the text corpus from ‘Temple’ M₁. Two use the title I₃.ZU (Baʿl-bārû and Bêlu-...), and three use I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR (Ribi-Dagān, Baʿl-bêlu, and Iṣmaʿ-Dagān):

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Ribi-Dagān</i> ²⁷⁵ | <i>Emar</i> 543–544 A, 737 | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | <i>Emar</i> 537 Ci (no title) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Baʿl-bārû</i> ²⁷⁶ | <i>Emar</i> 575+ | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Baʿl-bêlu</i> ²⁷⁷ | <i>Emar</i> 541 A | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Iṣmaʿ-Dagān</i> ²⁷⁸ | <i>Emar</i> 541 Di | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Bêlu-...]</i> ²⁷⁹ | <i>Emar</i> 603 A | M I NW | Locus 1 Center |

No relationships are evident among these five individuals based on the evidence of the colophons alone. Baʿl-bārû is probably the father of Mašru-ḥamiš, who is referred to as the diviner (MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂) Mašru-ḥe

²⁷³ The variant *zu-zu* = ‘*mu¹-du-u₂* in SLT 243 ii’ 5’ (CBS 1159, collated) is not mentioned by Farber 1999: 128.

²⁷⁴ Cavigneaux observed that Syll. Voc. A is the only lexical text with which Erimḥuš shows any real affinities (MSL 17, 3).

²⁷⁵ I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR, see Appendix C.1.3.

²⁷⁶ I₃.ZU, see Appendix C.1.4. Based on the prosopographic information gleaned from ASJ 12, no. 7 and *Emar* 146 (Durand 1992), Arnaud’s emendation of the colophon is probably not necessary: ^{1d}IŠKUR-<EN> MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ / LU₂.I₃.ZU “Baʿal-<bêlu>, devin, / devin” (*Emar* 604 2.2). The redundant titles that result are suspicious in any case.

²⁷⁷ I₃.ZU.TUR.<TUR>, see Appendix C.1.5.

²⁷⁸ I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR, see Appendix C.1.6.

²⁷⁹ I₃.ZU, see Appendix C.2.2.

elsewhere (see above). Yoshikawa and Matsushima (1980: 12, 18) identified the copyist as the “scholar/scribe” (Jap. *gakusha*) Adad-bārû. According to the colophon the copyist of the manuscript of Sag B was a diviner named Baʿl-bārû, ^dİŠKUR-MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ / LU₂.I₃.ZU (Yoshikawa and Matsushima 1980 photo and copy; MSL SS 1, 28). This is apparently a case of *nomen omen*, *kšmw kn hwʾ* (1Sam 25:25), or, most appropriately, *mu-zu-gin₇ nam-zu ħe₂-tar-re* “Your fate shall be assigned according to your name” (Enlil and Namzitara 25, see Alster 2005: 334; cf. *Emar* 771:10ʹ–11ʹ, revised Alster 2005: 336). A similar PN Adad-bārû is attested in the NB period (Schwemer 2001: 653). Although other interpretations of the text are certainly possible, Baʿl-bārû may be named in one of the documents drawn up for Zū-Baʿla in Karkamiš (*Emar* 202). This text revolves around securing Zū-Baʿla’s estate for his children by ʿDagān-laʿi, to the exclusion of the sons of one ʿTaršipu. The pertinent passage recounts that “ʿTaršipu has taken the tablet concerning the estate of Baʿl-bārû” *ṭup-pa* [š]a E₂ ^dİŠKUR-*ba-ri* ʿTar-ši₂-pi₂ *il-t[a-qu]* and that *Emar* 202 nullifies that tablet (*Emar* 202:13–16).²⁸⁰ In some instances an ancestral estate was still associated with its original owner even after it had changed hands (*Emar* 141:1; *Emar* 201; *Emar* 225:2; CM 13, no. 6:1). The disposition of the tablet that ʿTaršipu took is unclear.

It is possible that the junior diviner Ribi-Dagān was somehow indebted to a member of the Zū-Baʿla family and indentured in their scribal school (Cohen 2005c: 168–169), but there is no direct evidence in any of the textual sources from ‘Temple’ M₁ or elsewhere in Emar. It is equally possible that the servile state described in the colophon of *Emar* 537 Ci predates the incorporation of Ribi-Dagān’s tablets into the ‘Temple’ M₁ collection. One argument against Cohen’s hypothesis is that Ribi-Dagān wrote his two tablets in the Syrian style, unlike every other member of the Zū-Baʿla family and their scribal school, who all wrote in the Syro-Hittite style.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Others prefer an expedient emendation of the text and read the name Adda-mālik (^dİŠKUR-*maʿ-likʿ*), see Durand and Marti 2003a: 179; Cohen 2009: 152–154. Although the figure Adda/^dİŠKUR-mālik / Anda-mali(k) figures prominently in *Emar* 201 and the Hittite letter RAI 44 (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 226), it would be imprudent to emend *Emar* 202 to fit a particular interpretation.

²⁸¹ The colophon of Msk 731063, which appears to be a fragment of the long recension of the hemerological omen compendium *iqqur ipuš*, monthly series, is edited by Arnaud as [...]*x*-^dD[*a-gan*...] (*Emar* 616:20ʹ), which prompted the reconstruction [Ri]-^fbi^l.^dfDa^l.^fgan] = Ribi-Dagān (Pruzsinszky 2003: CD 699). Although the AN sign is clear, but BI and DA are questionable (*Emar* 6/1, p. 138). The script of *Emar* 616 is uncertain, but it may be Syro-Hittite, e.g., the E₂ sign does not look like the Syrian E₂ signs in Msk 731064+ ri. col.

The same problem presents itself with respect to the hypothesis that Ba'1-bēlu and Išma'-Dagān mentioned in the feet of clay (*Emar* 219–220) are the junior diviners of the same names (Cohen 2005c).²⁸² Here the problem is all the more accute because we know that the children Ba'1-bēlu and Išma'-Dagān were bought by the diviner Ba'1-mālik of the Zū-Ba'la family (*Emar* 217). As with the tablets copied by Ribi-Dagān, the Syrian-type lexical texts copied by the junior diviners Ba'1-bēlu and Išma'-Dagān may have entered the tablet collection by some different means.

Royal Archive?

The idea of a royal archive found in 'Temple' M₁ derives from Arnaud's categorization of different parts of the text corpus. The six Syrian-type tablets under discussion are all documents involving the sale of real estate, and in each instance a member of the local royal family is the buyer.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Iššur-Dagān</i> ²⁸³ | <i>Emar</i> 137 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | <i>Emar</i> 138 (S) | M ₁ former R/M I SE | Locus 1, 2, or 3 |
| | <i>Emar</i> 139 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | <i>Emar</i> 140 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Ba'1-mālik</i> ²⁸⁴ | <i>Emar</i> 141 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Itti-Šagru</i> ²⁸⁵ | <i>Emar</i> 142 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |

The presence of the four documents of Iššur-Dagān in 'Temple' M₁ are, ironically, properly understood in light of the contents of a looted tablet, Ba'1-qarrād's testament (*SMEA* 30, no. 7). That text refers to Ba'1-qarrād purchasing "four tablets pertaining to the house of Iššur-Dagān" (4(ZA) *ṭup-pa.ḫi.A ša E₂-ti 'I-šur-^dKUR*) from one Dūdu (= ? Tūtu), son of Abī-kāpī. The only other mention of a Dūdu, son of Abī-kāpī, occurs in a Syrian-type tablet from the antiquities market (*AuOr* 5, no. 17:28). However, a certain

(*Emar* 6/1, pp. 141–142, *Emar* S^a Voc. written by Ribi-Dagān himself). *Emar* 616 would thus be the only Syro-Hittite-style tablet written by a scribe who otherwise wrote in the Syrian hand. It is certainly conceivable that some scribes in Emar could not only read but also write in both Syrian and Syro-Hittite hands (Pruzsinszky 2003: 39), and there are some hints of "bi-scriptal" training in Ḫattuša (Schwemer 2004: 78–79). However, a damaged and uncertain colophon should not constitute the only decisive evidence from Emar.

²⁸² Could the fate of 'Ba'la-bia (*Emar* 218) be documented in *AuOrS* 1, no. 70 and *ASJ* 13, no. 20? The PN is rare, but the appearance of the same PN may simply be a coincidence.

²⁸³ Son of the former king Ba'1-kabar I and brother of king Pilsu-Dagān.

²⁸⁴ Son of Iššur-Dagān, son of Ba'1-kabar I, the king.

²⁸⁵ Identified as the servant of the king IR₃ *ša LUGAL-ri*, who purchases a field from king Elli, son of the former king Pilsu-Dagān. The PN Itti-Šagru is so far a hapax legomenon in the Emar text corpus (Pruzsinszky 2003: CD 529).

Tūtu, son of Abī-kāpī, appears in two legal cases brought before Mutri-Teššup, the Overseer of the Land.²⁸⁶ The scribe Abī-kāpī evidently wrote four tablets found in ‘Temple’ M₁ (*Emar* 144, 156, 157, 159), but it is impossible to connect that scribe with the father of the tablet-seller in *SMEA* 30, no. 7. The descendents of Abī-kāpī, son of Ḫurazi, are known to have had territorial disputes with the descendents of the diviner Zū-Ba’la (*ASJ* 14, no. 43; *Emar* 194; see Mori 2003: 129–130), but none of the descendents of Abī-kāpī, son of Ḫurazi, is named in the course of their dispute with the Zū-Ba’la family. The documents of Ba’l-mālik, son of Iššur-Dagān, and Itti-Šagru may have a similar background that is not preserved. In short, the sale documents from ‘Temple’ M₁ that are associated with the royal family are not evidence of a royal archive stored in the building. Moreover, some of the Syrian-type legal documents from ‘Temple’ M₁ that have members of the royal family as transacting parties appear to have been registered in a Syro-Hittite administrative lists of properties, also found in the archive (see *Emar* 168–169 above).

Temple Archive?

Various texts from ‘Temple’ M₁ document the administration of the local cult, an interesting state of affairs since the temple archives from the twin temples (Area E) and Temple M₂ (Area M) were not very well preserved. The only Syrian-type administrative documents found at Emar come from the Temple of the Storm-god in Area E (*Emar* 53; *Emar* 62; *Emar* 50; Appendix B.1.14). However, one of the unpublished texts from the German-Syrian excavations may change this picture. The isolation of a temple archive in ‘Temple’ M₁ is thus less a prosopographic delimitation than a generic organization of the texts.

A number of texts from ‘Temple’ M₁ document the administration of the cult in Emar (see Appendix B.1), but this does not make them elements of a temple archive per se. A temple archive properly speaking should be defined less by genre than by architecture, i.e., a temple archive consists of the archives, of whatever kind, physically found within the confines of sacred architecture. Regardless of how one interprets the architecture

²⁸⁶ As one would expect, both tablets are Syro-Hittite, like *SMEA* 30, no. 7. Tūtu, son of Abī-kāpī, is the first witness in a legal case brought by the diviner Ibni-Dagān, son of Zū-Ba’la, and thus brother of Ba’l-qarrād: *‘Tu-u-tu DUMU A-bi-ka-pi₂’* (*Emar* 205:27). The other is a looted tablet that bears his seal on the left edge (AuOrS 1, no. 36:33 [CK 3]).

of 'Temple' M₁,²⁸⁷ the presence of records from the administration of the cult is ambiguous at best, since there are instances where a cultic official stored 'official' records for the cult in his house, such in the case of the Ur-Utu archive from OB Sippar-Amnānum (Tanret and van Lerberghe 1993).

Isolated Dossiers

Several isolated dossiers are documented among the real estate transactions found in 'Temple' M₁ (see Appendix B.2.7):

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Bēliya</i> | <i>Emar</i> 144 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Ilī-bēlu</i> | <i>Emar</i> 147 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Ilī-Gašru</i> | <i>Emar</i> 148 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Baya</i> | <i>Emar</i> 149 (S) | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Ḫimāši-Dagān</i> | <i>Emar</i> 150 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Ba'ī-bēlu</i> | <i>Emar</i> 151 (S, frag.) | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Ya[...]</i> | <i>Emar</i> 152 (S, frag.) | M I SE | Locus 2 or 3 |
| <i>Zūkri-Dagān</i> | <i>Emar</i> 153 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Dagān-bēlu</i> | <i>Emar</i> 156 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Abī-bēlu,</i> | <i>Emar</i> 159 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Yatūr-Dagān,</i> | | | |
| <i>Abiya</i> | | | |
| <i>Iša-Dagān</i> | <i>Emar</i> 163 (S) | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Burāqu</i> | <i>Emar</i> 164 (S, frag.) | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Zū-Aštarti</i> | <i>Emar</i> 171 (S) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |

These singletons were all written in the Syrian style.

Other isolated dossiers are attested among the collection of testaments from 'Temple' M₁ (see Appendix B.2.10). In the following the name of the testator is followed by those of the beneficiaries:

| | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Dagān-mi-ilu</i> | <i>Emar</i> 176 (S) | M ₁ R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Ba'ī-mālik,</i> ²⁸⁸ | <i>Ipqi-Dagān, Yašur-Dagān, Abdi-Išhara, Dagān-tari'</i> | | |
| <i>Šaddiya</i> | <i>Emar</i> 180 (S) | M I NE | Locus 1 or 2 |
| <i>Aḫī-mi</i> | | | |
| <i>Ukāl-Dagān</i> | <i>Emar</i> 181 (SH) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Ir'ib-Dagān, Rašap-ili, Abī-kāpi</i> | | | |
| <i>Abī-Rašap</i> | <i>Emar</i> 182 (SH) | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Tūra-Dagān, [...]</i> | | | |

²⁸⁷ The architecture of 'Temple' M₁ is taken up below Chapter 5.

²⁸⁸ Perhaps this document can be tied to the dossier of the diviner Ba'ī-mālik (*Emar* 176:6–7, 35–37). However, the PN Ba'ī-mālik was a popular one (Pruzsinszky 2003: CD 191–202).

| | | | |
|--|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Aḫī-mālik</i> | <i>Emar 183 (S)</i> | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Dagān-ḫariš, Aḫī-ḫamiš</i> | | | |
| [...] | <i>Emar 185 (S)</i> | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3 |
| ^f <i>Amiya, Yašur-Dagān, Ḫimāši-Dagān, ṽIšarte, ṽAtteya, Ladiya</i> | | | |
| [DN]-mālik | <i>Emar 195 (S)</i> | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| [...] | | | |
| <i>Ikūn-Ra</i> | <i>Emar 197 (S)</i> | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Burāqu, (Ilu-bani)</i> | | | |

In two unusual texts that appear to be at least partial duplicates, four siblings evidently divide an estate for which no testator is given:

| | | | |
|--|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| — | <i>Emar 187</i> | M I SW | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | // <i>Emar 186</i> | M I SW-II NW | Locus 3 |
| <i>Kāpī-Dagān, Abī'u, Dagān-bēlu, Lada-Dagān</i> | | | |

Because *Emar 187* bears a seal impression of Ini-Teššup, king of Karkamiš, and *Emar 186* is not sealed, the latter may have been an archival duplicate, though curiously both were found in 'Temple' M₁.

One of the few examples of a small isolated dossier consists of two records that pertain to the affairs of a single woman. One text is a Syro-Hittite-type legal decision by Mutri-Teššup, the Overseer of the Land, concerning her repayment of her brother's debt (*Emar 252*). In the other, a Syrian-type document, king Pilsu-Dagān of Emar confirms her inheritance share as well as that of her husband (*Emar 253*; cf. *RA 77*, no. 2).

| | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| ^f <i>Al-aḫātī</i> | <i>Emar 252 (SH)</i> | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| ^f <i>Al-aḫātī</i> | <i>Emar 253 (S)</i> | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| | | M I SE | Locus 2 or 3 |

Another isolated text lists six witnesses for the principal:

| | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>A'u-milkī</i> | <i>Emar 255 (SH)</i> | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|

A separate list of PNs, all hapax legomena, may also be a list of witnesses (line 2: 1G1) for the PN treated as a principal, a man from the town Ebla (LU₂ *E-eb-la*):

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------|--------------|
| <i>Lū-Dagān</i> | <i>Emar 254 (SH)</i> | M III NE | Locus 1 West |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------|--------------|

In another isolated text three orphans (a boy and two girls) are adopted by the principal because their father had been disinherited by his father:

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Abī-kāpī</i> | <i>Emar 256 (S)</i> | M ₁ former R | Locus 1 or 3 |
| <i>Aḫī'u, ṽIšarte, ṽAḫa-mi</i> | | | |

The principal of another isolated dossier wins a legal ruling before an unnamed king and the Great Ones of the town Šatappi regarding the theft of his slave:

Huzūru *Emar 257* (SH) M₁ R Locus 1 or 3

A total of 28 (22 Syrian, 6 Syro-Hittite) out of 63 legal texts (= 44.4%) are difficult to place in an established dossier in the archive. With the exception of ^fAl-aḥātī (*Emar 252* SH; *Emar 251* S) and the two documents *Emar 186* // *Emar 187*, all of the individuals listed in this section occur only once as principals in the tablets from 'Temple' M₁.

In addition to the isolated dossiers attested in the various legal documents, a handful of letters from 'Temple' M₁ do not square with other dossiers found in the collection. As noted above, half of the letters from 'Temple' M₁ belong to the dossier of the Zū-Ba'la family. Three other groups of letters can be identified.

First, three letters are either to or from Hittite officials in Karkamiš to the north:

| To: | From: | Edition | Provenience |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| <i>Akiya, Šaggar-kabar</i> | UGULA.KALAM.MA | <i>Emar 262</i> (SH) | Locus 1 West |
| UGULA.KALAM.MA | Šinenzuru, Aḫī-mālik ²⁸⁹ | <i>Emar 263</i> (SH) | Locus 1 West |
| <i>Kunti-Teššup</i> (DUMU LUGAL) | [...] | <i>Emar 267</i> (SH) | Locus 1 West |

Second, three additional letters are ambiguously addressed to "my lord":

| To: | From: | Edition | Provenience |
|--|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| "My Lord;" <i>Madi</i> , ^f GABA; ^f Gugu (neice), ^f Aḫa-madi, ^f Uḫubani (wife); <i>Dagān-qarrād</i> , <i>Išbi-Dagān</i> , <i>Šamaš-ilī</i> , <i>Tūra-Dagān</i> , <i>Kili-Šarruma</i> (nephews) | <i>Abī-kāpī</i> | <i>Emar 266</i> (SH) | Locus 1 West |
| "My Lord" | Niqme-Dagān | <i>Emar 269</i> (SH) | Locus 1 West |
| "Our Lord" | [...], Buraqu(?) | <i>Emar 272</i> (SH) | Locus 1 Center |

Both Adda (i.e., Ba'1-qarrād) and Pirati are referred to as EN in letters found in 'Temple' M₁, so it may be that one of them is meant in these letters as well.

²⁸⁹ See Durand and Marti 2005: 123–126.

Third, two fragmentary letters do not obviously relate to any others:

| To: | From: | Text Edition | Provenience |
|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| ^J Te[...] | <i>Dagān-qarrād</i> | <i>Emar 270</i> (SH) | Locus 1 West |
| [...] | [...] | <i>Emar 271</i> (SH) | Locus 1 West |

As with the isolated dossiers of legal documents, there are few clues as to why particular isolated letters were present in ‘Temple’ M₁.

Copyist of the “Benediction for the King” *Emar 775*

The colophon of *Emar 775* is perfectly preserved, so one would expect that it would be possible to situate this text among those produced and/or stored in ‘Temple’ M₁. However, there are a number of problems with this colophon. There is a cryptic colophon, which is present on a large number of scholarly texts from Emar, but what follows is not at all characteristic:

Msk 74243, colophon (*Emar 6/2*, p. 564 photo)

(ruling)

MAN MAN MAN MAN

(ruling)

šU TUKU AN E₂.ĤUR.SAG BARA₂ RA ^d*Da-gan*

i+na ^{iti.d}*Ur-da*

ṭup-pu an-nu-u₂

IN.SAR

Hand of PN . . . Dagān. He wrote this tablet in the month of (the god) Urda.

Among the first descriptions of this text, Arnaud (1975–1976: 224–225) recognized that the colophon was difficult to interpret and concluded only that the copyist was probably Syrian. In the subsequent edition he interpreted the first line of the scribal colophon as follows (*Emar 775:26*):

šu Tuku-^dE₂.ĥur.sag lu₂.sanga ^d*Da-gan*

Main de . . ., prêtre de Dagan.

Arnaud suggested only that this PN is “manifestement un travestissement ésotérique d’un anthroponyme sans doute commun,” but the interpretation remained elusive (*Emar 6/4*, p. 376). Regardless, a number of subsequent studies of this text and its copyist have followed Arnaud’s reading, among them studies by Dietrich (1998–1999: 163–164, “Ibašši-Eĥursag, des Priesters des Dagān”), Fleming (2000: 28–29), Pruzsinszky (2003: 40, CD 776), and Feliu (2003: 233, “priest (SANGA) of Dagan called Tuku-Eĥursag”). Kämmerer (1998: 218–218) took a different view of the PN (i.e., *tuku-diġir-e₂-ĥur-saġ*), but still retained the title SANGA. The title SANGA is amply attested in Emar, and a number of SANGA-temple administrators are named

in documents from ‘Temple’ M₁ and elsewhere on the site.²⁹⁰ However, none of the other scribal colophons attest to a SANGA acting as a scribe. Therefore, this title merits re-examination, especially since Msk 74243 is one of the tablets for which there is a legible published photograph.

The signs in question are read LU₂ and ŠID by Arnaud and everyone since, as noted already above. However, the sign read LU₂ is actually a Syrian variant of BARA₂, consistent with the mixed Syrian script of the tablet. The decisive evidence comes in the last entry in the translation column of Ribī-Dagān’s copy of S^a Voc., Tablet 2 (*Emar* 537:755’; cf. Sjöberg 1998: 278):

Msk 731064 col. viii (*Emar* 6/1, p. 142)

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 44 | DIŠ | BARA ₂ | LUGAL- <i>ru</i> ₃ |
| 45 | DIŠ | BARA ₂ | šu- <i>ub-tu</i> ₃ |
| 46 | DIŠ | BARA ₂ | mu-ša- <i>bu</i> |
| 47 | DIŠ | BARA ₂ | a-ši- <i>ib</i> BARA ₂ |

The BARA₂ sign in the Akkadian translation of the last entry (line 47: *āšib parakki*) is identical to the first uncertain sign in the colophon of Msk 74243. Furthermore, the same sign was read KAD₅ by Arnaud in Msk 74198b (*Emar* 6/2, p. 484, col. iv 10’): id₂-^dKAD₅ (*Emar* 559/2:24’; *Emar* Hh 21b–22, Tablet 1). A reading id₂-AN.BARA₂ (or id₂-^dšara) is more plausible, however, since ID₂-AN.BARA₂ has a Diri reading kunigara (Diri 3:184–185; MSL 15, 146–147).²⁹¹ Thus BARA₂ joins the ranks of the diagnostic Syrian/Syro-Hittite repertoire not adumbrated by Wilcke (1992). Note that the script of *Emar* 775 is basically Syrian, but a few Syro-Hittite forms are also present, e.g., 𐎶AR(𐎶I+AŠ₂) in 𐎶ur-sag (rev. 13) versus 𐎶I×AŠ₂ in the colophon.

The sign after BARA₂ in the colophon of Msk 74243 is still unclear, but RA seems to be the most likely candidate.²⁹² Perhaps read BAR₂.RA / BARA₂^{ra} *Da-gan*, since a few phonetic complements do occur in Sumerian

²⁹⁰ Among the excavated texts, note the following: *Emar* 212:27 (witness, seal owner, based in Karkamiš?); *Emar* 268 (appointment of priest; Fleming 2000: 31); *Emar* 276:1 (list of cultic officials); *Emar* 279:21, 48 (grain list, priests of Dagān and Šaggar; Fleming 2000: 37); *Emar* 287:7 (recipient for ^dHalma); *Emar* 319:4, 8 (grain recipients, priest of Dagān, servant of priest); *Emar* 320:8 (people who did not give grain, priest of Šaggar); and from Area V, *Emar* 125:31 (witness, Syrian type tablet); summarized in Fleming 1992a: 91–92.

²⁹¹ Note that the previous entry id₂-^dniraḥ, also occurs in Diri 3:188 (MSL 15, 146–147) as MIN (kunigara₂) = ID₂.AN.MUŠ.

²⁹² Note the forms of RA in the text: *Emar* 775:6 (*ra-bi-tu*₃), 10 (*sipa kur-kur-ra*), 12 (*qar-ra-du*₄), 13 (*ra-bu-ti*), 19 (*ga-a-ni-šur-ra-ke*₄).

writings found in the Emar lexical corpus.²⁹³ Based on the passage at the end of Emar S^a Voc. cited above, the latter half of the phrase can be interpreted: E₂.ĤUR.SAG BARA₂^{ra} ^d*Da-gan* “Eĥursag, sanctuary of Dagān (*parak* / *šubat Dagān*).”²⁹⁴ The names of a number of sanctuaries in Mesopotamia begin with the Sum. phrase e₂-ĥur-sag “House of the Mountains” (George 1993: 100–102), but none is associated with Dagān or the Middle Euphrates. Even if this is the correct interpretation of the latter half of the line, the PN remains a serious problem. Momentarily discounting the interpretation of E₂.ĤUR.SAG as a sanctuary, none of the various possible solutions for the PN is particularly compelling: TUKU-DINGIR-E₂.ĤUR.SAG; TUKU-^dE₂.ĤUR.SAG (cf. CAD R 194b); or some syllabic reading TUK-AN-E₂.ĤUR.SAG. If Eĥursag is in fact a temple name, then perhaps the PN is simply TUKU-DINGIR.²⁹⁵ An obscure title BARA₂ is attested in OB Nippur,²⁹⁶ but there is no evidence for such a title in LBA Emar or the Middle Euphrates. Given all of these problems, I propose a tentative reading of this colophon is as follows:

ŠU TUKU-DINGIR <...> E₂.ĤUR.SAG BARA₂^{ra} ^d*Da-gan*

Hand of Raši-ili(?), <(title?) of> Eĥursag, shrine of Dagān.

Other features of this colophon are unusual in the text corpus from ‘Temple’ M₁. The occurrence of the eponymous month name of the god Urda is unique in Emar (Fleming 2000: 198–201). Examples of colophons written IN.SAR abound in texts from other sites and periods (e.g., Hunger 1969: 29–38, and passim), but it is a rare formulation in the scholarly corpus from Emar. Only one fragment may read: [...*tu*]p-pu an-nu-u₂ I₃.[SAR...] (Emar 717:5’; cf. Cohen 2009: 141). However, this same formulation does occur in some legal tablets written in Karkamiš (e.g., Emar 201:51–53; GsGreenfield 37–41).

²⁹³ Note: giš-ma-nu-duru₅^{nu} (Msk 731030 col. ii 27, Emar 6/1, p. 105, Hh 3–5a, Tablet 1: Emar 543:73’); BAR-la-šu-^{du}du₇, BAR-la-nu-šu-^{du}du₇ (Msk 74209a, Emar 6/2, p. 512, Hh 5b–7, Tablet 1: Emar 545:296’–297’; dupl. Msk 74196k, Emar 6/2, p. 482, Hh 5b–7, Tablet 2; cf. Emar 545:128’–129’).

²⁹⁴ CAD P 145–153 sub *parakku* A “dais, pedestal, socle, sanctuary, shrine, divine throne room;” esp. p. 150: “as epithet of temples, cities, regions;” cf. PSD B 134–143 sub *bara₂* A. For *bara₂* = *parakku*, *šubtu*, *mūšabu*, *nīmettu* note also bilingual Ugarit Izi (RS 25.254:2’–6’, MSL 13, 126).

²⁹⁵ Contemporary PNs from Nuzi (Tukkani < Sum. Dugani, NPN 156, 318) and Kasite Nippur (Tukki-Teššup, which in the present case could only be Hurr. Tuk<ki>-eni, Hölscher 1996: 221) do not provide particularly promising leads.

²⁹⁶ A LU₂.BARA₂ ^dUTU is attested in a witness list from OB Nippur (CBS 7193, PBS 8/2, 131 rev. 8’).

Elements of the Diviners' Tablet Collection

Although a number of different elements have been incorporated into the 'Temple' M₁ tablet collection, the only coherent dossier is that of the diviners from the Zū-Ba'la family, for which five generations are known (Fig. 18; Arnaud 1975b: 91; Yamada 1998; Fleming 2000: 32–35; Cohen 2005b, 2009). The alleged royal and temple archives are in actuality subsets of the Zū-Ba'la family archive. The only title not used by members of the Zū-Ba'la family (I₃.ZU and I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR) appears in a handful of Syrian-type lexical tablets that were incorporated into the diviners' collection. A number of isolated dossiers are present in the archive, and the reasons for their inclusion are not clear. Although numerous, outliers of this kind are a common feature of cuneiform archives and do not warrant segregation into loosely defined 'archives' within the 'Temple' M₁ collection as a whole.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Divination appears to have been as robust and adaptable in the ancient world as it is in modern times, and across a wide region of the ancient Near East both the abundant body of textual material and the extensive archaeological record document an unusually rich array of human activities connected with divination. Reliance on the contents of the textual record alone can produce significant insights and further the progress of research on ancient Mesopotamia's languages, cultures, and history, despite the fact that these results are necessarily limited by the concern of the texts' authors and by the constraints of textual genre as a theoretical and operative construct. Although the cuneiform textual record often complements the findings of the archaeological investigation of this part of the world, much of the cuneiform text corpus is the product of excavations that were ignorant of or indifferent to the interests and goals of archaeological method. Lost in such cases is an appreciation that the texts themselves constitute an integral component of the archaeological record. Texts are frequently mute or potentially misleading when it comes to shedding light on the settings in which they were produced, used, and stored. Therefore, ignorance of or indifference to the cuneiform text corpus as a collection of archaeological, i.e., material textual artifacts results in the loss of certain aspects of the complex cultural dynamics in which the texts were embedded. Only an archaeologically provenienced body of texts, a tablet collection, an archive, a library, whose context is adequately documented, will allow for the potential to achieve insight into the logic of its organization and meaning, and, by extension, a more nuanced holistic description of the social, historical, and cultural behavior and processes that produced it.

Ancient Mesopotamia's textual record also allows historians to populate its landscape with a diverse array of names and titles. Yet in any one place or time a relatively small subset of ancient scribes and scholars were responsible for producing the vast majority of tablets preserved down to the present, and the texts inscribed on most of these tablets contain no explicit information about their authors or copyists. Various types of evidence—such as names and titles, textual genres, specialized objects

and visual representations—provide the primary basis for inferences about the roles and responsibilities of someone who held a particular title, such as that of diviner, a specialist whose expertise was an integral component of cultures throughout the ancient Near East. Here again archaeological provenience provides the organizing principle with the greatest analytical power to draw connections among names, titles, genres, and the constituent elements of a given archaeological assemblage.

In this study I have examined a specific provenienced text corpus, the diviners' tablet collection from 'Temple' M₁ in LBA Emar, as a case study to illustrate the strengths, possibilities, and problematics of a provenience-centered approach to the study of diviners and divination in greater ancient Mesopotamia. The importance of the text corpus from Emar for the study of virtually every aspect of economy and society in LBA Syria cannot be overstated. Furthermore, the scholarly texts from Emar have significantly advanced our understanding of the transmission of knowledge in late-second-millennium Mesopotamia, since comparatively few data are preserved from Babylonia and Assyria in this period. Any engagement with the rich body of texts from Emar must necessarily contend with the contexts in which the texts were found. One significant result of this study is a *catalogue raisonné* of inscribed objects (primarily tablets and fragments), textual genres, their find-spots, and copyists (Appendices A–D, cf. Chapters 3–4). To achieve these results it was necessary to understand the history of excavations at Emar and reconstruct the various excavators' techniques and documentation methods. Only find-spot squares were published for the inscribed material, but the reconstruction of the original excavation units of 'Temple' M₁ has made it possible to hypothesize associations between the clay tablets and the rooms in which they were found. This reconstruction of the texts and their find-spots is a contribution to the study of this group of texts and the individual texts themselves as discrete entities. However, there are a number of wider implications beyond the investigation of the specific contents of individual texts from the tablet collection.

The examination of all the published tablets and fragments from Emar provides an appreciation of the biases inherent in this text corpus. Over 90% of the inscribed objects (primarily tablets) from LBA Emar were found in the context of a single structure, 'Temple' M₁ (Appendix D.1). This bias is all the more troubling because of the uncertain nature of that structure and the incomplete exposition of the archaeological distribution and generic composition of the text corpus from 'Temple' M₁. What was 'Temple' M₁? What can we say about the text corpus found in this

building? And what are we able to observe because the 'Temple' M₁ tablet collection is archaeologically provenienced and not simply an undifferentiated mass of texts in a museum or modern-day collection? Finally, what is the significance of this body of tablets for understanding the script communities occupied by Emar diviners?

ARCHITECTURE AND ASSEMBLAGE OF 'TEMPLE' M₁

Temple, Scriptorium, Public Storage, or House?

The vast majority of discussions of 'Temple' M₁ fall within the framework of studies focused on the texts it contained. The identification of the structure as a temple originated with the French excavators, and this interpretation is followed without question in many general discussions of the texts from the building (e.g., Hoskisson 1991; Beckman 1996a: 3, 6, 9; Hess 1996; Pitard 1996: 18–19, 21; Adamthwaite 2001: 30), albeit in some cases with reservations (Meyer 1987b: 35). Some studies have tried to identify the specific god of the temple (e.g., Ninurta: Leemans 1988: 234–235, 240–241), while others have concluded that 'Temple' M₁ was a Pantheon that housed all the local gods of Emar (Dietrich 1990: 37–47, esp. 37–38; Fleming 1992a: 87; Penttiuc 2001: 4). Based on inconsistencies between the architectural elements of 'Temple' M₁ and those of the three other temples on the site, in a more recent study Fleming suggested that 'Temple' M₁ was a "modified public sacred space" and "House of the Gods" (Fleming 2000: 35–42), whose diviners¹ were "scribes" and "cult supervisors" (Fleming 2000: 26–32).

Before publishing the Emar tablets Arnaud (1980a) proffered the additional hypothesis that 'Temple' M₁ housed a temple scriptorium, and elsewhere he introduced the idea that the administrative documents found in the structure may have been jumbled into a pure scriptorium by "fossyeurs arabes" (Arnaud 1980b). The tablets deposited beneath the masif could dispel this notion, since the Islamic period gravediggers were not able to penetrate it, but unfortunately we still do not know exactly which tablets were found in that context.² The fact that the dossier of the Zū-Ba'la family bridges both scholarly and practical texts so neatly

¹ Not specifically a "Beschwörungspriester" (Prechel 2004: 108).

² Unless there was a mass burial at one time, which is not suggested by the varying orientations and depths of the tombs excavated in 1973 (see Figs. 5 and 6). It is also expected, though not certain, that the back fill would come from the same spot as the tomb itself.

also vitiates this hypothesis. In any case, the notion of 'Temple' M₁ as a temple/Pantheon with a scriptorium has also been perpetuated in the secondary literature (Seminara 1998: 3; Beyer 2001: 8; George 2003: 326–327). However, Cohen (2009) has recently emphasized the evidence for a school housed in 'Temple' M₁ and, based on the architecture of the structure doubted whether this structure was a temple at all (Cohen 2005: 195). I take up this discussion of the building's architecture below.

Another view of the structure and its tablet collection suggests that it was "a sort of public institution where the transactions of private citizens could be registered and safely stored" (Mori 2003b: 19). Mori appears to be agnostic about whether the building was a temple or house, emphasizing its public nature as a storage facility.³ In some instances this idea of a public storage building is combined with the notion that 'Temple' M₁ was a temple (Gallagher 2003: 173–174, 176; Di Filippo 2004: 195–196, 200).⁴

Given this profusion of views, some of which are mutually exclusive, a facile solution is unlikely. Ironically, the sheer size, extent, and therefore significance of the text corpus itself is a major obstacle. Because the text corpus from 'Temple' M₁ is unique at the site in terms of its size and scope, there are no convincing parallels to use as a basis for comparison. Although it is impossible in practical terms to dissociate the building from the texts found in it, we may fairly ask what archaeologists would have made of this structure had it not housed extensive archives and a so-called temple library. The following examination of the architecture and artifact assemblage suggest that 'Temple' M₁ was not a temple and that it had much more in common with domestic structures and domestic assemblages.

Architecture

The architecture of 'Temple' M₁ has been cited as evidence both for and against identifying it as a temple. The layout of the major architectural elements is basically known, since the French excavators cleared what remained of the building and were, in most cases, at least able to articulate the structure's foundations (see Fig. 7). The existence of the alleged

³ Following McClellan (1997), Mori (2003b: 33) includes 'Temple' M₁ in the presentation of domestic structures from Emar but does not specifically discuss its architecture.

⁴ Cf. Di Filippo 2008: 57–58. Gallagher (2003) makes many assumptions and unsupported inferences about the building, the distribution of tablets found in it, and the family of diviners.

in antis porch and entrance, the podium and bench in the main room, and the terrace behind the building to the southwest inclined Margueron (1975a: 209, 1975b: 80) to view 'Temple' M₁ through the interpretive lens of the Area E temples. However, Margueron himself already recognized two characteristics of 'Temple' M₁ that the Area E temples and Temple M₂ lacked: the three side rooms to the southeast of the main room; and the integration of the building into the town (i.e., a shared wall with the front-room house to the south). Each of these characteristics merits further consideration.

Independent examinations of the sacred architecture (Werner 1994) and domestic architecture (McClellan 1997) of LBA Syria have established the essential architectural elements expected with each. None of the *in antis* temples known from Bronze Age Syria exhibit the kind of side rooms found in 'Temple' M₁ (Werner 1994: 15, 70). In any case, houses with side rooms bearing some resemblance to 'Temple' M₁ are known from the LBA occupation of sites such as Bazi, al-Qīṭar, Fray,⁵ Munbaqa, and Emar itself (see McClellan 1997: 41, fig. 16). The dimensions of the main room of 'Temple' M₁ are large in comparison to the domestic structures from Emar, but houses from Munbaqa (Werner 1994: 71) and Bazi (Otto 2006a: 255–257) are comparable. In fact, several houses excavated at Bazi are strikingly similar in layout to 'Temple' M₁.⁶ McClellan (1997: 30) observed that cultic installations are well-known features of LBA houses (e.g., in Munbaqa), that there is no evidence of the so-called terrace's specifically cultic function, and, like Werner (1994: 70), that the walls of 'Temple' M₁ are closer in thickness to the walls of domestic structures than the massive width typical of temple walls. Only because of the presence of the tablets is there a concession that there was "something special about the building," which may have been "multifunctional, serving as the residence for a diviner who also carried out rituals there" (McClellan 1997: 30).⁷ In addition, the notion that the diviner carried out rituals in his residence carries with it unarticulated assumptions about what 'diviner' and 'ritual' mean in this context.

⁵ On the alleged temple at Fray, see Otto 2006a: 14 n. 18.

⁶ The strongest parallels include: House 7, phase 2, lower level (Otto 2006a: 161–162, fig. 86); House 23, phase 1, lower level (Otto 2006a: 185–186, fig. 111); House 30 (Otto 2006a: 200–201, figs. 125–126); cf. House 41 (Otto 2006a: 215–217, 220, figs. 141–143).

⁷ This leads McClellan (1997: 30) to ask whether 'Temple' M₁ was "a temple that served as a residence or a residence that doubled as a cultic structure," bringing into relief the hazards of attempting to differentiate a given architectural unit's unique function. This interpretation was the primary inspiration for Fleming's (2000) interpretation cited above.

If the proposed location of the entrance to 'Temple' M₁ is incorrect, then one of the main reasons for the temple hypothesis is dispensed with. Werner (1994: 71) suggests that the alleged protuberances that create the porch may have belonged to an earlier building phase. Another interpretation is possible as well. Many side-room houses have their entrance in one of the corner side rooms, but because the northeast room of 'Temple' M₁ was completely eroded away, we will never know if that was the case in 'Temple' M₁ as well (cf. Otto 2006a: 159, House 5, 164, House 8, 204, House 32). In a number of other contemporary LBA domestic structures there would have been a room to the northeast of the proposed entrance (cf. Otto 2006a: 162, House 7, 216, House 41), again assigning a different function to the alleged *in antis* porch.

According to Otto (2006c) similar spatial dimensions and types of installations are found in the cellas of temples and in the main rooms of the side-room domestic structure. The most important difference is in the width of the walls. In temples the walls were thicker due to the unusual height of the temple and, more importantly, the desire to visually and physically represent the monumentality of the sacred structure (see, e.g., Finkbeiner 1999–2000: pl. 87). Otto (2006c: 491) views the cella of an *in antis* temple as “der monumentalisierte Hauptraum eines Hauses” (Otto 2006c: 491). Perhaps this structural similarity has a functional reflex, namely (Otto 2006c: 491):

Insbesondere aber die Struktur der Cella mit den typischen Installationen ist frappant ähnlich zu derjenigen der häuslichen Haupträume. Daher die hier die Hypothese gewagt, dass auch ihre Funktion ähnlich, jedoch auf eine höhere Ebene transponiert war.

That is to say that the analogous spaces in both types of structures may have been dedicated at once to economic/administrative and cultic activities.⁸ The bench and podium in 'Temple' M₁ are more elaborate than the cultic installations in the comparable side room houses in the LBA Middle Euphrates, but these points of comparison are between different sites (Emar, Ekalte, and Bazi), so it is difficult to assess factors such as site-specific practices and slight differences in the period of occupation and use of a building.

⁸ Otto (2006c) proffers the additional hypothesis that the administrative and legal function of the large temples (Area E; Temple M₂) accounts for the absence of a large administrative structure at the site, an idea that merits further consideration and scrutiny.

Although side-room houses like 'Temple' M₁ were standard domestic structures elsewhere in the Middle Euphrates, 'Temple' M₁ stands out relative to the more modest domestic architecture known from LBA Emar. Thus, 'Temple' M₁ was probably an urban elite residence. Although the architecture alone is decisive, such a conclusion is also supported by the artifacts found in the building.

Artifacts

The largely unpublished artifact assemblage from 'Temple' M₁ presents us with a number of unanswered questions. In 1973 the first investigation of what came to be called Area M revealed architecture, a sizable number of artifacts, as well as a significant number of inscribed objects. However, subsequent excavations reported finding a huge quantity of inscribed objects and virtually no other material culture within the architectural confines of the building.

It is profitable to begin with the only published discoveries of the 1974 campaigns: the terracotta house models. The publication of the fragmentary house models provided important confirmation of the reconstruction of the French excavation units that has been proposed here. However, these objects are also significant in their own right. The so-called stepped house models found in, for example, Areas A and V at Emar provide the clearest indication yet that these objects are part of the LBA domestic assemblage in north Syria, possibly functioning as domestic altars.⁹ The fragments of two stepped house models found in 'Temple' M₁ suggest that it too was a domestic structure. Although the fragments were found in Locus 1 in collapse, it strains credulity to suppose that they actually belonged to the upper story of the front room house to the south of 'Temple' M₁ and not the building itself (Muller 2002: 135). Muller's tentative hypothesis that the diviners mentioned in the 'Temple' M₁ archive actually lived in this small front room house (and not in 'Temple' M₁)¹⁰ appears to be an attempt to exclude the house models from the 'Temple' M₁ assemblage in order to keep its designation as a temple.¹¹

⁹ It is worth observing here that there are only very slight, probably superficial formal similarities between the stepped house models from LBA Syria and the third-millennium stepped models found in the archaic Ištar Temple at Assur (Muller 2002: 21–23, 134, 210–221, nos. 2–13; Bär 2003: 239–259, pls. 94–133).

¹⁰ For the same strained interpretation, see Penttici 2001: 4.

¹¹ The other stepped house model fragments from a uncertain context at Emar were found in the back part (for Muller, the domestic quarters) of the so-called *bīt ḫilāni* (Muller

There are only perfunctory accounts of the ceramics and small finds recovered from 'Temple' M₁ during the 1973 campaign. The domestic assemblages of similar types of buildings are now known from other sites on the Middle Euphrates, such as Munbaqa (Czichon and Werner 1998, 2008) and Bazi (Otto 2006a: 85–147), so a detailed comparison may one day be possible. The disturbance of the assemblage in 'Temple' M₁, the incomplete preservation of the building's architecture, and the relative rarity of the house type itself at Emar make a spatial-functional analysis impossible to carry out in this instance (cf. Otto 2006a: 39–46). Nevertheless, the artifacts found in 'Temple' M₁ are consistent with the domestic assemblages known from these other sites, and there are even points of similarity with sites further afield, such as LBA Ugarit.¹² In contrast, nothing like the prestige objects and cultic paraphernalia from Emar's sacred structures is known from 'Temple' M₁, such as the fine beads (one inscribed), sea shells, ivory cosmetics boxes, sculpted caprid's horn, cylinder seals, sculpted stone basins, and other decorations known from Temple M₂ and the twin temples in Area E.

Considered in isolation, the architecture and artifacts from 'Temple' M₁ both indicate that it was a house, not a temple. One final factor requires explication: the extraordinarily rich text corpus found in this structure.

THE 'TEMPLE' M₁ TABLET COLLECTION: FORMATION, SIZE, COMPOSITION, AND DISTRIBUTION

Perspectives on the Formation and Deposition of Cuneiform Tablet Collections

The formation of a cuneiform archive or library is conditioned by a number of socio-historical factors whose dynamics are largely unobservable. Suffice it to say that any such collection only became static after it had been deposited in the archaeological record, at which time it became subject to the vicissitudes of site formation. An archive or library can be thought of as the written residue of social, economic, and intellectual practices. Although an archaeologically provenienced tablet collection does repre-

2002: 135). This is the lower part of the so-called "palace" that Margueron goes to great lengths to justify as part of the same structure. In fact these buildings are probably separate, and the house models were thus probably found in domestic contexts.

¹² E.g., all of the mortar and pestle sets from LBA Ugarit were found in domestic contexts (Eliot 1991), except for those found in the so-called "Temple aux rhytons" (Werner 1994: 89–90; cf. McGeough 2003–2004: 412–414, 2007: 261–264, 277–290).

sent a discrete totality, it is important to recognize that a reconstructed archive or library does not represent the totality of written records of the individual, family, or institution that produced and used its tablets. A library or an archive can hardly be understood as the totality of written records from a specific place and time. Despite their durability in the archaeological record, clay tablets were usually not intended to be permanent documents. Under various circumstances they were intentionally destroyed, recycled, lost, stolen, transferred, or simply discarded. Other activities were recorded on even more perishable writing materials, such as waxed writing boards made of wood.¹³

Some of the factors that contribute to the formation and preservation of tablet collections are documented in the ancient texts themselves, while others are not. Under normal circumstances tablets entered and left a given collection or group on a regular basis. Some were relinquished during real estate transactions or divided with an estate.¹⁴ The proprietor(s) of an archive must have periodically sorted and kept or discarded certain tablets.¹⁵ In other instances tablet collections were sorted and excerpted due to inheritance division or legal transaction (sale or legal dispute). Tablets could be broken on purpose or by accident. Other tablets must have been moved to safety or carried away during perilous times, some of which are documented in the historical record. Some documents had functions that made them socially more durable, for example, administrative documents were generally less durable, since they were no longer necessary after the transaction they describe had taken place and been superseded by another. On the other hand, legal documents could be passed across generations to guarantee rights to property, be it mobilia or real estate.

Texts from Emar and the Middle Euphrates shed some light on the uses and disposition of tablets in LBA Syria. Texts refer to the production,¹⁶

¹³ It is worth reiterating that there are references to the use of wax writing boards in the Emar text corpus (e.g., *Emar* 285; *Emar* 290; *Emar* 305), and the objects themselves have been found on the LBA Uluburun shipwreck (Symington 1991; cf. NA Nimrud: Wiseman 1955).

¹⁴ These practices are particularly well-documented at Nuzi (Maidman 1979) and OB Kutalla (Charpin 1985b).

¹⁵ Especially well documented in OB Mari (Charpin 1995, 2001). It is probable that the OB Ur-Utu archive found in Sippar-Amnānum documents this practice as well (van Lerberghe 2003; Tanret 2004a).

¹⁶ *Emar* 14:18–20; *Emar* 91:23–24; *Emar* 127:20; *Emar* 201:51–53; *Emar* 217:11–13; AuOrS 1, no. 86:31–32; AuOrS 1, no. 87:1–7; RE 21:1–6; CM 13, no. 3:5–6; ASJ 14, no. 43:16–17; ASJ 14, no. 46:8–9; *Ekalte* 91:8–14.

transfer,¹⁷ and even sale of tablets.¹⁸ Tablets were reportedly stored in baskets (^{gi}PISAN)¹⁹ and in houses more generally.²⁰ Tablets were lost and stolen,²¹ as well as destroyed.²² According to the textual record, the primary function of a tablet was legal, i.e., the ability to produce a specific tablet to document certain rights.²³ However, in the Emar ritual corpus there is at least one appeal to textual authority.²⁴ Although our view is restricted by the limited concerns of the texts, practices such as these certainly impacted archive formation in ancient Emar in general and in 'Temple' M₁ in particular. Furthermore, since most of the Emar documentation concerning the movement and uses of tablets comes from legal texts, it is difficult to extrapolate the dynamics to include the other textual genres found in the building.

The ancient Mesopotamian terminology used to denote collections of cuneiform tablets is not particularly extensive. The clearest Akkadian term for "library," *girinnakku*, is so far unknown before the first-millennium, where it appears to refer solely to institutional tablet collections found in temples (CAD G 86–87; Richardson 2006). The clearest linguistic reflex of the association between tablet storage and a specific building is the term for scribal school,²⁵ and a number of texts document information about the storage of tablets in various types of containers (CAD T 146–147). In any case, this terminology generally occurs outside of Emar.²⁶

Because the emic terminology is so underdeveloped and the Assyriological notion of archive is often broad and imprecise (e.g., dossier = 'archive'), the following analytic terminology suggests a three-tiered hierarchy of tablet collection types.

¹⁷ *Emar* 6:18–26; *Emar* 12:3:5–9; *Emar* 17:18'–19'; RE 7:14; AuOrS 1, no. 84:5–10.

¹⁸ *SMEA* 30, no. 7: 20–37; AuOrS 1, no. 84:5–10; cf. *Emar* 17:18'–19'.

¹⁹ *Emar* 6:2; *Emar* 6:11; *Emar* 90:17 (Msk 74733); *Emar* 15:8:29–31; *Emar* 20:6:20–23; *Emar* 20:7:34–39; AuOrS 1, no. 37:12; AuOrS 1, no. 38: 11–12; AuOrS 1, no. 55:26; *ASJ* 12, no. 11:25; *ASJ* 12, no. 13:15–19; *ASJ* 12, no. 14:33; *AuOr* 5, no. 5:32–34; *AuOr* 5, no. 9:18–20.

²⁰ *Emar* 7:6:15–18; *Emar* 8:5:34–35.

²¹ *Emar* 9:3:9–11; RE 11:13–16; *ASJ* 10, C:2'–4'; RE 8:5:28–32; *ASJ* 12, no. 9:17–19; AuOrS 1, no. 24:16–17; AuOrS 1, no. 33:20–22; AuOrS 1, no. 86.

²² *Emar* 19:7:20'–22'; CM 13, no. 2:9–11 (production and destruction).

²³ AuOrS 1, no. 95:8–10; perhaps *Emar* 25:2:9–10.

²⁴ Note the phrase *ki-i ša i-na ṭup-pi₂ ša-aṭ-ru* "as it is written on the tablet," which occurs in the *zuku*-festival (Fleming 2000: 250, line 189; cf. *Emar* 37:3:194). Fleming (2000: 257) suggests that the reference is to lines 44–59 in the first part of the tablet.

²⁵ Sumerian *e₂-dub-ba-a* (OB), Akkadian *bīt ṭuppi* (CAD T 149).

²⁶ E.g., a local god list includes "Ea of the scribes, Nabû of the tablet house" ^d*E₂-a ša LU₂.MEŠ DUB.SAR, ^dAG ša E₂.DUB.BI.MEŠ* (*Emar* 37:8:36'–37'); cf. *Emar* 60:2:217', which is doubtful.

A primary archive is preserved in its primary context. A secure primary archive is recovered in a stratified archaeological context, and some evidence for its organization is preserved. Examples of secure primary archives include those discovered at EB Ebla (Royal Palace G), OB Sippar-Amnānum (house of Ur-Utu), LBA Ekalte (House P), and NB Sippar (Ebabbar temple library). A disturbed primary archive has undergone some event, ancient or modern, that has impacted its contents and their organization. The preservation of an archive in its primary context in the archaeological record all but requires a sudden destructive event of some kind.

A secondary archive is found in a secondary context. In a secure secondary archive groups of tablets can be associated with one another (e.g., as fill in OB Nippur or MB Babylon) or with some architecture (e.g., LBA Ugarit or NA Nimrud). With a disturbed secondary archive all that is known is general site provenience, either because no connections can be made with any architecture or other finds or because of excavators' incomplete recording methods (e.g., early excavations at Nineveh, Nippur, or Susa).

The tertiary level of archival analysis does not treat archives per se, or at least not archives as they are understood here. These collections of texts are unified based on prosopography, genre, paleography, orthography, sealing practices, physical features, and other internal characteristics. Although geographic and chronological trends may be observable in such cases, none of these criteria has any bearing a priori on archival contents or structure.

Within this general hierarchy the text corpus from 'Temple' M₁ constitutes a disturbed primary archive.

'Temple' M₁ Archive: Size, Composition, Distribution

A total of at least 1707 individual pieces inscribed in cuneiform characters were found in 'Temple' M₁ (Appendix D.2). By examining and identifying each piece and accounting for a large number of possible joins between pieces, it has been possible to reduce that number considerably. The 'Temple' M₁ tablet collection consisted of at least 298 tablets, and at least 1066 remaining fragments could not be identified as discrete manuscripts (i.e., tablets in the nomenclature used here) or joined to an existing tablet (Appendix D.3). These data set minimum and maximum bounds on the likely number of tablets that were housed in 'Temple' M₁ at the time of the catastrophe that sealed the building's contents in the archaeological

record. If all of the fragments actually belong to one of the identified tablets, then the total number of tablets was somewhere around 300. If, on the other hand, each unplaced fragment is all that remains of a discrete tablet, then the total number of tablets was closer to 1300, reducing the total number of pieces by about 20%. However, the upper bound would have strained the storage capacity of the building. Given the fragmentary nature of many of the manuscripts, the total may have been closer to the minimum number of individual tablets (ca. 300), but such a hypothesis is difficult to prove. Needless to say, the eventual publication of the Hurrian omen texts will necessitate some modification of these numbers.

Within this total the generic distribution of discrete tablets from 'Temple' M₁ falls into roughly three groupings (Appendix D.3). First, well over one quarter of the total number of tablets are lexical (29%), while about one fifth of the total are legal texts (21%), and about one fifth are administrative texts (18%). Second, just over one tenth are omen texts (12%), and one tenth are ritual texts (10%). Third, letters (5%), literary texts (4%), and incantations (1%) constitute the smallest proportion of total tablets. The large number of lexical tablets is consistent with their use in scribal education, which is amply documented for the building (Cohen 2009), but must also include the preservation of master copies by expert scribes.²⁷ The relatively large number of legal texts and the diverse dossiers found in those texts suggest that some proportion had been either transmitted with the title to the property they describe or left for safe deposit in 'Temple' M₁. The administrative archive can probably be thought of as the most dynamic element in the tablet collection as a whole, since administrative documents were seldom preserved once they had outlasted their basic utility. Administrative texts are such that we should expect to see appreciably fewer archival documents that represent the earliest chronological section of the archive as a whole, something borne out by the absence of older, Syrian-type administrative tablets in 'Temple' M₁. This is quite different from the situation at Emar with respect to legal texts and some copies of scholarly texts. That is, while some administrative records must have served a function over a considerable period of time, others should be contemporary or very nearly contemporary with the end of the archive itself. Although there are multiple copies of some omen texts and ritual texts, the basis for the production and use

²⁷ The existence of prestige copies of lexical texts in the royal libraries of Nineveh provide a compelling analogue.

of these texts is less clear. The preserved colophons of omen texts point to master scribes or are ambiguous as to the copyist, so the placement of these texts as reference works or in the scribal curriculum is likewise uncertain. It is difficult to draw conclusions about the small number of letters, but their limited number may indicate that some of these were kept because of their bearing on legal matters (such as the Hittite letter, Appendix B.3.1).²⁸ The small proportion of literary texts and incantations underscores our uncertainty about how exactly these texts were used and why they were preserved.

The generic distribution of unplaced fragments within the total number of inscribed pieces also follows some discernable patterns. Over one quarter of the fragments (26%) are totally uncertain, i.e., either ambiguous or so poorly preserved that nothing can be said about their contents. In terms of the total number of inscribed objects catalogued from 'Temple' M₁ (1707), these uncertain fragments (272) amount to 16% of the total. In positive terms, roughly 1435 inscribed pieces from 'Temple' M₁ can be identified in some way, about 84% of the total. It is not surprising that the largest proportion of fragments can be provisionally classified as lexical texts (32%). Lexical texts constitute the largest proportion of the total number of tablets (29%), and many of these manuscripts are fragmentary. Lexical texts often have certain distinctive elements (e.g., layout, rulings, *Glossenkeil*) that make it possible to provisionally identify a fragment even when it is not possible to place the text written on that fragment. A sizable number of omen fragments (14%) and ritual fragments (13%) have been provisionally identified based on the stereotyped structure and phraseology of those textual genres. The proportion of fragments is roughly the same as the proportion of tablets, many of which are themselves incompletely preserved. The low proportion of legal fragments (5%) and administrative fragments (4%) can be attributed in part to the smaller size of these types of tablets in comparison with large multi-column lexical texts and one- and two-column omen texts and ritual texts. Perhaps storage

²⁸ The vast majority of the letters found in 'Temple' M₁ were discovered in Locus 1 (one was found in either Locus 1 or Locus 3), and half of the sixteen letters can be associated with the Zū-Ba'la family (Appendix B.3.1). Moreover, because the Hittite oracle texts from Emar are much smaller than their contemporary analogues, almost letter-like in size and layout "[o]n peut alors se demander si ces tablettes n'étaient pas destinées à être expédiées au roi [of Karkamiš] en accompagnement d'une missive pour lui communiquer les fautes dont la divinité le déclare coupable ou qui l'ont irritée et, pour quelque raison à nous inconnue, elles sont restées à Emar, précisément dans le 'temple du Devin'" (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 247).

techniques (e.g., in jars or baskets on the floor) made legal tablets less likely to break into many pieces, while (perhaps larger) tablets stored on a shelf at some height would have been prone to more extensive breakage. The incantation fragments (4%) can be identified based on specific words and phrases. The small number of incantation tablets and the variability of second-millennium incantations in general make it difficult to place the fragments more precisely, which accounts for the relatively higher proportion of fragments to tablets. The low proportion of letter fragments (< 0.1%) and literary fragments (2%) is slightly less than the proportion of tablets of these kinds.

All of the tablets and fragments in the text corpus have been fit on the Procrustean bed of the Syrian/Syro-Hittite tablet typology because Emar is the only site where these distinct scribal schools were both present in the same tablet collection. The limits of this scheme are clear: it was first devised for legal tablets, which, not surprisingly, show the sharpest differentiation of diagnostic elements. However, many of the salient diagnostic features of the Syrian/Syro-Hittite typology do appear in other genres. An examination of the manuscripts may significantly reduce the number of tablets classified as uncertain, but it is likely that some sources for some genre(s) will persist in defying such an overly simplistic binary classificatory scheme.

Despite these caveats, there are some recognizable patterns in the text corpus with respect to tablet type and genre. There is no overarching genre for which only Syrian-type tablets are attested.²⁹ In contrast, the administrative texts, letters, and literary texts from 'Temple' M₁ are known only in Syro-Hittite copies or in copies for which the tablet type is uncertain. Tablets containing only incantations are known only from Syro-Hittite copies, but an Akkadian incantation is appended to a Syrian-type copy of a lexical list (see Appendix B.4.4.3, Tablet 1). The body of administrative tablets and letters can be thought of as potentially among the latest records in the archive. The existence of only Syro-Hittite-type (eleven tablets) and uncertain (one tablet) literary texts may point to these as copies of more recent imports (MB). In any case, no individual literary text is known from more than two manuscripts, and among the members of the Zū-Ba'la family, only Šaggar-abu is known to have copied literary texts (Appendix C.1; cf. Fig. 18).

²⁹ Note that only Syrian-type legal and administrative texts are known from nearby Ekalte (Munbaqa) and Azû (Hadidi).

There are a few basic trends among the genres for which Syrian-type tablets are attested. Thirty of the sixty-three legal texts from ‘Temple’ M₁ were written in the Syrian style, almost half (48%) of the total number of legal documents from the building. Twenty-one of these Syrian-type legal texts record real estate transactions, versus only eight real estate transactions written in the Syro-Hittite style. Eight of the testaments found in ‘Temple’ M₁ were written in the Syrian style, with an almost equal number of similar texts written in the Syro-Hittite style. As discussed already, these older, Syrian-style documents account for the vast majority of isolated dossiers found in the archive.

At least fifteen of the eighty-five lexical tablets were written in the Syrian style, about one fifth (18%) of the total number of lexical sources. Only one text (Sag) is known solely from a Syrian-style copy, and with one possible exception (S^a),³⁰ every other text is attested in at least one Syro-Hittite copy. Advanced thematic vocabularies (Lu) and vocabularies based on more complex sign combinations (Izi, Diri, Nigga) are known only from Syro-Hittite copies. Syrian-type copies exist for the sign-based vocabularies (Syll. Voc. A, S^a Voc.) and the major thematic word list (Hh), and the sources for the latter are unilingual or only very selectively bilingual. Enough structural variation exists between the text of the Syrian and Syro-Hittite copies that we should talk of Syrian and Syro-Hittite versions of these texts. The exercise extracts are mostly written in the Syro-Hittite style, which gives the appearance of active instruction being carried out in that scribal tradition.³¹ The sole Syrian-type exercise extract is comparatively large and includes phonetic/unorthographic Sumerian;³² its retention in the tablet collection may indicate active instruction in the Syrian scribal tradition, but it may also have been preserved as a pedagogical curiosity. Syrian-type lexical texts with colophons provide the only attestations of the titles I₃.ZU and I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR, which are used by diviners who are documented otherwise poorly or not at all in the dossiers from ‘Temple’ M₁. Almost all of the Syro-Hittite-type lexical texts that have colophons can be confidently associated with the Zū-Ba’la family (Appendix C; Cohen 2009: 166–185).

³⁰ The sole fragment of Emar S^a is difficult to type, but it is probably Syro-Hittite.

³¹ Syro-Hittite: Msk 7448 (Hh 5b-7), Msk 74190i (Hh 5b-7), Msk 74114d+ (Hh 5b-7), Msk 7496j+ (Hh 5b-7), Msk 74148a (Hh 11–12), Msk 7467 (Hh 18), Msk 7455+ (Hh 21b-22), Msk 7433 (Izi), perhaps Msk 74158e (Lu I); uncertain: Msk 74202 (Hh 19), Msk 74234b (Hh 21a). Collation of the original manuscripts may reveal that the uncertain exercise extracts should be classified as Syro-Hittite.

³² Syrian: Msk 74149 (Hh 19).

At least seven of the thirty-five omen texts were written in the Syrian style, one-fifth (20%) of the total number of omen texts from 'Temple' M₁. There are only two kinds of omen texts for which Syrian-type documents are definitely present: omens pertaining to the exta (*bārûtu*) and omens pertaining to celestial events (EAE), specifically the appearance of the moon. Omen compendia dealing with the appearance of the exta are unknown in Syro-Hittite copies, while at least four Syro-Hittite-style celestial omen compendia are attested. None of the colophons is complete for the collections of omens for the exta (Appendix C), and the traces present do not obviously coincide with any known scribes or, in particular, the diviners known from the Syrian-type lexical texts. In contrast, the brothers Šaggar-abu and Ba'l-mālik of the Zū-Ba'la family both copied Syro-Hittite-type omen texts (Appendix C.1).

Despite the presence of scribal errors, which occur in all periods of cuneiform tradition, it seems unlikely that the contents and meaning of all of the lexical, literary, omen, and incantation texts were impenetrable to the scribes who copied and stored them. Although the comprehension of the Sumerian language witnessed in the lexical and literary texts from Emar admittedly appears to be poorer than in earlier periods, it seems unlikely that the Akkadian texts were slavishly reproduced without any comprehension.³³ The local meaning and comprehension of the scholarly texts as a whole merits further examination. In any case, the ritual texts from Emar attest to the creation of new compositions in a local dialect of Akkadian. The majority of the public ritual tablets from 'Temple' M₁ were written in the Syro-Hittite style. At least two of the thirty-one ritual tablets (6%) are preserved in Syrian-style copies, illustrating the preservation of manuscripts from the older textual tradition in the tablet collection.³⁴

While there appear to be discernable correlations between the find-spots and the generic classification of the tablets from 'Temple' M₁, unfortunately no correlation of find-spot and content is perceptible for the dossiers of the various diviners or the isolated dossiers found in the collection. However, this conclusion is necessarily weakened in part by the uncertainties surrounding the find-spots of the tablets excavated in 1973, i.e., the tablets discussed here under the rubric 'Temple' M₁ (former R).

³³ Cf. the situation in later Sumerian-Akkadian bilinguals described by Maul (1997) or the case of the so-called Graeco-Babyloniaca (Westenholz 2007).

³⁴ Msk 74298b+ (Annual *zuku*) and Msk 74280a+ (Ritual for Six Months).

PERSPECTIVES ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROVENIENCE AND THE
‘TEMPLE’ M₁ TABLET COLLECTION

Without its tablets the interpretation of ‘Temple’ M₁ would probably have been significantly different, so how is the analysis of its tablet collection shaped by the fact that the tablets were found in ‘Temple’ M₁? The most fundamental point suggested by the texts’ shared provenience is that there is some totality to reconstruct. The practical dimension of this observation is that both physical joins and non-contiguous connections can be proposed and made within a discrete corpus. After having pieced the puzzle together as much as possible, the size and scope of this provenienced text corpus prompts questions about how, why, and by whom it was produced.

Without archaeological provenience, there would be little reason to associate most of the tablets that were found deposited together in ‘Temple’ M₁. Without the tablet collection’s provenience it would be possible to organize the dossiers of Emar’s various diviners, but it would be difficult to exclude texts, since the criteria for inclusion or exclusion would necessarily be dictated by internal content, rather than shared context. In such a case, the family of Kāpī-Dagān would be included in the dossier because he was a son of Zū-Ba’la and thus belonged to the latter’s family line. However, despite his important social role in Emar (e.g., Subartu 17), Kāpī-Dagān does not occur as a principal in the ‘Temple’ M₁ collection because he was not a part of the principal household, i.e., Kāpī-Dagān was Ba’l-qarrād’s brother (Cohen 2005b). Moreover, it does not appear that ‘Temple’ M₁ housed any of Šaggar-abu’s personal practical records at all. His name appears almost solely in the colophons of lexical, literary, and omen texts (see Appendix C.1.1), which were retained after his death³⁵ as prestige pieces, heirlooms, or even keepsakes in what was primarily his brother Ba’l-mālik’s tablet collection. Similarly, we can imagine that the tablets of Ba’l-qarrād’s siblings and Ba’l-mālik’s other siblings were kept elsewhere on the site as well. By extension, there would be little reason to associate diviners known from Syro-Hittite tablets (Zū-Ba’la’s line) and diviners known from Syrian texts (Ba’l-bārû and his son Mašru-ḥe/Mašru-ḥamiš, Ribī-Dagān, Ba’l-bēlu, Išma’-Dagān) other than the vague overlap in some of their titles: MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ is applied sparingly to

³⁵ Stated as a possible eventuality in his father Ba’l-qarrād’s testament (*SMEA* 30, no. 7:16–19).

members of both groups, as are various logographic complexes derived from *zu*, *A.ZU* or *ZU.ZU* (SH) and *I₃.ZU* or *I₃.ZU.TUR.TUR* (S). The existence of such a connection poses additional questions about how the ‘Temple’ *M*₁ archive formed because there is no basis beyond archaeological provenience to link, for example, Rībi-Dagān to the Zū-Ba‘la family. Does this connection suggest that a member of the Zū-Ba‘la family inherited, appropriated, or otherwise acquired Syrian-type tablets copied by earlier diviners simply by nature of a shared professional focus? Or do stratigraphic problems posed by the ‘Temple’ *M*₁ collection suggest that the location or an earlier phase of the building itself was likewise occupied by diviners, with the earlier (S) documents sealed beneath the later and final occupation (SH, Zū-Ba‘la’s family)? Both of these scenarios have later parallels (e.g., Frame and George 2005; Clancier 2009; Maul 2010), and they are by no means mutually exclusive.

Without the tablet collection’s archaeological provenience, there would be no way to make certain specific associations between ‘Temple’ *M*₁ and finds from other structures at the site. For example, the discovery of one of the so-called feet of clay in Temple *M*₂ (*Emar* 220) or the appearance of Ba‘l-mālik’s seal on documents from the Temple of the Storm-god in Area E (*Emar* 43; *Emar* 56; *Emar* 61) point to direct connections between the diviners of the Zū-Ba‘la family and Emar’s two sacred precincts. Furthermore, it would be impossible to connect Syrian-type legal documents with the diviners’ collection,³⁶ the result of which would be the placement of the so-called ‘royal archives’ from ‘Temple’ *M*₁ in the dossier of the second dynasty of Emar. There would be little reason to believe that these were in all probability chain of transmission records that the Zū-Ba‘la family acquired along with the properties the documents describe.³⁷ Moreover, one of the most interesting facets of the examination of the dossiers found in the ‘Temple’ *M*₁ archive is that, other than the dossier of the Zū-Ba‘la family, very few dossiers have more than a handful of tablets, and the majority are represented by only one tablet. Other than a shared archaeological context, no perceptible connections of any kind would obtain among the isolated dossiers found in these legal documents from ‘Temple’ *M*₁. Due to the complexity of the formation and deposition of a tablet collection, it is doubtful that any one explanation will successfully

³⁶ Ironically the connection is clarified in part by the contents of a looted document, Ba‘l-qarrād’s testament, *SMEA* 30, no. 7.

³⁷ A small hint at this connection appears in the correspondence between sections of the property list *Emar* 168 and the sale document *Emar* 137.

account for each and every outlier in the text corpus. The idea of intentional storage or deposit for safekeeping is one possibility. However, this idea need not be tied to the notion that ‘Temple’ M₁ was a temple or public building, since there are examples of tablets being stored with prominent citizens, e.g., as in OA Kaniš.³⁸ Because the majority of these tablets were written in the older Syrian style, it is possible that they too can be understood as chain of transmission documents that moved around as the title for the properties they describe. In that case we are simply missing or are unable to identify the subsequent links in the chain. Whether any of these tablets was purchased in antiquity (cf. *SMEA* 30, no. 7), we will probably never know. Finally, the evidence for scribal education would be harder to see as a whole: we would still have access to the information provided by the colophons, but the presence of duplicates would be harder to detect. The presence of scholastic and scholarly tablets in the ‘Temple’ M₁ collection presses the issue of what is meant by cuneiform scholarship in the later second millennium BCE.

DIVINATION IN EMAR: THEORY AND PRACTICE, TRADITION AND TRANSMISSION

Classifying tablets as ‘scholarly’ assumes that the tablets can somehow be thought to participate in the production of ancient scholarship, and divination ought to be included under the rubric of cuneiform scholarship, whatever its specific contours may be. The idea of scholarship should, in turn, be linked to education, bodies of (written) knowledge, and a set of attitudes toward knowledge that deem it to be worth using, preserving, and transmitting.

Practice and Theory of Divination in Emar

The practice of divination in Emar is so sparsely documented that some have questioned whether it actually took place or, more significantly, whether the diviners associated with ‘Temple’ M₁ should be thought of as diviners who actually engaged in ‘Mesopotamian’ divination (e.g., Fleming 2000: 26–35). However, there is unambiguous evidence for the practice of

³⁸ There is at least one example (AuOrS 1, no. 57:37–40) where a *tuppu gammuru* was deposited with a third party and not left with the seller, which was the normative practice (*Emar* 207:34–39; cf. *AuOr* 5, no. 5:9–17, 32–34).

divination in Emar, and in what follows I will seek to problematize the characterization of divination practices as ‘Mesopotamian’ or otherwise foreign or external. Texts and their formats may be identified by regional parallels from Anatolia or Babylonia, but a concept like divination as a whole may not be so easily atomized or sourced.

The clearest evidence for the practice of divination anywhere in the cuneiform tradition comes from omen reports, documents that are conventionally found in the possession of the recipient for whom a query was made, that is, when archaeological context is known at all (Kraus 1985; Starr 1990; Koch-Westenholz 2002; Rutz forthcoming b). In this regard the presence of Hittite oracles in the tablet collection from ‘Temple’ M₁ is striking, since this would seem to suggest that the Hittite format for recording the practice of divination was valued and acknowledged. At the very least these reports suggest that the diviners of Emar were ideologically attuned to the imperial practice and perhaps appealed to it. If the diviners of ‘Temple’ M₁ themselves produced reports written in some different format, these tablets remain to be found. In any case, their absence from ‘Temple’ M₁ is not surprising, since excavated reports from other periods are consistently found in the possession of the client, not the diviner.

Beyond these Hittite-language reports, there is other evidence, both direct and indirect, for divination as a local practice. The best evidence comes from an unprovenienced Syria-type contract, *ASJ* 12, no. 7, that records two real estate transactions involving the “diviner of the king and the town” (LU₂.MAŠ₂.ŠU.GID₂.GID₂ / ša LUGAL-ri u₃ URU²¹(AN?-MIN)^{ki}) Mašruḫe: the purchase of real estate from “Ninurta and the Elders of Emar” as well as the gift of a field from the local king, Pilsu-Dagān. The gift from the king was on account of the diviner’s successful divination (*ba-ru-tu₄-šu ik-šu-du₄-ma*) when the Hurri-troops surrounded the town (*ASJ* 12, no. 7:29–33). The form that this query took is not stated, but a common ancient Near Eastern dynamic is in evidence: a political elite figure appealing to a sanctioned source of knowledge for guidance and legitimation (Pongratz-Leisten 1999; Démare-Lafont 2008). Other less explicit attestations of the practice of divination have been identified in the ritual texts, particularly the rite of passage whereby the EREŠ.DINGIR priestess was installed. These include the drawing of lots (Fleming 1992a: 175; cf. CAD P 527a sub *pūru* A) and possibly extispicy (Fleming 1992a: 88). Less obvious connections could be made between the Emar ritual texts and the theoretical body of literature found in ‘Temple’ M₁. For example, is it likely that the diviner (LU₂.ḪAL) receiving an ox’s intestines (x šA₃ *ir-ri* // ^{uz^u}šA₃.MEŠ GUD, Fleming 1992a: 27, line 78) during the EREŠ.

DINGIR installation ritual would fail to make some connection with the extispicy treatises found in the same collection? Is it plausible that these dimensions of cultural involvement were sealed off from one another when the tablets themselves were found within the context of a single building? Although the study of the theory of divination properly belongs to a discussion of the textual transmission of divinatory texts, an archaeologically provenienced text corpus invites connections across otherwise disparate dimensions of analysis. Rather than thinking of Emar's diviners as diviners who did not practice divination, I think it is profitable to conceive of them as local religious specialists who took on a prestigious title, *diviner*, that carried with it a host of associations: as actors with connections to loci of political power and influence, as participants in and preservers of ritual practices, and as possessors of specialized bodies of knowledge that could be reproduced through education. These associations would have been obvious to the various local and non-local audiences, such as the general populace in Emar, local socio-political elites, and Hittite officials, including royalty. Modern scholarship would like to partition what is or is not 'Babylonian,' 'Assyrian,' 'Mesopotamian,' 'Syrian,' or 'Hittite' about the diviners of Emar, but such an atomistic approach should not be the endpoint but rather a step in the analytic process.

Tradition and Transmission

Recent research has gained new insights into the early transmission history of a number of Mesopotamian omen series recorded in the cuneiform script, but the data preserved in the archaeological record provide scarcely enough information for cautious speculation, let alone reasoned inference, about the most pivotal moments and processes in that history.³⁹ The sources are scattered and episodic, fitting all too neatly into the familiar tripartite periodization of the text corpus from the beginning of the second millennium down to the end of the cuneiform textual tradition (Old, Middle, New/Late), a durable if not always satisfying chronological scheme for the epigraphic record. The wide and suggestive gaps in that sequence naturally invite attempts to make sense of what happened in between, that is, to clarify either connections or disjunctions between

³⁹ For example, note the following select contributions that both survey earlier literature and advance the discussion: Rochberg 2006 (OB); Glassner 2009 (OB); Rutz 2006b (MB); Cohen 2007 (MB); Heeßel 2007 (MA); De Zorzi 2009 (MB); Fincke 2009 and 2010 (MB); Heeßel 2010 (MA).

the bodies of evidence distributed rather unevenly across space and time. General propositions about the standardization or even canonization of cuneiform literature in the latter half of the second millennium BCE are mainly suggested by the fact that later tradition attributes a singular importance to second-millennium scribal activity, and this picture is largely borne out by the sparse evidence made available by archaeological discovery.⁴⁰ The latest and most abundant manuscripts reproduced by Assyrian and Babylonian scribes can easily give the impression that textual transmission was an evolutionary or even teleological process. Any perceived uniformity in the first-millennium Mesopotamian scholarly tradition is of course superficial at best, obscuring the variety of processes that contributed to the standardization of various textual genres. Looking back a bit earlier, the numerous sources found in Syria and Anatolia attest to the movement of written omen traditions at precisely the time when they were most fluid.

Even an unsystematic examination of the history of transmission and stabilization of different types of omen texts reveals how uneven such processes in fact were. Texts like the lunar and solar eclipse omens later incorporated into the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* were remarkably stable from very early on and underwent only certain expansions over time, in essence adhering to paradigmatic principles that changed very little over more than a millennium (Rochberg 2006b; Rutz 2006b). Other sub-genres, such as liver omens, showed strong adherence to a paradigmatic scheme, but the contents of the texts changed, in some sections radically (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 15–23; cf. Jeyes 2000; Glassner 2009). Other types of omen texts appear to have been dead ends, textual genres that for whatever reasons were not successfully transmitted over space and time (e.g., libanomancy, Maul 2003: 84–85). Still other genres underwent great editorial reorganization and expansion that re-imagined parts of the textual tradition, apparently abandoning older structuring principles in favor of new ones (e.g., teratological, physiognomic, and terrestrial omens; Heeßel 2007: 2–10, 2010). In sum, the editorial work that went into rationalizing parts of the divinatory text corpus was hardly a single event. Given this framework and the problems it poses, it is worth considering the place of the tablets from LBA Emar in the complex, non-linear formation processes whereby of the cuneiform scholarly tradition took shape prior to its florescence in

⁴⁰ Note the picture painted by even a cursory survey of the evidence from the late second millennium, e.g., Sassmannshausen 2008.

Late Assyrian and Late Babylonian times. To achieve a nuanced description of the early traditions of scholarship in Mesopotamia, it is necessary to disentangle the evidence found in the earliest sources, that is, articulate how these sources correspond with later textual traditions, documenting and accounting for any duplicating passages of text. However, it is also necessary to view the earliest sources as totalities in their own contexts. That is, earlier versions of a text should not be judged solely on the degree to which they correspond with the latest versions of the text, which were subjected to the editorial decisions of ancient scribes who both formed and transformed the corpus of cuneiform learned texts as a whole.

One fact of textual transmission is a wide geographic distribution of manuscripts in seemingly unrelated contexts. Naturally these manuscripts give only a partial snapshot of the types of texts in circulation in a given context, and as such the different early versions of the various omen series existed in different social, cultural, and intellectual settings. It is possible gain insight into the nature of the divinatory texts by looking at individual entries and the larger works of which they form a part. The astonishing conservatism of certain strains of cuneiform scribal culture has contributed to the creation (and perhaps at times ossification) of modern scholarship's habits of thought about topics like the constructs 'theory', 'practice', and 'divination' in ancient Mesopotamia. Given the distribution of sources, neither a diachronic nor even a synchronic interpretation of a textual genre should assume that there was one use and meaning ascribed to that genre. In the case of the omen series, this means that the relationship between theory and practice was most likely neither monolithic, nor uniform, nor invariant across time and space.

THE DIVINERS OF EMAR AND THEIR SCRIPT COMMUNITY

Although Ugarit is the type-site, Emar exhibits some interesting, if more subtle dynamics of nested or overlapping script communities in inland Syria in the LBA. In Emar slightly different versions of the cuneiform script were employed to write Akkadian (and Sumerian), Hurrian, and Hittite, while Hittite hieroglyphs were a common feature on a number of cylinder, signet, and stamp seals. The phenomenon that is most productive in the context of the present discussion is the co-existence of the so-called Syrian and Syro-Hittite (i.e., 'Conventional' and 'Free') styles in the 'Temple' M₁ tablet collection. The differences between these two substrata of the Emar script community bears illustrating with a couple of examples

taken from the lexical texts and omen texts found at the site. In fact, only recently have the Syrian/Syro-Hittite traditions been recognized as significant to the study of the scholarly corpus in Emar (e.g., Cohen 2009) in that both occur together in ‘Temple’ M₁.

Take, for example, the MB version of the lexical text *ur₅-ra* = *hubullu* (= late Hh 21b-22; MB Hh 13; OB Hh 5), which, as we have seen, lists the names of places and towns (GN^{ki}), mountains (kur), water ways (id₂, tul₂, pa₅, e/eg₂), celestial bodies (mul), and measuring ropes (eš₂). The Syrian and Syro-Hittite versions of this text share content but are significantly different in structure in addition to ductus (see Appendix B.5.4.16).

Emar 558 D/559 I, uniling. (S): GN^{ki}, id₂, [...], eg₂, tul₂, [...], mul, [...]

Emar 559 D, uniling. (SH), extract: id₂

Emar 558 B+/559 A+, biling. (SH): GN^{ki}, kur, id₂, tul₂, [eg₂], [pa₅], mul, eš₂

The Syrian version was kept in the collection, but the Syro-Hittite version cannot be an updated copy of it. Unless two separate schools were in operation at the end of the building’s use, then the preservation of the older, Syrian-type manuscript should be constitute a library copy, i.e., not a practical byproduct of everyday education. This tablet may have been kept, but clearly another version of the text was known and produced. In any case, no attempt was made to impose uniformity on the collection. It could even be argued on the basis of the different lexical traditions alone that the older (S) conventions were perhaps not even properly understood. However, the ritual and divinatory texts make this latter view unlikely.

Both versions of *Emar* Hh 21b–22 represent imagined geographies, that is, inculcation into a foreign geography that would have been scarcely recognizable to the students and, in all likelihood, teachers in the school. Likewise, the paleographic syllabaries represent imagined forms of the script itself (see Appendix B.5.2.2; *Emar* 538). These curious texts were produced by scribes trained in the Syro-Hittite mode of writing, and their hallmark feature is the depiction of archaizing sign forms, both historically documented and purely fabricated. Outside of paleographic S^a, scribes produced these sign in only one other rarified context: the paleographic colophons found in some documents. In the terminology I am using to look at script communities, this is an example of production and response at a high level. Producing paleographic colophons creates a boundary, setting up a learnable criterion for membership in a rarefied script community, namely, those capable of responding to the colophons are set apart from scribes merely versed in drawing up practical documents. Here the writing system itself is expanded beyond its mundane range of possibilities to

construct an artificial past (as represented in ‘older’ sign forms) in which members of a living community can participate and, therefore, exploit.

There are hints of a different dynamic at work in the corpus of divinatory tablets from Emar as well: traces of the active response to older material through the production of new manuscripts. The clearest example comes from the Emar version of a collection of lunar omens, which has parallels in Hattuša and among the 1st-millennium sources for *Enūma Anu Enlil* (see Appendix B.6.2, *Emar* 651 A // *Emar* 651 C+). The compendium exists in two copies, one Syrian, one Syro-Hittite, and lists omens taken from phenomena involving the “horns” or cusps (SI = *qarnu*), the “crown” (AGA = *agû*), and the “pen” (TUR₃ = *tarbašu*) of the moon, as well as some interactions with various other planets, the text is fragmentary. Neither manuscript has a colophon, and even if there were one, we would not expect a statement about the use of sources in Emar, where there are no instances of tablets notated with GABA.RI ‘copy (of)’ or the like. However, aside from some orthographic and minor textual variants, the versions of the text are the same: these are proper duplicates. It is worth considering the possibility that the production of a Syro-Hittite copy from a Syrian original was undertaken as, for example, an exercise in responding to the older form of the script, or as part of a project to update parts of the tablet collection. The ramifications of such a process would be immense because the updating in orthography evident in the SH copy would indicate a high level of comprehension of both the orthographic conventions of each system and the contents of the text itself. Curiously, the protases of this text are relatively universal in the sense that they do not require an intimate knowledge of even the Babylonian calendar, which scribes in Emar did not always get right in copying scholarly texts (e.g., *Emar* 652). Regardless, this example illustrates better than any other that the divination texts found in Emar were understood locally, that is, they were copied and/or kept for more than just their exotic prestige, and the technical details of the protases, if not all the cultural resonance of the apodoses, were not only comprehensible but actually comprehended.

How did local scribes perceive the cultural universe of references in imported texts such as ur₅-ra = *hubullu* and *Enūma Anu Enlil*? That question may not be directly answerable, but making inferences about the practices of textual production and reproduction as well as the responses to texts may shed light on how a sense of shared identity formed around possessing and comprehending a set of scripts and a body of texts.

There is little doubt that individuals with the title ‘diviner’ passed through Emar during the MBA (e.g., ARM 26/1, 20), and there is

good reason to believe that these figures were both technically proficient in the craft of divination and knowledgeable about its literature (e.g., Charpin 2010b: 16–17). However, given the unanswered questions around the length of the occupation hiatus in Emar between the MBA and LBA, it is unclear whether there was significant cultural continuity across the intervening period. It is likely that the title ‘diviner’ was known to hold meaning and prestige beyond whatever connection it may have had to the cultural complexes further east in Babylonia and Assyria or, for that matter, Elam. For whatever reason, the title ‘diviner’ was seen to be adaptable to meet local needs. When a local office had a sufficiently clear analogue in the received taxonomy of cuneiform scribal knowledge, scribes in Emar and elsewhere did not hesitate to use the imported term, as in the case of LUGAL, SANGA, ḪAL, EREŠ.DINGIR, and the like. However, when the received tradition was found to be lacking, scribes were not afraid to give titles in syllabic form (e.g., *maš’artu*, *zābiḫu*, etc.). Beyond the specific study of Emar and its texts, a synchronic comparative study of diviners in the late second millennium would benefit from looking at evidence from across Syria, Anatolia, Assyria, and Babylonia, attending to nuances in diviners’ various regional roles. This group of texts also suggests itself for a synchronic study of provenienced bodies of texts and the organization, uses, and transmission of knowledge in greater Mesopotamia in the later second millennium BCE, looking at Emar, Assur, Babylon, Nippur, Ugarit, Ḫattuša, and beyond. The text corpus from ‘Temple’ M₁ in Emar could be incorporated into a diachronic examination of both the transmission of specific texts and the coalescence of bodies of knowledge throughout the ancient Near East. Other than the poorly known diviner’s library from MB Babylon excavated a century ago, the collection from ‘Temple’ M₁ is still the clearest example of an excavated tablet collection associated with a diviner (or diviners) in the latter half of the second millennium. It would be unwise to discount the importance the ‘Temple’ M₁ collection for the study of diviners and divination simply because it comes from the wrong side of the Euphrates, literally just beyond Mesopotamia proper.

There is no clear evidence for the composition or redaction of otherwise new divinatory texts in Emar, and it is likely that there were introductions of textual material from the west as well as the east. Divination texts were produced elsewhere and imported to Emar, where they were kept (Syrian-type omens taken from the exta), copied (copies by diviners of *šumma immeru* omens), or both (Syrian and Syro-Hittite copies of the same lunar omen compendium). I know of no obviously Assyrian tablets from Emar, but tablets not written in Assyrian script could have been transmitted

via Assyria. No single Babylonian site presents itself as an obvious place of origin, but connections have been suggested between certain textual traditions found in MB Nippur, Babylon, and perhaps Sippar. The publication of the Hurrian tablets from 'Temple' M₁ may or may not clarify their route to Emar, whether directly from Mittani/Ḫanigalbat or via some Hittite intermediary. The Hittite-language tablets may have been imports, or they were produced locally, and, as I have already mentioned, there is not sufficient evidence for the ability to reproduce a variety of scribal hands and conventions to discern whether the Hittite oracle tablets were the work of the Emar's named diviners. It may one day be possible to subject the 'Temple' M₁ text corpus to an analysis to determine the point of origin of a particular manuscript or manuscript tradition (Rutz 2006b; cf. Arnaud 2007: 7–46; Schwemer 2008: 112). To do so would require developing rigorous criteria for identifying imports from various points of origin, local copies, and textual innovations or original compositions. Such an analysis would further nuance the discussion of Emar's tablet typology, which however useful and applicable to the text corpus as a whole, was developed through an examination of solely the legal texts from the LBA Middle Euphrates.

I will make two concluding points that have grown out of my discussion of the script communities of LBA Emar, one general, the other more specific. The first is a general point about the implicit use of a center-periphery model to characterize cuneiform literature in LBA north Syria. Virtually every published characterization I am aware of refers to the important text corpora from the 'Mesopotamian periphery' in the late second millennium; there is talk about 'peripheral Akkadian', in particular 'West Peripheral Akkadian'. A core-periphery model is not without merit: it accords well with certain self-perceptions gleaned from Babylonian literature (as much as it is useful to describe and identify, though not identify with, the perspective of the sources); the exportation and local adaptation of the cuneiform script could be seen as the byproduct of a *longue durée* core-periphery relationship; and there is something to the notion of 'centers' of power spread among the members in the club of Great Kings of LBA polities. However, any well-entrenched theoretical perspective demands to be periodically reevaluated, if only to see what it has excluded from consideration. I will concede that Emar, for example, was located in a marginal political zone, but if north Syria comprises a cultural periphery, then where is the center? Babylonia? Mittani? Assyria? Ḫatti? All four contributed something to the profile of the script communities in LBA Syria. The absence of innovations in script (or the limit of innovation to

an imitative form—like the cuneiform alphabet) cannot be an index of peripheral status: very few innovations creep into the cuneiform script anywhere it was used; and the tools for training remained conservative enough to allow for adaptation to suit local needs without making substantive alterations in the appearance or function of the script itself.

The idea of the script community also makes it possible to get around assuming foreignness or outsider status in script and, perhaps, text—the foreignness of a dominant center's encroachment on its periphery. Even if the introduction (or re-introduction) of the cuneiform script in north Syria is viewed as a strictly LBA phenomenon, after what amount of time would a local practice have become naturalized and perceived as local? For example, if the archives in Emar cover a period of perhaps as much as two hundred years ending in the early twelfth century BCE, after how many generations was writing perceived to be a local phenomenon? An anthropology of the adaptation of communication technologies should be able to come up with some useful analogies to this phenomenon in the ancient or premodern world. In any case, the construct of production and response in a script community can flesh out some of the dynamics in play without resorting to big binary oppositions that are too clumsy to grasp nuance: literate versus non-literate, foreign script or text versus local tradition.

Which brings me to my second concern: the significance of the script community model for constructing intellectual histories. Elite possessors and transmitters of specialized knowledge bear various titles in the cuneiform text corpus, and a number of tablet collections, sometimes characterized as libraries, shed light on the relationships between titles, social roles, and the (re)production of knowledge. In LBA Syria the functionaries associated with 'house of Urtēnu' (see Malbran-Labat and Roche 2007), the 'house of the Hurrian priest,' or the 'house of the High Priest' in Ugarit come readily to mind alongside the diviners of Emar's 'Temple' M₁. The first task of processing these text corpora is disentangling their various threads and, in so doing, measuring the quantity, assessing the quality, and inferring the origins of the texts transmitted and reproduced. Locating duplicates of later compositions is important for understanding textual transmission, as I have discussed above, but it is easy to end up with a cut-up text that can be misconstrued or disparaged because of its gaps and lack of clean correspondence with later tradition. Rather than looking for tributaries in the 'stream of tradition,' by focusing in on the composition of the script communities of LBA Syria we are able to free this material from its rather modest place in the heroic genealogy of the Script Tradition as a whole.

APPENDICES

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF THE EXCAVATED TABLETS FROM EMAR

Key to the Appendices

Appendix A Excavated Tablets and Fragments by Find-Spot

Appendix B Excavated Tablets and Fragments by Genre

Appendix C Colophons

Appendix D Summary of Epigraphic Data from Emar and ‘Temple’ M₁

KEY TO THE APPENDICES

| | |
|--------------|--|
| <i>Emar</i> | see Publication |
| Find-spot | Find-spot square designation: area, square (I, II, etc.), quadrant (NW-NE-SW-SE); e.g., M III NE = northeast quadrant of the third square opened in Area M For further discussion of the find-spot square designations, see Chapter 2 |
| Lang. | Language(s) Akk. = Akkadian, Hitt. = Hittite, Hurr. = Hurrian, Sum. = Sumerian, Sum.-Akk. = Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual |
| Msk/R./O./EM | Excavation number |
| Notes | Tablet, frag. (= fragment), additional information about contents or preservation |
| Publication | <i>Emar</i> edition alphanumeric in Emar 6/3 (= Arnaud 1986), Emar 6/4 (= Arnaud 1987b) |
| Scribe | Personal name and title of the scribe |
| Script | see Type |
| Seal | Seal alphanumeric following Beyer 2001: A Hittite and Syro-Hittite cylinder seals B Syro-Hittite signet seals C Circular or square Hittite stamp seals D Old Babylonian style cylinder seals E “Mittanian” style cylinder seals F Syrian and “Syro-Mittanian” cylinder seals G Middle Assyrian cylinder seals H Kassite cylinder seals and signet seals I Cypriot seals J Middle Elamite cylinder seal K Egyptian or Egyptianizing seals L Miscellaneous types |
| State | Physical state of the tablet or fragment on the following subjective scale: comp. (= complete), 75%, 50%, 25%, frag. (= fragment) |
| Text | Sub-genres found in Chapter 4 and Appendix B |
| Type | Tablet script and type S = Syrian, SH = Syro-Hittite, unc. = uncertain, Lap. = lapidary, Arch. = archaizing For further discussion of the S/SH types, see Chapters 1 and 2. |

APPENDIX A

EXCAVATED TABLETS AND FRAGMENTS BY FIND-SPOT

AREA A

A "Palace"

A House A V

AREA C

AREA E

E North Temple: Temple of Aštar

E South Temple: Temp of the Storm-god (Baʿl)

GERMAN-SYRIAN EXCAVATIONS

AREA M

'Temple' M₁

M₁ R

M₁ (former R)

M₁ M I NW

M₁ M I NE

M₁ M I SE

M₁ M I SW

M₁ M I SW-SE

M₁ M I SW-II NW

M₁ M II NE?

M₁ M III NE

M₁ M III SE

M₁ M III NE-III SE

M₁ M IV SW (surface clearing)

M₁ M IV NW

M₁ (clearing)

M₁ M NE

M₁ M surface

M₁ M unclear

'Temple' M₂

AREA N

AREA P

AREA R

AREA T
T I NE

AREA V
V I SE
V I SW

SURFACE

UNCERTAIN

AREA A "PALACE"

Administrative—"Palace"

| <i>R.</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| [o] | 22 | Textiles | SH | Akk. | | comp. |

Total: 1.

Legal—"Palace"

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7234 | 21 | Ransom | SH | Akk. | A31, I4 | comp. |
| 7355 | 20 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2a | comp. |

Total: 2.

Legal—"Palace" Jar Msk 7238

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7222 | 2 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2b | comp. |
| 7223 | 8 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2b | 75% |
| 7223a | — | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7224 | 3 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2a | comp. |
| 7225 | 12 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | ? | 50% |
| 7226 | 4 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a | 50% |
| 7227 | 6 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 7228 | 5 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A53, A81 | 75% |
| 7228a | 5 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7228b | 5 | Testament | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7228c | 5 | Testament | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7228d | 5 | Testament | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7229 | 9 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2b? | 75% |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 7230 | 1 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2a | 25% |
| 7230a | 1 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7230b | 1 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7231 | 7 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A42, A85, B22, B23 | comp. |
| 7232 | 11 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a | 50% |
| 7233 | 10 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | comp. |
| 7235a | 13 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7235b | 13 | Uncertain | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7235c | 13 | Uncertain | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7235d | 13 | Uncertain | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7235e | 13 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 24.

Legal—"Palace" Jar Msk 7336

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| 7359 | 14 | Dispute | S | Akk. | E2a | comp. |
| 7360 | 15 | Testament | S | Akk. | E66 | comp. |
| 7361 | 16 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | B1, B2, B5, B6, B28, B42 | comp. |

Total: 3.

Legal—"Palace" Jar Msk 7340

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7356 | 17 | Royal Gr. | S | Akk. | E1b, E2c | 75% |
| 7357 | 19 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | A4a | 50% |
| 7358 | 18 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | A2b | comp. |

Total: 3.

AREA A HOUSE A V

Administrative—House A V

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 73278 | 27 | Memo. | uncertain | Akk. | | comp. |

Total: 1.

Legal—House A V

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 73273 | 26 | Loan | uncertain | Akk. | H5 | 75% |
| 73274 | 29 | Adoption | SH | Akk. | A97 | 50% |
| 73275 | 24 | Loan | uncertain | Akk. | | comp. |
| 73276 | 23 | Loan | SH | Akk. | B14, B20 | 50% |
| 73277 | 23 | Loan | SH | Akk. | B14, B20 | 50% |
| 73279 | 28 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | | comp. |

Total: 6.

Letter—House A V

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text (to)</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 73280 | 25 | Tattašše | uncertain | Akk. | | comp. |

Total: 1.

AREA C

Administrative—Area C

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 72186 | 36 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | comp. |
| 72188 | 37 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | 25% |
| 73189 | 38 | Weight | Lapidary | Akk. | | 75% |

Total: 3.

Legal—Area C

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| 72187 | 35 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | C22 | comp. |
| 73266 | 33 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | A35, A104, B36 | comp. |
| 73267 | 30 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A12, H1 | 75% |
| 73268 | 34 | Testament | S | Akk. | | 50% |
| 73269 | 30 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A12, H1 | 75% |
| 73270 | 32 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A56, A72, A93 | comp. |
| 73271 | 34 | Testament | S | Akk. | | 50% |
| 73272 | 31 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A1 | 75% |

Total: 8.

Lexical—Area C

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 73265 | 39, 548 | Hh 11 | uncertain | Sum. | | comp. |

Total: 1.

AREA E NORTH TEMPLE: TEMPLE OF AŠTART

Administrative—Temple of Aštart (North)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7347 | 63 | Cult | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 7393 | 67 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 73102 | 64 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 73103 | 65 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 73104 | 66 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 5.

AREA E SOUTH TEMPLE: TEMPLE OF THE STORM-GOD (BA'L)

Administrative—Temple of the Storm-god (South)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 7391 | 51 | Manufacture | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7392 | 53 | PNs | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7395 | 43 | Inventory | SH | Akk. | A69, A33, A26, B53 | comp. |
| 7396 | 52 | Weapons | S | Akk. | | 75% |
| 7397 | 50 | Vessels | S | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7398 | 48 | Weapons | S | Akk. | | 75% |
| 7399 | 56 | Manufacture | SH | Akk. | A69 | comp. |
| 73100 | 58 | Manufacture | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 73101 | 59 | Weapons | S | Akk. | | comp. |
| 73105 | 62 | Tag | S | Akk. | | comp. |
| 73106 | 49 | Weapons | S | Akk. | | comp. |
| 73108 | 55 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 73109 | 47 | Weapons | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 73110 | 46 | Weapons | S | Akk. | | comp. |
| 73111 | 44 | Weapons | S | Akk. | | 50% |
| 73113 | 57 | Manufacture | SH | Akk. | B4 | comp. |
| 73114 | 45 | Weapons | S | Akk. | | 50% |
| 73128 | 61 | Tag | SH | Akk. | A69, B63, C5 | comp. |

Total: 18.

Uncertain—Temple of the Storm-god (South)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 73107 | 54 | Uncertain | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 73112 | 42 | Royal | SH/S? | Akk. | | comp. |
| 73115 | 60 | Admin. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 3.

GERMAN-SYRIAN EXCAVATIONS

Administrative—Robber's Trench, Northwest of Temple of Aštart (North)

| <i>EM</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 99:150 | — | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Administrative—Disturbed Context, Temple of the Storm-god (South)

| <i>EM</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 99:200 | — | Weapons | S | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Administrative—House, Upper Town I (Oberstadt)

| <i>EM</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 99:300 | — | Grains | S | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Total (1999): 3 (Administrative).

AREA M

*'Temple' M₁ R*Legal—*M₁ R*.

| <i>R.</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| 3 | 176 | Testament | S | Akk. | D45, E18, F9, F17 | comp. |
| 78 | 219 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A17, A46, A65, A70, B37, B41, F5 | comp. |
| 90 | 257 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | A19, C17, E47, [...]] | comp. |
| 128 | 207 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | A3 | comp. |
| 139 | 217 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A17, A46, A65, A70, B37, B41, F5 | comp. |

Total: 5.

*M₁ (former R)*Administrative—*M₁ (former R)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731002 | 282 | Inventory | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 731015 | 319 | Grains | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 731024 | 287 | Inventory | SH | Akk. | A69, B64 | comp. |
| 731028 | 284 | Inventory | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 731062 | 289 | Inventory | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731065 | 293 | Inventory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731078w | 294 | Inventory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731078x | 295 | Inventory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731080t | 351 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731091c | 313 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731092e | 314 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731092m | 302 | Various | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731095 | 275 | PNs | SH | Akk. | C3 | comp. |

Total: 13.

Legal— M_1 (former R)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--|--------------|
| 731000 | 256 | Adoption | S | Akk. | E2b | 75% |
| 731001 | 182 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A4b | 75% |
| 731003 | 141 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | comp. |
| 731004 | 139 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2b | 75% |
| 731005 | 144 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2a | 75% |
| 731006 | 159 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2a | comp. |
| 731007 | 158 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | comp. |
| 731008 | 148 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2a? | comp. |
| 731009 | 171 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E33, F7 | 50% |
| 731010 | 140 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | comp. |
| 731011 | 255 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 731012 | 211 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | C6, C13, I2, C16 | 50% |
| 731013 | 224 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 731014 | 201 | Testament | SH | Akk. | C1 | 75% |
| 731016 | 137 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | 75% |
| 731017 | 202 | Testament | SH | Akk. | ? | comp. |
| 731018 | 150 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, D4, D8, D17, D30, D37, D38, D44, F10 | comp. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---|--------------|
| 731019 | 212 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | B46, A29, B55, A75, B54, A14, A109, L1 | comp. |
| 731020 | 214 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A23, B48, D26, E43a, E48 | comp. |
| 731021 | 147 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2a | comp. |
| 731022 | 181 | Testament | SH | Akk. | C10, E49, E53, F27 | comp. |
| 731025 | 206 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | A3 | 75% |
| 731026 | 177 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A2a | 25% |
| 731032 | 252 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | B52 | 75% |
| 731033 | 225 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731036 | 146 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E22 | comp. |
| 731037 | 142 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | 75% |
| 731038 | 221 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A24, H4 | 75% |
| 731039 | 156 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2a | 75% |
| 731045 | 226 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 731047 | 172 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731051 | 197 | Testament | S | Akk. | E2a | 25% |
| 731052 | 241 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | A73, B7, B66 | frag. |
| 731056 | 195 | Testament | S | Akk. | | 25% |
| 731057 | 253 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | D34, E2a | 75% |
| 731066 | 153 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a | 50% |
| 731070 | 216 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | B58, D41, D43, [...] | 75% |
| 731071a | 194 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | 50% |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731071b | 194 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731073 | 183 | Testament | S | Akk. | E2b | 25% |
| 731074 | 184 | Testament | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731076 | 138 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | comp. |
| 731078y | 248 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731078z | 250 | Uncertain | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731080s | 237 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731080w | 179 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731080x | 243 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | B4, B8 | frag. |
| 731083 | 177 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731084c | 247 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731084d | 193 | Testament | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731084i | 249 | Uncertain | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731084p | 177 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731085a | 243 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | B4, B8 | frag. |
| 731085j | 242 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731085n | 238 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731085o | 239 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731085p | 246 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | B21 | frag. |
| 731085t | 240 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | A73, B66 | frag. |
| 731087d | 236 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731091a | 245 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731091b | 246 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | B21 | frag. |
| 731091i | 244 | Uncertain | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731091j | 192 | Testament | S | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 731092l | 177 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731093 | 205 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | A15, A100, C20, C21 | 75% |
| 731094 | 215 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A68, A91, A102, E34, E82 | comp. |

Total: 66.

Letter—*M_I* (*former R*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>SMEA 45</i> | <i>Text (to)</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|----------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731097 | 1 | Alziya- muwa | — | Hitt. | | comp. |

Total: 1.

Ritual—*M_I* (*former R*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731027 | 369 | Installation | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731031 | 394 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731035 | 387 | <i>kissu</i> | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 731042 | 369 | Installation | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731060 | 385 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | 25% |
| 731061 | 369 | Installation | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731078j | 525 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731078p | 385–387 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731081 | 371 | Installation [?] | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731085i | 455 | Calendar | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 10.

Lexical—M₁ (former R)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731030 | 543–544, 737 | Hh 3–5a Incantation | S | Sum.-Akk. | F16 | 75% |
| 731040a | 554 | Hh 17 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 731044 | 604 | Hh 1 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |
| 731046 | 541 | Hh 1 | S | Sum. | | 50% |
| 731048 | 544–545 | Hh 3–5a | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 731050 | 554 | Hh 17 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 731053 | 557 | Hh 20 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 731054 | 548–549 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum. | | 25% |
| 731055 | 575 | Sag B | S | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 731058 | 542 | Hh 2 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 731059a | 541 | Hh 1 | S | Sum. | | 50% |
| 731059b | 541 | Hh 1 | S | Sum. | | frag. |
| 731059c | 541 | Hh 1 | S | Sum. | | frag. |
| 731064 | 537 | S ^a Voc. | S | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 731067 | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 731075m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 731075p | 589 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 731079 | 550 | Hh 13 | S | Sum. | | 25% |
| 731080e | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 731080o | 550 | Hh 13 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 731082 | 308 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 731084j | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 731084o | 561 | Hh 24 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 731084z | 548 | Hh 11 | S | Sum. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731085l | 541 | Hh 1 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 731086 | 551-552 | Hh 14-15 | S | Sum. | | frag. |
| 731087c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 731089c | 554 | Hh 17 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 731089f | — | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |

Total: 29.

Divinatory—M₁ (former R)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731023 | 678 | Extispicy | S | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731029 | 669 | Extispicy | S | Akk. | | 75% |
| 731040 | 670 | Extispicy | S | Akk. | | 75% |
| 731041 | 651 | Celestial | S | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731043 | 671 | Extispicy | S | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731063 | 616 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731075r | 676 | Extispicy | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731075z | 701 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731077a | 698 | Behavior | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731077b | 698 | Behavior | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 731080j | 708 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731080p | 675 | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731080q | 674 | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731080z | 617 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731084h | 717 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731084l | 620 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731084r | 618 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731085e | 606 | Almanac | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731089a | 680 | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731089b | 679 | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731089d | — | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731089g | 672 | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731089h | 681 | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731096 | — | Report | uncertain | Hitt. | | frag. |

Total: 24.

Incantation— M_1 (former *R*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731080l | 739 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Note also the incantation appended to Msk 731030 (see Lexical above).

Total: 1.

Literary— M_1 (former *R*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731068 | 785 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Uncertain— M_1 (former *R*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731075b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731075c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731075j | — | Izi | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 731075n | — | Lexical | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 731075q | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 731078b | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 731078i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 731080v | — | Admin. | uncertain | uncertain | K1 | frag. |
| 731089e | — | Divinatory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 9.

*M₁ M I NW*Administrative—*M₁ M I NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74262 | 378 | Cult | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74264 | 379 | Cult | SH | Akk. | | comp. |

Total: 2.

Legal—*M₁ M I NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74265a | 231 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74265b | 232 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74267a | 190 | Testament | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74314 | 162 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 4.

Letter—*M₁ M I NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text (to)</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74270 | 272 | "our lord" | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Ritual—M₁ M I N W

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74245 | 369 | Installation | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74268a | 388 | kissu | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 2.

Lexical—M₁ M I N W

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74240a | 550 | Hh 13 | S | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74242a | 553 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74242b | 555 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74246a | 603 | Syll. Voc. A | S | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74246b | 603 | Syll. Voc. A | S | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 74247 | 548 | Hh 11–12 | S | Sum. | | 75% |
| 74248a | 541 | Hh 1 | S | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74248b | — | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74248c | 553 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74249a | 537 | S ^a Voc. | S | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |
| 74249b | 537 | S ^a Voc. | S | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 74250 | 542 | Hh 2 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74260 | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74261e | 546 | Hh 8–9 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74271 | 560 | Hh 23 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 15.

Divinatory—*M_I M I NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74261a | 632 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74261b | 688 | Teratology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74261c | 698 | Behavior | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74266a | 607 | Almanac | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74266c | 605 | Almanac | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74308 | 639 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 6.

Literary—*M_I M I NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74243 | 775 | Benediction | S? | Sum.-Akk. | | comp. |

Total: 1.

Uncertain—*M_I M I NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74261d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74261f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74266b | — | Uncertain | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74267b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74268b | 233 | Legal | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 5.

*M_I M I N E*Administrative—*M_I M I N E*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74236b | 301 | Various | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74236h | 298 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74236i | 297 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 3.

Legal—*M_I M I N E*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74236a | 180 | Testament | S | Akk. | E2a | comp. |
| 74236e | 204 | Slavery | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74326 | 180 | Testament | S | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74339 | 161 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E72 | 25% |

Total: 4.

Lexical—*M_I M I N E*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74236c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74309 | 537 | S ^a Voc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 2.

Divinatory—*M_I M I N E*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74236f | 622 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Incantation—*M₁ M I NE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74236g | 750 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Uncertain—*M₁ M I NE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74236d | 707 | Incantation | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

*M₁ M I SE*Administrative—*M₁ M I SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74315a | 278 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | 50% |

Total: 1.

Legal—*M₁ M I SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| 74237b | 253 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | D34, E2a | 75% |
| 74315b | 203 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74316c | 152 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | D10, D36, E1a | frag. |
| 74317a | 167 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | A57 | frag. |
| 74318 | 157 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2a? | 25% |
| 74319 | 138 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | comp. |
| 74320 | 228 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | ? | frag. |

Total: 7.

Ritual— M_I M I SE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74237a | 462 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74307a | 400 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74307b | 399 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74307c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74316a | 421 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74316b | 385 | <i>kissu</i> | SH | Akk. | | 75% |

Total: 6.

Uncertain— M_I M I SE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74307d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74307e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74307f | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74307g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Total: 4.

 M_I M I SWAdministrative— M_I M I SW

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74285a | 276 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74294 | 277 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74298a | 274 | Cult | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74304c | 280 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74324 | 277 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74334a | 276 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74334b | 281 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 7.

Legal—*M₁ M I SW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| 74284 | 191 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74295c | 178 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74295d | 187 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | C1 | 25% |
| 74299c | 151 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74300 | 185 | Testament | S | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74304b | 199 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74304d | 165 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74304e | 235 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74304f | 154 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74304g | 166 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74304h | 187 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74321 | 187 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74322 | 200 | Loan | SH | Akk. | B50 | 75% |
| 74325 | 229 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | ? | frag. |
| 74327 | 213 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A35, A38, E8, E59, E60 | comp. |
| 74328 | 196 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74329 | 146 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2b? | comp. |
| 74330a | 210 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | A51 | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| 74330b | 210 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | A51 | frag. |
| 74331 | 149 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | D16, E11 | 50% |
| 74333 | 216 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | B58, D41, D43, [...] | 75% |
| 74335 | 145 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74337a | 164 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E42 | frag. |
| 74338 | 163 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E19, E31 | 50% |
| 74340 | 218 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A17, A46, A65, A70, B37, B41 | comp. |

Total: 25.

Ritual—*M₁ M I SW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74280a | 446 | Calendar | S | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74280c | 386 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74281 | 385 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74282 | 497 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74283a | 431 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74283b | 385 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74285b | 483 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74285c | 474 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74285d | 486 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74286a | 369 | Installation | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74286b | 385, 386, 387, 388 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74286c | 401 | Uncertain | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74286d | 409 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74286e | 402 | installation | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74288 | 388 | <i>kissu</i> | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74289a | 393 | Misc. | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74289b | 448 | <i>zukru</i> | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74289c | 424 | <i>zukru</i> | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74289d | 425 | <i>zukru</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74291a | 446 | Calendar | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74295b | 403 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74296c | 458 | Calendar | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74297a | 391 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74297b | 405 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74297c | 376 | <i>zukru</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74297d | 434 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74297e | 466 | Calendar | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74297f | 465 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74298b | 375 | <i>zukru</i> | S | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74298c | 385 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74298d | 476 | Anatolian | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74298f | 372 | Installation? | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74298g | 396 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74298h | 426 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74298i | 451bis | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74298j | 451ter | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74303a | 370 | Installation | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74303b | 459 | Calendar | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74303c | 448 | <i>zukru</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74303d | 385 | <i>kissu</i> | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74303e | 498 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74303f | 449 | <i>zukru</i> | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74303g | 492 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74303i | 385, 386, 387 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74303j | 447 | Calendar | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74303k | 385, 386, 387 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74304a | 479 | Anatolian | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 47.

Lexical—*M_I M I SW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74298e | 542 | Hh 2 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Divinatory—*M_I M I SW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74296a | 611 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74303h | 611 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 2.

Literary—*M_I M I SW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74295a | 780 | Instructions | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Uncertain—*M_I M I SW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74280b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74296b | 353 | Admin. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74298k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74299a | 350 | Legal | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74299b | 349 | Legal | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74323 | 251 | Legal | SH | Akk. | D42 | frag. |
| 74337b | 347 | Admin. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 7.

*M_I M I SW-SE*Administrative—*M_I M I SW-SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74290 | 279 | Grains | SH | Akk. | E71 | frag. |
| 74301 | 279 | Grains | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74317 | 279 | Grains | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74336 | 279 | Grains | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 4.

Legal—*M_I M I SW-SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74291e | 160 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74291f | 175 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 2.

Ritual—*M_I M I SW-SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74287a | 385 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74287b | 428 | <i>zukru</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74290a | 524 | Calendar | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74290b | 388 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74290c | 373 | <i>zukru</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74290d | 373 | <i>zukru</i> | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74291c | 407 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74291d | 499 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74292a* | 373 | <i>zukru</i> | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74292b | 464 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74292c | 469 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74292d | 374 | <i>zukru</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74304a' | 373 | <i>zukru</i> | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 13.

Uncertain—*M_I M I SW-SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74291b | 433 | Ritual | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

*M_I M I SW-II NW*Administrative—*M_I M I SW-II NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74293f | 277 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

* The find-spot of the fragment relabeled Msk 74292a (*bis*) = Emar 453 is unclear.

Legal—*M₁ M I SW-II NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74293a | 208 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | [...] | frag. |
| 74293g | 155 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293h | 189 | Testament | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293m | 223 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293n | 222 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293p | 230 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293q | 173 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293r | 174 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293s | 186 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74302 | 186 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | 75% |

Total: 10.

Ritual—*M₁ M I SW-II NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74293c | 456 | Calendar | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293d | 385 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293k | — | Installation | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293l | 377 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293o | 475 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 5.

Lexical—*M₁ M I SW-II NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74293j | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Uncertain—M_I M I SW-II NW

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74293b | 418 | Ritual | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293e | 356 | Legal | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74293i | 342 | Admin. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 3.

M_I M II NE?

Ritual—M_I M II NE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74274 | 369 | Installation | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

M_I M III NE

Administrative—M_I M III NE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7432 | 323 | Animals | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7434 | 317 | Various | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7436 | 368 | Metals | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7440 | 283 | Vessels | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7443 | 380 | Cult | uncertain | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7444 | 321 | Various | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7446 | 305 | Vessels | SH | Akk. | A69 | comp. |
| 7447 | 306 | Vessels | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7449 | 367 | Cult | uncertain | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7450 | 363 | Cult | SH | Akk. | A62 | comp. |
| 7453 | 312 | Grains | SH | Akk. | | comp. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7456 | 318 | Grains | uncertain | Akk. | | 75% |
| 7459 | 331 | Animals | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7460 | 311 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 7463 | 316 | Grains | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7464 | 366 | Metals | SH | Akk. | A62 | comp. |
| 7465 | 361 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7466 | 382 | Cult | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7486c | 169 | Properties | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7487i | 365 | Cult | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7488d | 352 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489a | 324 | Animals | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489d | 326 | Cult | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489g | 343 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7494a | 333 | Animals | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498g | 330 | Animals | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104 | 382 | Cult | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74107ay | 322 | Animals | uncertain | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74107j | 169 | Properties | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107x | 307 | Vessels | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74111 | 286 | Inventory | uncertain | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74114f | 360 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74114g | 360 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74118 | 321 | Various | uncertain | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74120 | 320 | Grains | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74127c | 332 | Animals | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74130 | 296 | Various | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74131 | 338 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74141 | 336 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74142 | 336 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74144a | 290 | Various | SH | Akk. | B49 | 75% |
| 74185 | 168 | Properties | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74190a | 288 | Inventory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198h | 345 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198x | 346 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74200a | 329 | Animals | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74200b | 328 | Animals | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74208a | 337 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74214b | 348 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74216c | 315 | Grains | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74234f | — | Animals | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238f | 170 | Properties | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74310 | 285 | Various | SH | Akk. | A69, B47 | comp. |
| 74312 | 364 | Cult | SH | Akk. | A62 | comp. |
| 74313 | 309 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | E79 | comp. |

Total: 55.

Legal—M₁ M III NE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7480d | 234 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74180e | 143 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74311 | 209 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | A48, [...] | comp. |

Total: 3.

Letter—*M₁ M III NE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text (to)</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7437 | 262 | Akiya/ Šaggar-kabar | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7441 | 264 | Pirati | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7442 | 260 | Adda/Ammi | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7445 | 259 | Adda | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7451 | 266 | (triple) | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7452 | 261 | Adda | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7454 | 258 | Adda | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7461 | 268 | Zū-Ba ^l la | SH | Akk. | C11 | comp. |
| 7471 | 271 | [PN] | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 7472 | 269 | “my lord” | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7474 | 267 | Kunti-Teššup | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7475 | 267 | Kunti-Teššup | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7497 | 263 | UGULA | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 7498d | 270 | ^l Te[...] | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74102c | 265 | Ba ^l -qarrād | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74208d | 273 | [PN] | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 16.

Ritual—*M₁ M III NE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7468 | 463 | Calendar | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74810 | 451 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7487g | 423 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7488c | 440 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7490e | 493 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74900 | 494 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491c | 444 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7494d | 495 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7499a | 517 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74101aa | 474 | Anatolian | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74102e | 473 | Anatolian | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74102f | 385 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74102j | 443 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74102p | 511 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104j | 419 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104r | 419 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104s | 417 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104t | 439 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74106a | 480 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74106d | 416 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107aq | 506 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107az | 406 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107c | 406 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107g | 420 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107i | 485 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107z | 470 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74108b | 437 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74108c | 438 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74110c | 435 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74110g | 413 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74110h | 410 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74110i | 408 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74110j | 436 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74114i | 503 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74117i | 526 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122az | — | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74127q | 411 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74127v | 430 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74144c | 527 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148n | 389 | <i>kissu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148o | 390 | <i>kissu</i> | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74150a | 412 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74176 | 472 | Anatolian | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74177f | — | <i>zukru</i> | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74182c | 429 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74190b | 432 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74191f | 512 | Calendar | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74193d | 397 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196a | 487 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196b | 457 | Calendar | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196c | 488 | Anatolian | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196d | 489 | Anatolian | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196e | 505 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196f | 533 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196g | 500 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74196h | 501 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196i | 504 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196j | 490 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196l | 484 | Anatolian | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196m | 502 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196n | 514 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196o | 508 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196p | 515 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196q | 516 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196r | 521 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196s | 509 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196t | 510 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196u | 523 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74197f | 520 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74197i | 519 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198ac | 404 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198f | 530 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198g | 528 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198j | 531 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198m | 478 | Anatolian | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199u | 468 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74201d | 518 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74207c | 529 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74209b | 522 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74216a | 442 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74216b | 441 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232c | 467 | Calendar | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232m | 414 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232p | 507 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238e | 450 | Calendar | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 85.

Lexical—*M₁ M III NE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7433 | 572 | Izi | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | comp. |
| 7448 | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum. | | comp. |
| 7455 | 559 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum. | | comp. |
| 7462 | 601 | Hurr. Syll.? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | comp. |
| 7467 | 555 | Hh 18 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 7469 | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7469a | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7476a | 550 | Hh 13 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7478c | — | Misc. | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7479b | — | Izi | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7480a | 543 | Hh 3–5a | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7480b | — | Hh 1?/Nigga? | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7480g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7481c | — | Hh 5b–7? | SH? | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7481d | — | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7481g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7481h | 554 | Hh 17 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7481n | 555 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7481p | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7481q | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7482b | — | Hh 2 | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7482g | 546 | Hh 8–9 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7482i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7483b | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7484a | — | Izi? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484b | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484c | 584 | Hh 11–12? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484l | — | Misc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484n | — | Hh 19 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484p | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7484q | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7484s | 546 | Hh 8–9 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7485c | — | Weidner | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7485l | — | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7486a | 537 | S ^a Voc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7486b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7486d | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7486k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7487a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7487c | 585 | Hh 8–9 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7487e | — | Hh? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7487f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7487j | 546 | Hh 8–9 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7488a | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7488f | 586 | Misc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489b | — | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7489c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489h | 538 | Paleo. S ^a ? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7489k | — | Hh 2 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489l | 561 | Hh 24 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7489o | — | God list | SH | Sum.-Hurr. | | frag. |
| 7490b | 564 | Izi | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7490c | 558 | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7490f | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7490l | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7490p | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491a | 556 | Hh 19 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491ac | 554 | Hh 17 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7491ae | 565 | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491d | — | Hh 8–9? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7491e | 546 | Hh 8–9 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491i | — | Hh 13 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491k | 590 | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491m | 548 | Hh 18? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7491n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7491o | 582 | Hh 8–9 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491p | 561 | Hh 24 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491q | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491r | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491t | — | Hh? | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7491w | — | Hh 3–5a | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491z | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7493a | — | Paleo. S ^a ? | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7493h | 604 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7493i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7494b | 567 | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7494f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7495a | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7495c | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7496a | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7496b | 560 | Hh 23 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7496c | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7496d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7496f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7496i | 602 | Lu? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7496j | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498c | 555 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498e | 566 | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498f | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7498i | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498j | 562 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498l | — | Hh 19 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 7498m | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74100a | 555 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74100c | 555 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74100i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101d | 587 | Lu II–Izi | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74101e | — | Hh 2 | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101h | 588 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74101o | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74101r | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101s | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101t | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101u | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101v | 547 | Hh 11–12 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74101x | 542 | Hh 2 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74102d | 550 | Hh 13 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74102g | 604 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74102l | — | Lu II–Izi | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103a | 573 | Nigga | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |
| 74103b | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74103c | 573 | Nigga | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103e | 555 | Hh 18 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103m | — | Uncertain | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74103r | 602 | Lu? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103s | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103w | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104a | 573 | Nigga | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |
| 74104b | — | Lu II–Izi | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74104e | — | Hh 19 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74104f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74104g | 558 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74104h | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74104i | 548 | Hh 11–12 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74104k | — | Hh 21b–22 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104p | 558 | Hh 21a | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74104q | — | Hh? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104u | — | Hh 2? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74104w | 550 | Hh 13 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74104x | 544 | Hh 3–5a | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104y | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74105a | 548 | Hh 11–12 | S | Sum. | | 25% |
| 74105b | 567 | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74105c | 604 | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74105d | 545 | Hh 5b–7? | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74105g | — | Hh? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74105j | — | Hh 13 | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74105k | 560 | Hh 23 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74105l | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74106b | 573 | Nigga | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74106c | 546 | Hh 8–9 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74106e | 541 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74106h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74107aa | 547 | Hh 18 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107ab | — | Hh 23–24? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107ad | — | Hh 8–9 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107af | — | Hh 24? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107ag | 540 | Diri | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107ao | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107av | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107ax | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107d | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107e | 553 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107f | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107l | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107o | 560 | Hh 23 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107u | 544 | Hh 3–5a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107v | 546 | Hh 8–9 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107w | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107y | — | Hh 11–12? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74108d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74108f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74109a | 591 | Lu? Hh 24? | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74i09b | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74i12a | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74i13a | 560 | Hh 23 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i13b | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i14c | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i14d | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i14h | 558 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74i14j | 544 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74i15 | 558 | Hh 21b–22 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |
| 74i16a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74i17b | 558 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i17c | — | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74i17d | — | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i17g | 559 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74i17k | 602 | Lu I | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i17n | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | — | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74i17o | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74i18a | 560 | Hh 23 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i18c | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i19b | — | Hh 10 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i19c | — | Hh 10 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74i21i | 602 | Lu I | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 74i21ii | 602 | Lu I | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 74i22aa | — | Hh 5b–7? | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74i22ab | — | Izi | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74122ae | 548 | Hh 11–12 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74122ag | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122ah | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122am | — | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122au | — | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74122ay | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122b | 556 | Hh 19 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74122ba | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74122c | 569 | Lu II–Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122e | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74122f | — | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122g | 546 | Hh 8–9 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122i | — | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122m | — | Uncertain | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74122n | — | Uncertain | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122o | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122q | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122s | — | Misc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122u | 559 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122w | 593 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74126a | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74127b | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74127d | 561 | Hh 24 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74127f | 546 | Hh 8–9 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74127j | 553 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74127k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127n | — | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74127p | 538 | Paleo. Sa | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74129c | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74129d | 558 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74129e | 558 | Hh 21a | SH | Sum. | | 50% |
| 74133a | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74133b | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74133d | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74133l | — | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74134d | 602 | Lu I | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74135c | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74135j | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74137a | 551 | Hh 14–15 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74137k | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74139 | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74143a | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74143b | 551 | Hh 14–15 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74143c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74143d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74143k | — | Hh 24? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74145 | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74147c | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74147f | 545 | Hh 5b-7 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74147g | 557 | Hh 20 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74147k | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | — | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74148 | 602 | Lu II-Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148a | 548 | Hh 11-12 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |
| 74148aa | 542 | Hh 2 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148ad | — | Hh 1? | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74148ae | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148af | 602 | Lu II-Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148b | 602 | Lu I | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148c | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148d | 546 | Hh 8-9 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74148g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148k | 548 | Hh 11-12 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148l | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148m | 556 | Hh 19 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148p | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148u | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74148v | 553 | Hh 16 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148w | 602 | Lu II-Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74150c | 545 | Hh 5b-7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74152a | 563 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74152b | 540 | Diri | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74152c | 603 | Syll. Voc. A | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74152e | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74152f | — | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74152g | 563 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74152h | 538 | Paleo. S ^a ? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74154 | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74155 | 546 | Hh 8–9 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74155b | 559 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum. | | comp. |
| 74160a | 540 | Diri | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74160c | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74160e | 549 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74160f | 547 | Hh 10 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74160g | 561 | Hh 24 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74160h | — | Hh 1 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74160i | 551 | Hh 14–15 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74160l | — | Hh? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74160m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74163b | 543 | Hh 3–5a | S | Sum. | | 25% |
| 74166a | 548 | Hh 11–12 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74166b | 576 | Misc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74166d | 555 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74169a | 602 | Lu II–Izi | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74171a | 551 | Hh 14–15 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74171b | 537 | S ^a Voc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |
| 74171c | 548 | Hh 11–12 | S | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74171d | 555 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74171e | 580 | Hh 8–9 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74171f | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74171g | 557 | Hh 20 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74171i | — | Misc. | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74171j | 543 | Hh 3–5a | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74175a | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | 50% |
| 74175b | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74175c | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | — | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74175d | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74175e | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74177b | — | Hh 5b–7? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74177c | — | Hh 10 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74177d | — | Hh 8–9 | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74178a | 553 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74178b | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74178c | — | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74178e | 569 | Lu II–Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74180f | — | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74186 | 560 | Hh 23 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74187 | 558 | Hh 21b–22 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74190c | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74190e | 546 | Hh 8–9 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74190g | 551 | Hh 14–15 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74190h | 574 | Nigga | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74190i | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74190j | 556 | Hh 19 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74190k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74190m | — | Hh 19 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74191a | 542 | Hh 2 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 74191b | 546 | Hh 8–9 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 74191c | 577 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74193a | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | 75% |
| 74193c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74195c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74196k | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74197d | — | Hh 24 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74197h | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74198ad | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198af | 553 | Hh 16 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198b | 558 | Hh 21b–22 | S | Sum. | | 50% |
| 74198d | 599 | Diri | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198e | — | Lu II–Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198i | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198l | 541 | Hh 1 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74198n | 539 | God list | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74198o | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198q | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74198r | — | Izi | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74198s | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198t | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74198u | — | Izi | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74198v | — | S ^a | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74198w | — | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198y | 553 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74198z | 600 | Diri | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199b | 559 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74199d | 537 | S ^a Voc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199i | 570 | Diri | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199j | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199l | 571 | Izi | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74199o | 553 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199p | — | Hh 24 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199s | — | Hh 16 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199t | 537 | S ^a Voc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199v | 559 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199w | 603 | Syll. Voc. A | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 74200c | — | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74200d | — | Syll. Voc. A | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74201a | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74201b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74201c | — | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74201e | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74202 | 556 | Hh 19 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | comp. |
| 74203e | 553 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74204a | 537 | S ^a Voc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74204b | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74204c | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74204e | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74204f | — | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74206b | 547 | Hh 10 | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74208b | 561 | Hh 24? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74208c | 555 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74209a | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 74209c | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74209e | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74209f | 553 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74211 | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 74214c | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74214d | — | Hh 2 | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74215b | 542 | Hh 2 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74216e | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74217a | 542 | Hh 2 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74217b | 560 | Hh 24 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74221a | — | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74221b | 541 | Hh 1?/Lu I? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232a | 559 | Hh 21b–22 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232b | 547 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232d | 602 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232e | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232f | 558 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74232h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232j | — | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232k | 602 | Lu? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232l | — | Izi? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74232q | — | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74232r | — | Diri?/Hh? | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233b | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233e | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233f | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233g | 548 | Hh 11–12 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233h | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233k | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233l | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233m | 788 | Hh 20 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74233n | 788 | Hh 20 | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74233s | 553 | Hh 16 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233t | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74234b | 558 | Hh 21a | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 74234c | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74234d | 561 | Hh 24 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74234e | — | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74234m | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74234o | 540 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238d | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74238h | 545 | Hh 5b-7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238i | — | Hh 5b-7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238n | 537 | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238o | 553 | Hh 16 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238r | — | Diri | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238s | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238v | 558 | Hh 21a | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74238w | 558 | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238x | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74256 | 603 | Syll. Voc. A | SH? | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |

Total: 426.

Divinatory—M₁ M III NE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7431 | 668 | Model | uncertain | Akk. | | 75% |
| 7470 | 651 | Celestial | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 7476b | 704 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7481b | 720 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7482e | — | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7482o | 625 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484g | 642 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484r | 641 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7488e | — | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7488g | 638 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491ab | 726 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491ad | 710 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7491b | 705 | Extispicy | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491h | 651 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491l | 644 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7493b | 716 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7494h | 651 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7495b | 662 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498h | 626 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498o | 627 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74100b | — | Extispicy | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74100j | 673 | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74101w | 698 | Behavior | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104c | 698 | Behavior | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74104o | 658 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74105e | 610 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107a | 611 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107ah | 635 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107h | 634 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107k | 700 | Behavior | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74109c | 715 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74110k | 696 | Misc. Izbu? | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74114a | 657 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74117a | 610 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74117e | 616 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74117f | 610 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74118b | 714 | Misc. | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74119a | 654 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122a | 694 | Medical | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122ad | 722 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122ap | — | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122aq | 723 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122d | 621 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122v | 643 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122x | 692 | Teratology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74127a | 695 | Medical | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74127o | 628 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74129a | — | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74133c | — | Teratology? | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74133j | 719 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74135m | 685 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74135n | 629 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74135s | — | Teratology? | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74136a | 728 | Misc. | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74143l | 610 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74144b | 711 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74147h | 663 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148ag | 690 | Teratology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148e | 656 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148q | 664 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74161 | 686 | Teratology | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74163a | 605 608 | Almanac / Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74166c | 615 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74169b | 615 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74170 | 611 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74173a | 615 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74173d | 684 | Extispicy | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74180b | 637 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74182b | 702 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74195a | 650 | Celestial | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74195b | 650 | Celestial | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74197g | 718 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198ab | — | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198ae | 648 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199e | 640 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199f | 693 | Teratology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199g | 666 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199h | 725 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74199k | 687 | Teratology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74200e | 659 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74203a | 698 | Behavior | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74203f | 706 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74204d | 651 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74205d | 611 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74206a | 651 | Celestial | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74209d | 609 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74212 | 698 | Behavior | SH | Akk. | | 25% |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74214f | 727 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74215a | 660 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74216d | 630 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233d | 655 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74234l | — | Misc. | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74235a | 652 | Celestial | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74238c | 631 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238g | 712 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238p | 655 | Celestial | S | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74238q | 655 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238y | — | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 98.

Incantation—*M₁ M III NE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7481a | 741 | Misc. | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7485e | 764 | Misc. | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7499b | 744 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74101a | 763 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74102a | 729 | udug-ḫul | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 74102h | 766 | Misc. | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74102o | 730 | udug-ḫul | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107ac | 759 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107ai | 729 | udug-ḫul | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74107ak | 732 | sag-gig | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107ap | 758 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107m | 746 | Misc. | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74107n | 746 | Misc. | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74107p | 745 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107q | — | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74107t | 744 | Misc. | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74114b | 756 | Misc. | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74117l | 761 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74122t | 743 | Misc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74135b | 753 | Lamaštu? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74143e | 777 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74147b | 735 | <i>šimmatu</i> | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74173e | 734 | Misc. | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74179 | 735 | <i>šimmatu</i> | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74183 | 740 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74199q | 731 | udug-ḫul? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74199r | 751 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74200f | 762 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74203b | 765 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74234h | 752 | Misc. | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |

Total: 31.

Literary—M_I M III NE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7478b | 768 | Fowler | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7480j | 784 | Date Palm | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7490g | 784 | Date Palm | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498b | 768 | Fowler | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498n | 782 | Gilgamesh | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74102b | 783 | Date Palm | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103f | 776 | Uncertain | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74103x | 776 | Uncertain | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74104z | 782 | Gilgamesh | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74105m | 760 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107aj | 778 | Instructions | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107al | — | Namzitara? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74137b | 768 | Fowler | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74137m | 767 | Ballad | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74143m | 783 | Date Palm | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74143n | 784 | Date Palm | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74143o | 783 | Date Palm | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148r | 772 | Namzitara | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74153 | 767 | Ballad | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 74174a | 771 | Namzitara | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 74177a | 778 | Instructions | uncertain | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74177e = 74197a | 778 | Instructions | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74182a | 774 | Namzitara | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74214a | 769 | Fowler | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74233p | 778 | Instructions | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233q | 778 | Instructions | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233r | 778 | Instructions | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74234g | 779 | Instructions | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238l | 773 | Namzitara | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 30.

Uncertain—*M₁ M III NE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7438 | 227 | Lexical | uncertain | Akk. | L3, L4, L5 | 25% |
| 7439 | 254 | Legal | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 7478a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7479a | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7479c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7480c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7480e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7480f | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7480h | — | Literary | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7480i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7481e | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7481f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7481i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7481j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7481k | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7481l | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7481m | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7481r | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7482a | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7482c | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7482d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7482f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7482h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7482j | — | Divinatory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7482k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7482l | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7482m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7482n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7483a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7484d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7484e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7484f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7484i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484j | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7484k | — | Lexical | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7484o | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485b | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7485f | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485g | 427 | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485i | — | Literary | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485j | 539 B | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7485o | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485p | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7485q | — | Uncertain | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7486e | — | Lexical | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7486f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7486g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7486h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7486i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7486j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7486l* | — | Divinatory | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7487b | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7487d | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7487h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7488b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7489f | — | Admin. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7489j | — | Lexical | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489m | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7489p | 344, 553 | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7489q | — | Divinatory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7489r | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7490d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7490h | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7490i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7490j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7490k | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7490m | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7490n | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7490q | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7490r | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7491aa | — | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491af | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7491g | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7491s | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7491u | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7491v | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7491x | — | Uncertain | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7491y | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7493c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7493d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7493e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7493f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7493g | — | Admin. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7493j | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7493k | — | Lexical | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7494c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7494e | — | Divinatory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7494g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7496e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7496g | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 7496h | — | Divinatory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7498k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74100d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74100e | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74100f | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74100g | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74100h | — | Ritual | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74101b | — | Uncertain | S | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101c | 291 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74101f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101g | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101j | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101k | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101l | 292 | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74101m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74101n | — | Lexical | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101p | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101q | — | Uncertain | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101y | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74101z | — | Uncertain | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74102i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74102k | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74102m | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74102n | — | Divinatory | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74103h | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74103i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74103j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103k | — | Uncertain | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74103l | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74103n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103o | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74103p | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74103q | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74103t | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74103u | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74103v | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74104l | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74104m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74104n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74104v | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74105f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74105h | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74105i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74106f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74106g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74107ae | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74107am | — | Divinatory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107an | — | Incantation | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107ar | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74107as | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74107at | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107au | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74107aw | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74107b | 359 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74107r | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74107s | — | Lexical | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74108e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74108g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74108h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74108i | — | Literary | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74109d | 749 | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74110a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74110b | 646 | Divinatory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74110d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74110e | — | Lexical | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74110f | 398 | Ritual | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74112b | 592 | Literary | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74114e | — | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74114k | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74114l | — | Incantation | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74116b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74116c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74116d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74116e | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74117h | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74117j | — | Ritual | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74117m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74117p | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74117q | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122ac | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122af | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122ai | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122aj | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122ak | — | Incantation | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122al | 541 | Literary | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122an | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122ao | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74122ar | — | Incantation | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74122as | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122at | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122av | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122aw | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122ax | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122bb | 748 | Incantation | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74122bc | — | Ritual | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122k | — | Ritual | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122l | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122p | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74122r | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122y | — | Divinatory | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74122z | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74126b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74126c | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74126d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127aa | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127ab | — | Lexical | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74127e | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127g | — | Lexical | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127h | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127i | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127l | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127r | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74127s | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127t | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127u | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127w | — | Lexical | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127x | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127y | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74127z | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74129b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74133e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74133f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74133g | 604 | Lexical | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74133h | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74133i | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74133k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74133m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74133n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74133o | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74134a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74134b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74134c | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74135d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74135h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135l | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135o | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135p | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135q | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74135r | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74137c | 354 | Admin. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74137d | 355 | Admin. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74137e | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74137f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74137g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74137h | — | Lexical | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74137i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74137j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74137l | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74138 | — | Literary | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74143f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74143g | — | Literary | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74143h | — | Literary | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74143i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74144d | — | Literary | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74147a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74147d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74147e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74147i | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74147j | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74148ab | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74148ac | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74148f | — | Incantation | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74148h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74148i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74148j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74148s | — | Lexical | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74148t | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74148x | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74148y | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74148z | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74150b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74152d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74160b | 724 | Literary | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74160d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74160j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74160k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74160n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74171h | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74173b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74173c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74175f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74177g = 74197c | — | Lexical | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74178d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74180c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74180d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74180g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74180h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74180i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74180j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74180k | — | Uncertain | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74180l | — | Lexical | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74190d | 445 | Ritual | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74190f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74190l | — | Ritual | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74191d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74191e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74191g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74193b | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74197b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74197e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74198aa | — | Divinatory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198c | 787 | Lexical | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74198k | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74198p | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74199a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74199c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74199m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74199n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74201f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74203c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74203d | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74205a | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74205b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74205c | — | Divinatory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74206c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74207b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74208e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74214e | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74221c | 791 | Incantation | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74221d | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74232g | — | Uncertain | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74232i | 790 | Incantation | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74232n | 604 | Lexical | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74232o | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74233c | 604 | Divinatory | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74233i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74233j | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74233o | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74234i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74234j | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74234k | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74234n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74234p | — | Lexical | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74238aa | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74238b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74238k | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74238m | — | Literary | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74238t | 747 | Incantation | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74238u | — | Divinatory | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74238z | 538 | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Total: 350.

*M₁ M III SE**Administrative—M₁ M III SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74123b | 341 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123c | 340 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123d | 362 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128a | 325 | Animals | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74128b | 300 | Cult | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 74132a | 335 | Animals | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74132b | 327 | Animals | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74158b | 357 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74158c | 339 | PNs | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159b | 303 | Various | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74159e | 310 | Various | uncertain | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74172b | 358 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74181 | 381 | Cult | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74226a | 383 | Cult | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74254a | 334 | Animals | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 15.

Legal—*M_I M III SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74132d | 188 | Testament | S | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Ritual—*M_I M III SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 741230 | 534 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128e | 477 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128g | 481 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128h | 482 | Anatolian | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128m | 384 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74132j | 392 | Misc. | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74140a | 460 | Misc. | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74146b | 452 | Calendar | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74146l | 375 | <i>zuku</i> | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74174b | 392 | Misc. | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74253 | 461 | Calendar | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 11.

Lexical—M₁ M III SE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74123a | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123f | 539 | God list | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123g | — | Paleo. S ^a | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74123h | — | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123i | 540 F | Diri | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123k | 594 | Izi | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123l | — | Hh 14 | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74123p | 595 | Misc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123q | 596 | Hh 18 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123u | — | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74123w | — | Hh 11–12? | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74124a | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74124b | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 74128c | 554 | Diri | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128k | 540 | Diri | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128o | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128r | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74132c | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | — | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74132i | 546 | Hh 8–9 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74132l | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74132p | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74132q | — | Uncertain | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74132r | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74132s | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74132u | 598 | Lu I | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146a | 540 | Diri | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146d | 602 | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146f | 578 | Izi | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146g | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146h | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146i | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146m | — | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146n | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146o | 550 | Hh 13 | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74146r | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | — | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74146t | — | Lu I | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74149 | 556 | Hh 19 | S | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 74156a | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74156b | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74156e | 548 | Hh 11–12 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74158a | 537 | S ^a Voc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74158d | 602 | Lu I | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74158e | 583 | Lu I | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74158f | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74158i | 602 | Lu II–Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74158j | 559 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74158k | 558 | God list | uncertain | Sum.-Hurr. | | frag. |
| 74158m | — | Syll. Voc. A | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74158r | 555 | Hh 18 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159ac | 559 | Hh 21b–22 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159ae | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74159f | 557 | Hh 20 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159g | — | Diri | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159k | 548 | Hh 11–12 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74164a | 568 | Izi | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 74164b | 542 | Hh 2 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74164c | 541 | Hh 1 | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74165c | 579 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74165e | 540 | Diri | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74165f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74165i | 539 | God list | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 74165j | 539 | God list | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 25% |
| 74165k | — | God list | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74172a | 581 | Hh 11–12 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74172c | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74227 | 558 | Hh 21b–22 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74228c | 538 | Paleo. S ^a | SH | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74230a | 553 | Hh 16 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 75% |
| 74231a | 537 | S ^a Voc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |
| 74254c | 540 | Diri | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74254e | — | Lu I | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74259 | 568 | Izi | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 72.

Divinatory—M₁ M III SE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7430 | 667 | Model | uncertain | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74123j | 609 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74124c | 610 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74124d | 610 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74124h | 677 | Extispicy | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74125a | 682 | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74125b | 683 | Extispicy | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128j | 636 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128n | 645 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128p | 610 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128q | 649 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128s | 610 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128w | 615 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74132e | 699 | Behavior | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74132f | 619 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74132k | 633 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74140c | 650 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74156c | 623 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159a | 610 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74159aa | 697 | Medical | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159i | 703 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159l | 713 | Misc. | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159m | — | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159u | 721 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74165a | 684 | Extispicy | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74165d | 665 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74165h | 651 | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74226b | 689 | Teratology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74226d | 661 ¹ | Celestial | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74228d | — | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74229 | 653 | Celestial | SH | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74252 | 691 | Teratology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 32.

Incantation—M₁ M III SE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74124f | 738 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146q | 736 | <i>šimmatu</i> | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146u | 755 | Misc. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74165g | 757 | Misc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74228a | 733 | Misc. | SH | Sum. | | frag. |

Total: 5.

Literary—M₁ M III SE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74123aa | 742 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123s | 754 | Date Palm | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123v | 783 | Date Palm | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128d | 782 | Gilgamesh | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74128f | 783 | Date Palm | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128t | 783 | Date Palm | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74132t | 767 | Ballad | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74156d | 783 | Date Palm | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74158g | 784 | Date Palm | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159c | 770 | Wisdom | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159d | 782 | Gilgamesh | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159h | 786 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159j | 767 | Ballad | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159n | — | Ballad | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 14.

Uncertain—*M_I M III SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74123ab | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74123ac | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74123ad | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74123e | — | Lexical | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74123m | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74123n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74123r | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Sum. | | frag. |
| 74123t | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74123x | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74123y | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74123z | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74124e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74124g | 789 | Literary | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128i | — | Literary | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74128l | — | Literary | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74128u | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74128v | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74132g | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74132h | 597 | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74132m | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74132n | — | Ritual | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74132o | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74132v | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74146c | 304 | Admin. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74146e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74146j | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74146k | — | Divinatory | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74146p | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74146s | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74146v | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74146w | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74158h | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74158l | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74158n | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74158o | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74158p | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74158q | — | Divinatory | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159ab | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74159ad | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74159o | — | Lexical | uncertain | Sumerian | | frag. |
| 74159p | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74159q | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74159r | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74159s | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74159t | 792 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159v | 793 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74159w | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74159x | 299 | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74159y | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74159z | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74165b | — | Incantation | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74226c | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74228b | 538 | Lexical | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74228e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74228f | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74228g | — | Uncertain | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74254b | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74254d | 709 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74255 | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74257 | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Total: 60.

*M₁ M III NE-III SE*Literary—*M₁ M III NE-M III SE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74127ac | 767 | Ballad | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |
| 74128x | 767 | Ballad | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |
| 74136b | 767 | Ballad | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | 50% |

Total: 3.

*M₁ M IV SW (surface clearing)*Ritual—*M₁ M IV SW (surface clearing)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74342d | 422 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Lexical—*M₁ M IV SW (surface clearing)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74342a | 542 | Hh 2 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 74342b | 541 | Hh 1 | S | Sum. | | frag. |

Total: 2.

Divinatory—*M₁ M IV SW (surface clearing)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74342c | 611 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74342e | 611 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74342g | 611 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74342h | 611 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74342j | 612 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74342k | — | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74342l | 613 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74342m | 614 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74342n | 611 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74342o | 611 | Hemerology | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 10.

Literary—*M_I M IV SW (surface clearing)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74345c | — | Date Palm | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Uncertain—*M_I M IV SW (surface clearing)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74342f | — | Uncertain | SH | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74342i | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Total: 2.

*M_I M IV NW*Lexical—*M_I M IV NW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7520 | 550 | Hh 13 | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7522 | 550 | Hh 13 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 2.

*M_I (clearing)*Legal—*M_I (clearing)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74275 | 198 | Testament? | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Ritual—*M_I (clearing)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74273 | 491 | uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Lexical—*M_I (clearing)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74278 | 548 | Hh 11-12 | S? | Sum. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

*M_I—NE*Ritual—*M_I NE*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74276 | 395 | kissu | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

*M_I—surface*Divinatory—*M_I surface*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7540 | 647 | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Uncertain—*M₁ surface*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7538 | — | Uncertain | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Total: 1.

M₁—*unclear*Ritual—*M₁ unclear*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74343a | 532 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Lexical—*M₁ unclear*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74345f | 555 | Hh 18 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.¹Divinatory—*M₁ unclear*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>SMEA 45</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7457 | 3 | Report | — | Hitt. | | 50% |
| 7458 | 4 | Report | — | Hitt. | | 25% |
| 7492 | 5 | Report | — | Hitt. | | 25% |
| 7498a ² | 3 | Report | — | Hitt. | | 50% |
| 74102q ¹² | 5 | Report | — | Hitt. | | 25% |
| 74101l ¹² | 5 | Report | — | Hitt. | | 25% |

¹ Note that an unknown number of fragments with unknown excavation numbers join the two pieces identified here as part of the Hurro-Mesopotamian polyglot Weidner God List (see Chapter 4 and Appendix B.5.3).

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>SMEA 45 / Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|----------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74114m ^{1?} | <i>SMEA 45, 4</i> | Report | — | Hitt. | | 25% |
| 74126e ^{1?} | <i>SMEA 45, 4</i> | Report | — | Hitt. | | 25% |
| 74192a | — | Extispicy | uncertain | Hurr. | | comp. |
| 74224 | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Hurr. | | frag. |
| 74345b | — | Celestial | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74345e | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74345g | <i>Emar 624</i> | Hemerology | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 13.²Literary—*M_I unclear*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74344 | 767 | Ballad | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Uncertain—*M_I unclear*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74343b | — | Ritual | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74345a | — | Divinatory | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74345d | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74345h | — | Lexical | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 4.

² There are certainly more Hurrian tablets and fragments to add to the total here, so this list is necessarily preliminary and incomplete.

‘Temple’ M₂

Administrative—Temple M₂

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7660 | 71 | Various | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7661 | 73 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7663 | 72 | Textiles | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 3.

Legal—Temple M₂

| <i>Msk</i> / <i>O.</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 7659 | 69 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | 25% |
| 7662 | 74 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7664 | 70 | Testament | SH | Akk. | E44 | 75% |
| O. 6766 | 220 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A17, A70, B37, B41 | 75% |

Total: 4.

Ritual—Temple M₂

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 761 | 68 | Votive | Lapidary | Akk. | | comp. |

Total: 1.

AREA N

Letter—Area N sounding

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>SMEA 45</i> | <i>Text (to)</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|----------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74734 | 2 | Arma-nani | — | Hitt. | | 75% |

Total: 1.

AREA P

Legal—Area P (surface)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74279 | 41 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | ? | frag. |

Total: 1.

AREA R

Letter—Area R

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text (to)</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74735 | 536 | Yaši-Dagān | S | Akk. | | comp. |

Total: 1.

AREA T

Administrative—Area T

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74761a | 99 | PNs | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Legal—Area T

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| 74732 | 75 | Loan | SH | Akk. | H3 | comp. |
| 74733 | 90 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | comp. |
| 74736 | 87 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | B45 | 50% |
| 74737 | 80 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74738 | 88 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | B60 | comp. |
| 74739 | 76 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | A58, B30, B62, B69, C24 | comp. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---|--------------|
| 74740 | 77 | Pledge | SH | | A6, A54, A55, B11 | 75% |
| 74741 | 77 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74742 | 92 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | A34 | frag. |
| 74744 | 77 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | | 75% |
| 74745 | 80 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | F12 | frag. |
| 74746 | 92 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | A41 | frag. |
| 74747a | 87 | Pledge | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74747b | 101 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | B30, B61 | frag. |
| 74749 | 78 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | B69 | 75% |
| 74750a | 80 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | C15 | 25% |
| 74750b | — | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74751a | 89 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | ? | 25% |
| 74751b | 103 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74752 | 97 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | 50% |
| 74753 | 94 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | 50% |
| 74754 | 96 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | frag. |
| 74755 | 96 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2b | frag. |
| 74757 | 84 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | B1 | comp. |
| 74760 | 85 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | B18, I3 | 75% |
| 74762a | 95 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74763 | 85 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74764 | 85 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74765 | 81 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | ? | comp. |
| 74766 | 93 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A43, A44, B4, B9, B27, B31, B67, C4 | comp. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74767 | 94 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | 50% |
| 74768 | 90 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | A40 | 50% |
| 74769 | 86 | Loan | SH | Akk. | B29, F22 | comp. |

Total: 33.

Uncertain—Area T

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74743 | 104 | Admin. | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74748 | 102 | Legal | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74750c | 105 | Legal | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74756 | 100 | Legal | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74758 | 98 | Legal | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74761b | 106 | Legal | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 74761c | 107 | Admin. | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |
| 74762b | 108 | Legal | S | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 8.

T I N E

Legal—T I N E

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7528 | 82 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | A101, E45 | 75% |
| 7529 | 79 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | B32, B44 | 25% |
| 7530 | 91 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A47 | 75% |
| 7532 | 83 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A74, E51 | 50% |
| 7536 | 91 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7537 | 91 | Testament | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 6.

AREA V

V I SE

Administrative—V I SE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 758 | 132 | Animals | SH | Akk. | | comp. |

Total: 1.

Legal—V I SE

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---|--------------|
| 751 | 115 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | A9, A50, A80, A98, B1, B25, E75, G4 | comp. |
| 752 | 124 | Marriage | SH | Akk. | A92, F26 | comp. |
| 753 | 127 | Loan | SH | Akk. | E5, E52, E63, E69, F20 | comp. |
| 754 | 120 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | A63, A87, B68, C23, E13 | comp. |
| 755 | 118 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A21, A27, A30, A33, B39, B51 | comp. |
| 756 | 116 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | A22, A50 | comp. |
| 757 | 126 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E1a, E2a, E10, E76 | comp. |
| 759 | 123 | Loan | SH | Akk. | A59, B40, D23, G5 | comp. |
| 7510 | 119 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | ? | 75% |
| 7511 | 117 | Pledge | SH | Akk. | A9, B10, B15, B26, H6 | comp. |
| 7512 | 122 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | A33, A94 | comp. |
| 7513 | 125 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E2a | comp. |
| 7515 | 111 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E64, E65, E68 | comp. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|
| 7516 | 121 | Slavery | SH | Akk. | A89, A111, B24, B43 | comp. |
| 7519 | 113 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | G2 | 50% |
| 7539 | 131 | Uncertain | SH | Akk. | A110 | frag. |

Total: 16.

*VI SW*Legal—*VI SW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| 7514 | 109 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | ? | comp. |
| 7517 | 128 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A52, A82, A106, B20, B34, L2 | comp. |
| 7518 | 114 | Real Estate | SH | Akk. | G2 | 50% |
| 7531 | 130 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E17, F6 | comp. |
| 7533 | 110 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | E35 | comp. |
| 7534 | 112 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A88, C9, E40 | 75% |
| 7535 | 129 | Testament | SH | Akk. | A39 | 25% |
| 7541a | 134 | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 8.

Uncertain—*VI SW*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7541b | — | Uncertain | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7541c | 135 | Legal | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7541d | 136 | Legal | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7541e | 133 | Legal | SH | Akk. | | frag. |
| 7541f | — | Admin. | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Total: 5.

SURFACE

Legal—Surface

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 75282 | 40 | Real Estate | S | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Ritual—Surface

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7525 | 454 | Calendar | uncertain | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

Lexical—Surface

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7342 | 551, 552 | Hh 14–15 | S | Sum. | | 50% |
| 7521 | 537 | S ^a Voc. | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7523a | 537 | S ^a Voc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7523b | 537 | S ^a Voc. | SH | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |
| 7526 | 545 | Hh 5b–7 | uncertain | Sum.-Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 5.

Uncertain—Surface

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 7524 | — | Lexical | uncertain | uncertain | | frag. |

Total: 1.

UNCERTAIN

Legal—*Uncertain*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Type</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>State</i> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 74759 | 78 | Dispute | SH | Akk. | | frag. |

Total: 1.

APPENDIX B

EXCAVATED TABLETS AND FRAGMENTS BY GENRE

Practical Documents

- B.1. Administrative Records
- B.2. Legal Documents
- B.3. Letters

Local Religious Texts

- B.4. Public Rituals

Scholarly Texts

- B.5. Lexical Texts
- B.6. Divinatory Texts
- B.7. Incantations and Rituals
- B.8. Literary Texts

Uncertain Texts

- B.9. Uncertain Texts and Fragments

PRACTICAL DOCUMENTS

Appendix B.1. Administrative Records

- B.1.1 Animals
- B.1.2 Cult
- B.1.3 Grains
- B.1.4 Inventories
- B.1.5 Manufacture
- B.1.6 Memoranda
- B.1.7 Metals
- B.1.8 Persons
- B.1.9 Properties
- B.1.10 Tags
- B.1.11 Textiles
- B.1.12 Various Items
- B.1.13 Vessels
- B.1.14 Weapons
- B.1.15 Weights
- B.1.16 Uncertain
 - B.1.16.1 Miscellaneous Uncertain Texts
 - B.1.16.2 Uncertain Fragments

B.1.1 *Administrative—Animals*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 7432 | M ₁ M III NE | 323 | | SH | | Tablet 1, memorandum, sheep and caprids (total 98 or 99), responsibility of Ḫimaši-Dagān |
| 7459 | M ₁ M III NE | 331 | | SH | | Tablet 2, sheep (7 to 29 per PN), PNs with patronymics |
| 7489a | M ₁ M III NE | 324 | | SH | | frag., lambs, PNs |
| 74107ay | M ₁ M III NE | 322 | | unc. | | Tablet 3, sheep, lambs, goats, PNs |
| 74127c | M ₁ M III NE | 332 | | unc. | | frag., sheep, possibly for cult, <i>nuppuḫannu</i> -men, <i>ḫussu</i> -men |
| 74200a | M ₁ M III NE | 329 | | unc. | | frag., white female sheep, male sheep |
| 74200b | M ₁ M III NE | 328 | | unc. | | frag., sheep for cult |
| 74234f | M ₁ M III NE | — | | unc. | | frag., sheep |
| 7494a | M ₁ M III NE | 333 | | unc. | | frag., sheep for palace, gate of [...] |
| 7498g | M ₁ M III NE | 330 | | unc. | | frag., male and female sheep |
| 74128a | M ₁ M III SE | 325 | | SH | | Tablet 4, 1–2 sheep per PN, with patronymics |
| 74132a | M ₁ M III SE | 335 | | SH | | Tablet 5, note concerning bull GU ₄ -AB ₂ , ^f PN |
| 74132b | M ₁ M III SE | 327 | | SH | | Tablet 6, memorandum concerning receipt of sheep, eqids by PNs |
| 74254a | M ₁ M III SE | 334 | | SH | | frag., sheep, PN |
| 758 | V I SE | 132 | | SH | | Tablet 7, white ewes, responsibility of PNs |

M₁: 6 tablets; 8 fragments.

Area V: 1 tablet.

Total: 7 tablets; 8 fragments.

(See also Cult.)

B.1.2 *Administrative—Cult*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74298a | M ₁ M I SW | 274 | | SH | | Tablet 1, large frag., vessels for DNs |
| 74312 | M ₁ M III NE | 364 | A62 | SH | | Tablet 2, Zū-Ba'la family, short record of vessels of wine given to the gods; seal of Ba'l-qarrād, diviner; wine given to DNs in MNs SAG.MU, Niqali |
| 7450 | M ₁ M III NE | 363 | A62 | SH | | Tablet 3, Zū-Ba'la family, short record of vessels of wine given to gods; seal of Ba'l-qarrād, diviner |
| 7443 | M ₁ M III NE | 380 | | unc. | | Tablet 4, offering list, birds |
| 7449 | M ₁ M III NE | 367 | | unc. | | Tablet 5, personal memorandum; breads, flour |
| 7487i | M ₁ M III NE | 365 | | unc. | | frag., sheep to DN |
| 7489d | M ₁ M III NE | 326 | | unc. | | frag., sheep for DNs |
| 74262 | M ₁ M I NW | 378 | | SH | | Tablet 6, cultic; DNs, close to <i>zuku</i> offering list, but with some Mesopotamian curiosities |
| 74264 | M ₁ M I NW | 379 | | SH | | Tablet 7, cultic; DNs, singers, <i>nuppuḫhanu</i> -men, protector DN of vineyard of Ḫešmi-Teššup (DUMU LUGAL; Karkamiš), DINGIR.MEŠ URU.MEŠ AN.TA |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------|--|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74181 | M ₁ M III SE | 381 | | SH | | Tablet 8, 1–2 sheep DN, cultic |
| 74104 + 7466 | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 382 382 | | SH | | Tablet 9, cultic; 1 (or 2) DN; item uncertain |
| 74226a | M ₁ M III SE | 383 | | unc. | | frag., cultic; DNs |
| 74128b | M ₁ M III SE | 300 | | SH | | Tablet 10, frag., Aštar |
| 7347 | Temple Aštar | 63 | | SH | | Tablet 11, memorandum, <i>paršu</i> , # shekel PN |

M₁: 10 tablets; 3 fragments.

Temple of Aštar: 1 tablet.

Total: 11 tablets; 3 fragments.

(See also Animals, Inventories.)

B.1.3 *Administrative—Grains*

| <i>Msk / EM</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--|--|--------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731015 | M ₁ (former R) | 319 | | SH | | Tablet 1, Zū-Ba'la family?, memorandum of loans, grain distribution; perhaps son of the diviner: Zū-Aštarti, son of Ba'l-qarrād |
| 74290 + 74301 + 74317 + 74336 | M ₁ M I SW-SE M ₁ M I SW-SE M ₁ M I SW-SE M ₁ M I SW-SE | 279 279 279 279 | E71 | SH | | Tablet 2, grain distribution PNs |
| 74120 | M ₁ M III NE | 320 | | SH | | Tablet 3, memorandum of men who did not give grain LU ₂ .MEŠ ša ŠE.MEŠ <i>la-a id-di-nu</i> , total 34 households |
| 7453 | M ₁ M III NE | 312 | | SH | | Tablet 4, memorandum, flour for mostly women |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk / EM</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 7463 | M ₁ M III NE | 316 | | SH | | Tablet 5, memorandum, note, grain, flour to Ipqi-Dagān |
| 74216c | M ₁ M III NE | 315 | | unc. | | Tablet 6, frag., memorandum of grain distribution to officials |
| 7456 | M ₁ M III NE | 318 | | unc. | | Tablet 7, memorandum, breads |
| EM 99:300 | House, Upper City I, FS 15 | — | | S | | Tablet 8, frag., ration list |

M₁: 7 tablets.
EM: 1 tablet.
Total: 8 tablets.

B.1.4 *Administrative—Inventories*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731002 | M ₁ (former R) | 282 | | SH | | Tablet 1, [DN], <i>šukuttu</i> of Išḫara and Ninkalam, stone list (school exercise?) |
| 731024 | M ₁ (former R) | 287 | A69, B64 | SH | | Tablet 2, Zū-Baʿla family, seal of Baʿl-mālik, diviner, seal of Kili-Šarruma; Ninkur of Uri; Ḫalma; LA ₂ (<i>piqittu/muṭū?</i>) of Tūra-Dagān, SANGA-priest |
| 731028 | M ₁ (former R) | 284 | | SH | | Tablet 3, <i>unūtu</i> , Ninkurra; silver; responsibility of several PNs |
| 731062 | M ₁ (former R) | 289 | | SH | | Tablet 4, gold, Aḫi-mālik, UGULA; Erra, lord of Šagma |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 731065 (+ ²) | M ₁ (former R) | 293 | | unc. | | Tablet 5, frag. |
| 731078w (+ ²) | | 294 | | unc. | | |
| 731078x | | 295 | | unc. | | |
| 74111 | M ₁ M III NE | 286 | | unc. | | Tablet 6, objects and precious metals; diviner, <i>zābiḫu</i> , EREŠ. DINGIR, <i>maš'artu</i> |
| 74190a | M ₁ M III NE | 288 | | unc. | | Tablet 7, frag., <i>šukuttu</i> , Ḫebat |
| 7395 | Temple Storm-god | 43 | A69, A33, A26, B53 | SH | Ari-Šarruma | Tablet 8, Zū-Ba'la family, <i>šukuttu</i> , Aštar of the city, gold, silver, stones; seals of Kāpī-Dagān, diviner, Ba'1-mālik, (diviner), Ari-Šarruma, scribe, Abunni |

M₁: 7 tablets.

Temple of Storm-god: 1 tablet.

Total: 8 tablets.

(See also Cult.)

B.1.5 *Administrative—Manufacture*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 73100 | Temple Storm-god | 58 | | SH | | Tablet 1, materials given to PN for manufacture; NIG ₂ ^d U |
| 73113 | Temple Storm-god | 57 | B4 | SH | | Tablet 2, Zū-Ba'la family, seal of Bēlu-qarrād, son of Kāpī-Dagān, diviner; 20 shekels silver given for manufacture of window(s)?; NIG ₂ ^d U |
| 7391 | Temple Storm-god | 51 | | SH | | Tablet 3, silver to the debt of the <i>zābiḫu</i> , given to PN for manufacture |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 7399 | Temple Storm-god | 56 | A69 | SH | | Tablet 4, Zū-Baʿla family, silver of PN given for manufacture; seal of Baʿl-mālik, diviner |

Temple of Storm-god: 4 tablets.
Total: 4 tablets.

B.1.6 *Administrative—Memorandum*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 73278 | A House A V | 27 | | unc. | | Tablet 1, letter? memorandum? |

House A V: 1 tablet.
Total: 1 tablet.

B.1.7 *Administrative—Metals*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 7436 | M ₁ M III NE | 368 | | SH | | Tablet 1, URUDU for <i>kubadu</i> |
| 7464 | M ₁ M III NE | 366 | A62 | SH | | Tablet 2, Zū-Baʿla family, memorandum, bronzes, LU ₂ .MEŠ <i>ku-ba-di</i> ; seal of Baʿl-qarrād, diviner |

M₁: 2 tablets.
Total: 2 tablets.

B.1.8 *Administrative—Persons*

| <i>Msk / EM</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|----------------------------------|--|-------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 731095 | M ₁ (former R) | 275 | C ₃ | SH | Kutumiliya? | Tablet 1, Zū-Ba'la family, 7 households / temples / shrines(?), many cultic personnel, each in 4(?) parts, Ba'l-qarrād, son of Zū-Ba'la, diviner; overseen by Ba'l-qarrād; ^{lu2} <i>ellūtu</i> |
| 73108ot | M ₁ (former R) | 351 | | unc. | | frag. |
| 74285a + 74334a | M ₁ M I SW M ₁ M I SW | 276 276 | | SH | | Tablet 2, cultic personnel |
| 74294 (+) 74203f (+) 74324 | M ₁ M I SW M ₁ M I SW-IINW M ₁ M I SW | 277 277 277 | | SH | | Tablet 3, shekels (silver) "of" four PN _s , to/for four PN _s , one GN (Kinza = Qadeš) |
| 74334b | M ₁ M I SW | 281 | | SH | | frag., PN _s ; cultic? |
| 74131 | M ₁ M III NE | 338 | | SH | | Tablet 4, PN, son of PN ₂ |
| 74141 + 74142 | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 336 336 | | SH | | Tablet 5, PN, son of PN ₂ , some titles; U = 10 written every ten lines |
| 74198h | M ₁ M III NE | 345 | | SH | | frag., PN _s , diviner, <i>maš'artu</i> |
| 74208a | M ₁ M III NE | 337 | | SH | | frag., PN, son of PN ₂ , some titles |
| 74214b | M ₁ M III NE | 348 | | SH | | frag., PN _s |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk / EM</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------|---|
| 7460 | M ₁ M III NE | 311 | SH | | Tablet 6, Zū-Ba'la family?, memorandum, people; numbers of troops, PN; Ba'l-mālik, diviner?; Ninurta/Uraš temple? |
| 7488d | M ₁ M III NE | 352 | SH | | frag., PNs |
| 74114f (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 360 | unc. | | frag., PNs |
| 74114g | M ₁ M III NE | 360 | | | |
| 74198x | M ₁ M III NE | 346 | unc. | | frag. |
| 7489g | M ₁ M III NE | 343 | unc. | | frag., PNs |
| 74123b (+?) | M ₁ M III SE | 341 | SH | | frag., PNs |
| 74123c | M ₁ M III SE | 340 | SH | | |
| 74158b | M ₁ M III SE | 357 | SH | | frag., PNs |
| 74172b | M ₁ M III SE | 358 | SH | | frag., PNs |
| 74158c | M ₁ M III SE | 339 | unc. | | frag., PNs |
| 7661 | M ₂ Temple | 73 | SH | | Tablet 7, frag., female PNs |
| 72186 | C | 36 | unc. | | Tablet 8, PN, son of PN ₂ |
| 72188 | C | 37 | unc. | | Tablet 9, PN, son of PN ₂ |
| 74761a | T | 99 | SH | | Tablet 10, frag., PNs, diviner DUMU ḪAL |
| 73102 | Temple Aštart | 64 | SH | | Tablet 11, I number (3–6 1/2; mostly 4) number (cancelled) PN, (son of PN ₂) |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk / EM</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 73103 | Temple Aštar | 65 | | SH | | Tablet 12, number, number, number (cancelled), PN, (son of PN ₂), number (cancelled) 4(NIG ₂) |
| 73104 (+?) | Temple Aštar | 66 | | SH | | frag., PN, son of PN ₂ |
| 7393 | Temple Aštar | 67 | | SH | | |
| 7392 | Temple Storm-god | 53 | | S | | Tablet 13, frag., PNs |
| 73108 | Temple Storm-god | 55 | | unc. | | frag., PNs |
| EM 99:150 | robber's trench, NW of Temple Aštar | — | | unc. | | Tablet 14, frag., PNs |

M₁: 6 tablets; 13 fragments.

M₂: 1 tablet.

Area C: 2 tablets.

Area T: 1 tablet.

Temple of Aštar: 2 tablets; 1 fragment.

Temple of Storm-god: 1 tablet; 1 fragment.

EM: 1 tablet.

Total: 14 tablets; 15 fragments.

B.1.9 *Administrative—Properties*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74185 | M ₁ M III NE | 168 | | SH | | Tablet 1, 3 orchards, vineyard, 3 fields; dupl. or part of <i>Emar</i> 169 |
| 7486c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 169 | | SH | | frag.; dupl. or part of <i>Emar</i> 168 |
| 74107j | M ₁ M III NE | 169 | | | | |
| 74238f | M ₁ M III NE | 170 | | unc. | | frag., probably from a list of properties like <i>Emar</i> 168 and <i>Emar</i> 169 |

M₁: 1 tablet; 2 fragments.

Total: 1 tablet; 2 fragments.

B.1.10 *Administrative—Tags*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 73105 | Temple Storm-god | 62 | | S | | Tablet 1, tag for ^g PISAN basket/box of tablets |
| 73128 | Temple Storm-god | 61 | A69, B63, C5 | SH | Kili-Šarruma? | Tablet 2, Zū-Ba'la family, tag for ^g PISAN basket/box, seal of Šadiya, seal of Ba'l-mālik, diviner, seal of Kili-Šarruma, scribe |

Temple of Storm-god: 2 tablets.

Total: 2 tablets.

B.1.11 *Administrative—Textiles*

| <i>Msk / R</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| R. | A “Palace” | 22 | | SH | | Tablet 1, memorandum; R. admin list textiles, <i>asallu</i> -vessel?, Imlik-Dagān DUMU ḪAL |
| 7663 | M ₂ Temple | 72 | | unc. | | Tablet 2, frag., textiles |

A “Palace”: 1 tablet.

M₂: 1 tablet.

Total: 2 tablets.

(See also Various Items)

B.1.12 *Administrative—Various Items*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731092m | M ₁ (former R) | 302 | | | unc. | frag., bed, textiles |
| 74236b | M ₁ M I NE | 301 | | | unc. | frag., textiles, vessels |
| 74130 | M ₁ M III NE | 296 | | | SH | Tablet 1, tablet of the gate of <i>ḫu-za-ri</i> E ₂ <i>ḫa-b</i> [<i>i</i> ² -. . .], the end mentions <i>ša</i> KA ₂ E ₂ <i>šubti</i> , objects and furniture |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------|--|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74144a | M ₁ M III NE | 290 | B49 | SH | | Tablet 2, <i>riksu</i> (written over erased DUB sign), vessels, weapons; not entered in writing board |
| 74310 | M ₁ M III NE | 285 | A69, B47 | SH | | Tablet 3, Zū-Ba'la family, <i>riksu</i> ; metal objects, weapons, textiles; seal of Ba'l-mālik, son of diviner; seal of Kāpi-Dagān, diviner; not recorded on writing board |
| 7434 | M ₁ M III NE | 317 | | SH | | Tablet 4, memorandum; grain, flour; PN will give 6 ANŠE (equids) for 1 shekel silver |
| 7444 + 74118 | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 321 321 | | SH | | Tablet 5, animals, textiles, vessels, oil; palace, E ₂ UGULA KALAM.MA, "recipients," PNs |
| 74159b | M ₁ M III SE | 303 | | SH | | Tablet 6, frag., gold, gold bracelet and anklet, chair, textiles, sandals |
| 74159e | M ₁ M III SE | 310 | | unc. | | Tablet 7, memorandum, <i>unūtu</i> , sums of gold and silver, anklet, PNs, DN(s)? |
| 7660 | M ₂ Temple | 71 | | SH | | Tablet 8, frag., memorandum, DIN(?) to ^f PN/PN |

M₁: 7 tablets; 2 fragments.M₂: 1 tablet.

Total: 8 tablets; 3 fragments.

B.1.13 *Administrative—Vessels*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74107x | M ₁ M III NE | 307 | | SH | | Tablet 1, memorandum, number (1, 3, 4, 9), vessel, PN |
| 7440 | M ₁ M III NE | 283 | | SH | | Tablet 2, vessels, LU ₂ .MEŠ ŠU.SILA ₃ .DU ₈ ¹ |
| 7446 | M ₁ M III NE | 305 | A69 | SH | | Tablet 3, Zū-Ba'la family, memorandum, vessels, silver not paid; sealing of Ba'ī-mālik (×3); reference to writing board |
| 7447 | M ₁ M III NE | 306 | | SH | | Tablet 4, vessels and PNs, memorandum, LU ₂ .MEŠ <i>tāḥazi</i> , ZI (= <i>nashūti</i> ?); LU ₂ .ME <i>ša illati</i> |
| 7397 | Temple Storm-god | 50 | | S | | Tablet 5, vessels, UGU <i>an-ni</i> , PNs, UGU <i>ka-li-šu-nu-ma</i> , vessels |

M₁: 4 tablets.

Temple of Storm-god: 1 tablet.

Total: 5 tablets.

B.1.14 *Administrative—Weapons*

| <i>Msk / EM</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 73106 | Temple Storm-god | 49 | | S | | Tablet 1, list of objects <i>kattinnu</i> , PNs |
| 73109 | Temple Storm-god | 47 | | S | | frag., <i>katappu</i> and <i>kattinnu</i> , PNs |
| 73110 | Temple Storm-god | 46 | | S | | Tablet 2, <i>ṭup-pi₂ ka-ta-pu</i> ZABAR <i>ša KA₂-bi</i> ; bronze <i>katappu</i> -objects PNs |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> / <i>EM</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------------------|---|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 73111 | Temple Storm-god | 44 | | S | | Tablet 3, receipt of weapons of boatmen |
| 73114 | Temple Storm-god | 45 | | S | | Tablet 4, <i>tup-pi₂</i> ^{gis} TUKUL.MEŠ ša ^d IŠKUR; <i>kattinnu</i> and <i>katappu</i> of PN |
| 7396 | Temple Storm-god | 52 | | S | | Tablet 5, men who received weapons from Temple of the Storm-god; <i>tup-pi₂</i> LU ₂ !. MEŠ ša ^{gis} PAN <i>a-na</i> E ₂ ^d IŠKUR <i>il-[qu]</i> , 1 ^{gis} PAN PN, son of PN ₂ |
| 7398 | Temple Storm-god | 48 | | S | | Tablet 6, <i>tup-pi₂</i> <i>ka-ti₄-na-ti</i> ; 1 <i>kattinnu</i> PN |
| 73101 | Temple Storm-god | 59 | | S | | Tablet 7, memorandum, short list of weapons belonging to PN |
| EM 99:200 | Temple Storm-god, disturbed context, Byzantine grave | — | | S | | Tablet 8, frag., distribution of weapons to multiple PNs, who are listed with patronymics |

Temple of Storm-god: 7 tablets; 1 fragment.

EM: 1 tablet.

Total: 8 tablets; 1 fragment.

(See Various Items.)

B.1.15 *Administrative—Weights*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 73189 | C | 38 | | Lap. | | Object 1, 2/3 mina weight belonging to Dayyān-Marduk |

Area C: 1 object.

Total: 1 object.

B.1.16.1 *Administrative—Miscellaneous Uncertain Texts*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731091c (+ ²) | M ₁ (former R) | 313 | | unc. | | frag., memorandum |
| 731092e | M ₁ (former R) | 314 | | unc. | | frag., number MIN PN; number, MIN, PN/ <i>a-na</i> PN |
| 74236h (+ ²) | M ₁ M I NE | 298 | | unc. | | frag. |
| 74236i | M ₁ M I NE | 297 | | unc. | | |
| 74315a | M ₁ M I SE | 278 | | SH | | Tablet 1, memorandum; ad- ministrative or legal?; bronze, debt |
| 74304c | M ₁ M I SW | 280 | | unc. | | frag., memorandum of sums, some payments |
| 74313 | M ₁ M III NE | 309 | E79 | SH | | Tablet 2, memorandum, item and PN |
| 7465 | M ₁ M III NE | 361 | | SH | | Tablet 3, note of transfer of servants, animals, garments, grain of P[N], the LU ₂ .UR ₃ .RA of the queen; transfer from Qadeš (Kizzu) to Šatappi |
| 74123d | M ₁ M III SE | 362 | | unc. | | frag. |

M₁: 3 tablets, 4 fragments.

Total: 3 tablets; 4 fragments.

B.1.16.2 *Administrative—Uncertain Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|--|
| 731080v | M ₁ (former R) | — | K1 | unc. | unc. | frag., Egyptian scarab seal impressions |
| 74296b | M ₁ M I SW | 353 | | unc. | Akk. | frag., PN list? |
| 74337b | M ₁ M I SW | 347 | | unc. | Akk. | frag., PN list? |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|--|
| 74293i | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 342 | | unc. | Akk. | frag., PN |
| 74137c | M ₁ M III NE | 354 | | unc. | Akk. | frag., Zū-Ba'la family?, Ba'l-mālik, diviner? |
| 74137d | M ₁ M III NE | 355 | | unc. | Akk. | frag., Zū-Ba'la family?, Ba'l-mālik, diviner? |
| 7489f | M ₁ M III NE | — | | unc. | Akk. | frag., bronze? |
| 7493g | M ₁ M III NE | — | | unc. | Akk. | frag., reference to Babylon? |
| 74146c | M ₁ M III SE | 304 | | unc. | Akk. | frag., vessels |
| 74743 | T | 104 | | unc. | Akk. | frag., administrative or legal? |
| 74761c | T | 107 | | SH? | unc. | frag. |
| 73115 | Temple Storm-god | 60 | | unc. | Akk. | frag., silver |
| 7541f | V I SW | — | | unc. | unc. | frag., administrative or legal? |

M₁: 9 fragments.

Area T: 2 fragments.

Temple of Storm-god: 1 fragment.

Area V: 1 fragment.

Total: 13 fragments.

Appendix B.2. Legal Documents

- B.2.1 Adoption
- B.2.2 Dispute/Litigation
- B.2.3 Loan
- B.2.4 Marriage
- B.2.5 Pledge/Security
- B.2.6 Ransom
- B.2.7 Real Estate
- B.2.8 Royal Grant
- B.2.9 Slavery
 - B.2.9.1 Sale/Redemption
 - B.2.9.2 Feet of Clay
- B.2.10 Testament
- B.2.11 Uncertain
 - B.2.11.1 Uncertain Legal Texts and Fragments
 - B.2.11.2 Uncertain Fragments

B.2.1 *Legal—Adoption*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731000 | M ₁ (former R) | 256 | E2b | S | Imlik-Dagān | Tablet 1, Zū-Ašṭarti, son of Baʿl-kabar I; archive problem |
| 73274 | A House A V | 29 | A97 | SH | | Tablet 2, adoption-marriage; testament? |

M₁: 1 tablet.

House A V: 1 tablet.

Total: 2 tablets.

(See also Marriage, Pledge/Security, Testament.)

B.2.2 *Legal—Dispute/Litigation*

| <i>Msk / R.</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------|--|---------------|---------------------------|--|
| R. 90 | M ₁ R | 257 | A19, C17, E47, [...] | SH | | Tablet 1, theft of slave, before the king, great ones of Šatappi; archive problem |
| 731093 | M ₁ (former R) | 205 | A15, A100, C20, C21 | SH | | Tablet 2, Zū-Baʿla family, slavery, before UGULA Mutri-Teššup and elders of the city, Ibni-Dagān, son of Zū-Baʿla, diviner |
| 731019 | M ₁ (former R) | 212 | B46, A29, B55, A75, B54, A14, A109, L1 | SH | Zulanna, chief of scribes | Tablet 3, Zū-Baʿla family, before the king, Baʿl-mālik, diviner; affair of Baʿl-qarrād, UGULA |
| 731011 | M ₁ (former R) | 255 | | SH | | Tablet 4, witnesses; archive problem |
| 731032 | M ₁ (former R) | 252 | B52 | SH | | Tablet 5, loan debt, UGULA; archive problem |
| 7359 | A “Palace” jar Msk 7336 | 14 | E2a | S | Abī-kāpī | Tablet 6, Baʿl-kabar I, brother claims plot |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk / R.</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------------|----------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 7357 | A “Palace” jar Msk 7340 | 19 | A4a | SH | | Tablet 7, slavery, social status, son of the king |
| 7358 | A “Palace” jar Msk 7340 | 18 | A2b | SH | | Tablet 8, Karkamiš, Ini-Teššup, slavery, social status, oath of Emar |
| 73279 | A House A V | 28 | | SH | | Tablet 9, woman against man re: 30 shekels silver, 16th Tašrītu, great ones |
| 73266 | C | 33 | A35, A104, B36 | SH | | Tablet 10, woman against adopted son |
| 74749 + 74759 | T uncertain | 78 78 | B69, A19, C17, E47, [...] | SH | | Tablet 11, Hēma family, litigation? property maintenance |

M₁: 5 tablets.

A “Palace”: 3 tablets.

House A V: 1 tablet.

Area C: 1 tablet.

Area T: 1 tablet.

Total: 11 tablets.

B.2.3 *Legal—Loan*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------------|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74322 | M ₁ M I SW | 200 | B50 | SH | | Tablet 1, Zū-Ba’la family?, repayment of 30 shekels, Zū-Ba’la, diviner?, Ba’l-qarrād |
| 73276 + 73277 | A House A V A House A V | 23 23 | B14, B20 | SH | | Tablet 2, [n+] 30 shekels, Subarian metrology |
| 73273 | A House A V | 26 | H5 | unc. | | Tablet 3, dated: Meli-Šipak 1, ¹⁴ KIN 2.KAM = 2 Ulūlu |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|------------------------|---------------|---|---|
| 73275 | A House A V | 24 | | unc. | Ṭabiya | Tablet 4, repayment of debt, 100 shekels, 20 shekels interest, ^{iti} GAN. GAN.E ₃ = Kislimu, city metrology |
| 74732 | T | 75 | H ₃ | SH | | Tablet 5, Ḫēma family, 272 shekels, metrology of Emar |
| 74769 | T | 86 | B29, F22 | SH | | Tablet 6, Ḫēma family, repayment of debt, 2.5 shekels |
| 753 | V I SE | 127 | E5, E52, E63, E69, F20 | SH | Ipqi-Dagān, scribe who wrote the tablet | Tablet 7, Tuwatta-ziti, repayment of debt with various items, Babylonian PNs |
| 759 | V I SE | 123 | A59, B40, D23, G5 | SH | | Tablet 8, house sold to repay debts, 20 shekels to PN, 10 shekels to PN ₂ |

M₁: 1 tablet.

House A V: 3 tablets.

Area T: 2 tablets

Area V I SE: 2 tablets.

Total: 8 tablets.

B.2.4 *Legal—Marriage*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 752 | V I SE | 124 | A92, F26 | SH | | Tablet 1, NU.GIG married, one witness: the undertaker, son of <i>maš'artu</i> -priestess |

Area V I SE: 1 tablet.

Total: 1 tablet.

(See also Adoption; Testament.)

B.2.5 *Legal—Pledge/Security*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------------------|--|----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|--|---|
| 74311 | M ₁ M III NE | 209 | A48, [...] | SH | | Tablet 1, Zū-Ba'la family?, suretyship for 14 shekels silver, Ba'l-qarrād, son of Zū-Ba'la, diviner?, sealed by brother of <i>maš'artu</i> -priestess, five witnesses from PA ₅ (canal) GN |
| 74330a (+) 74330b | M ₁ M I SW M ₁ M I SW | 210 210 | A51 | SH | | Tablet 2, Zū-Ba'la family?, frag., Ba'l-qarrād, diviner? |
| 74738 | T | 88 | B60 | SH | | Tablet 3, Ḫēma family, sons and wife as security for 60 shekels silver, repaid by debtor's brother, tablet broken |
| 74740 + 74741 + 74744 | T T T | 77 77 77 | A6, A54, A55, B11 | SH | | Tablet 4, Ḫēma family, personal antichretic pledge, house and son as security for 140 shekels silver |
| 74736 + 74747a | T T | 87 87 | B45 | SH | | Tablet 5, Ḫēma family, 5 talents alum, metrology of <i>kāru</i> , security for 150 shekels silver |
| 7361 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7336 | 16 | B1, B2, B5, B6, B28, B42 | SH | | Tablet 6, personal antichretic pledge, debt of 41 shekels silver |
| 756 | V I SE | 116 | A22, A50 | SH | Ḫemiya, son of Kutbe, royal scribe | Tablet 7, Milki-Dagān family, 5 shekels silver, witness: diviner Baba |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 7510 | V I SE | 119 | ? | SH | | Tablet 8, Milkī-Dagān family, 15 <i>parīsu</i> grain security, repayment of debt |
| 7511 | V I SE | 117 | A9, B10, B15, B26, H6 | SH | | Tablet 9, Milkī-Dagān family, antichretic pledge for 40 shekels silver, implicit adoption-marriage |

M₁: 2 tablets.

Area T: 3 tablets.

A "Palace": 1 tablet.

Area V I SE: 3 tablets.

Total: 9 tablets.

B.2.6 *Legal—Ransom*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 7234 | A "Palace" | 21 | A31, I4 | SH | | Tablet 1, payment of <i>iṭṭeru</i> = 60 shekels silver, 14 shekels silver for garments, metrology of Amurru, witnesses: two PN's from Palmyra = Tadmīr |

A "Palace": 1 tablet.

Total: 1 tablet.

B.2.7 *Legal—Real Estate*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731005 | M ₁ (former R) | 144 | E1a, E2a | S | Abī-kāpī | Tablet 1, Ba'ī-kabar I, <i>tugguru</i> -building confiscated by Ninurta, sold by Ninurta and Elders, 500 shekels silver, MN: Niqali; archive problem |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731039 | M ₁ (former R) | 156 | E1a, E2a | S | Abī-kāpī | Tablet 2, Ba'ī-kabar I, main house sold for 600 shekels silver by one brother to other brothers, sister allowed to live in house; archive problem |
| 731007 | M ₁ (former R) | 158 | E2b | S | | Tablet 3, Pilsu-Dagān, house sold by two brothers to Šurši, son of Itti-Da, diviner, for 70 minas refined silver, year of distress; archive problem? |
| 731006 | M ₁ (former R) | 159 | E1a, E2a | S | Abī-kāpī | Tablet 4, Pilsu-Dagān, exchange of two plots for one plot; archive problem |
| 731016 | M ₁ (former R) | 137 | E2b | S | Bēlu-mālik | Tablet 5, Pilsu-Dagān, 2 orchards ([x] shekels, 20 shekels), 1 field (30 shekels), 2 plots (20 shekels, 40 shekels) bought by Iššur-Dagān, brother of king Pilsu-Dagān |
| 731004 | M ₁ (former R) | 139 | E1a, E2b | S | Iš-Dagān | Tablet 6, Elli, 4 houses sold by Ninurta and Elders to Iššur-Dagān, son of Ba'ī-kabar I, for 800 shekels |
| 731010 | M ₁ (former R) | 140 | E2b | S | Iš-Dagān | Tablet 7, Elli, sold by PN to Iššur-Dagān, son of Ba'ī-kabar I, for 100 shekels |
| 731003 | M ₁ (former R) | 141 | E2b | S | Iš-Dagān | Tablet 8, Elli, house sold by PN to Ba'ī-mālik, son of Iššur-Dagān, son of Ba'ī-kabar I, for 300 shekels |
| 731037 | M ₁ (former R) | 142 | E2b | S | Iš-Dagān | Tablet 9, Elli, field sold by king Elli, son of Pilsu-Dagān, to PN, servant of the king, for 100 shekels |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|---|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731021 | M ₁ (former R) | 147 | E1a, E2a | S | Ea-damiq | Tablet 10, Elli, 3 fields sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN for 0.5 mina; archive problem |
| 731047 | M ₁ (former R) | 172 | | S | | frag., Elli |
| 731018 | M ₁ (former R) | 150 | E1a, D4, D8, D17, D30, D37, D38, D44, F10 | S | Dagān-bēlu | Tablet 11, sons of Ir'ib-Ba'l, plot sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN for 14 shekels, MN: Ninkur of the throne, Eponym: 1st year Dagān-mālik; archive problem |
| 731008 | M ₁ (former R) | 148 | E1a, E2a? | S | Eḫli-Kuša | Tablet 12, Išbi-Dagān, son of Li'mi-šarru, plot sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN for 110 shekels, MN: Ninkur, Eponym: 2nd year Gadidu; archive problem |
| 731066 | M ₁ (former R) | 153 | E1a | S | [Rašap-ilī] | Tablet 13, [sons of Ir'ib]-Ba'l, plot sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN for 2/3 mina; archive problem |
| 731009 | M ₁ (former R) | 171 | E33, F7 | S | ...-Ba'l | Tablet 14, plot sold by PN to PN ₂ for 1/3 mina and 5 shekels, MN: ^d EN, Eponym: 1st year of Abunna, son of Tillatī-Dagān; archive problem |
| 731084c | M ₁ (former R) | 247 | | S | | frag., house |
| R. 128 | M ₁ R | 207 | A3 | SH | | Tablet 15, Zū-Ba'la family, sale of 2 plots by two PNs to Ba'l-qarrād, son of Zū-Ba'la, diviner, for 1 mina each, seal of Ini-Teššup, Karkamiš |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731025 | M ₁ (former R) | 206 | A3 | SH | | Tablet 16, Zū-Ba'la family, orchard sold by two brothers to Ba'l-qarrād, son of Zū-Ba'la, diviner, for 100 shekels silver |
| 731033 | M ₁ (former R) | 225 | | SH | Šaggar-abu | Tablet 17, Zū-Ba'la family, house belonging to PN sold by Ipqi-Dagān to his brother Zūzu, both sons of Ba'l-mālik, diviner, for 100 shekels, other real estate sold |
| 731045 | M ₁ (former R) | 226 | | SH | | Tablet 18, Zū-Ba'la family, frag., arrangement between Ipqi-Dagān and Zūzu, sons of Ba'l-mālik, diviner |
| 731071a + 731071b | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ (former R) | 194 194 | | SH | | Tablet 19, Zū-Ba'la family, field(s?), sons of Zū-Ba'la, son of Šuršu, diviner, episode involving descendents of Abī-kāpī, son of Ḥurazi, seals of king of Karkamiš, king (of Emar), Ninurta |
| 74339 | M ₁ M I NE | 161 | E72 | S | Mašru-ḥe | Tablet 20, house with foundation sold by PN; archive problem? |
| 74314 | M ₁ M I NW | 162 | | S | Dagalli | frag., MN: ^d EN, year of distress |
| 731076 + 74319 | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M I SE | 138 138 | E2b | S | Iš-Dagān | Tablet 21, Pilsu-Dagān, field (20 shekels), vineyard in Rabban (50 shekels), <i>tugguru</i> -building (60 shekels) sold by PNs to Išsur-Dagān, son of Ba'l-kabar I |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------|--|-------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 731057 + 74237b | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M I SE | 253 253 | D34, E2a | S | Ea-damiq | Tablet 22, Pilsu-Dagān, royal confirmation of property division in favor of woman; archive problem |
| 74316c | M ₁ M I SE | 152 | D10, D36, E1a | S | | frag., plot sold by Ninurta and Elders |
| 74318 | M ₁ M I SE | 157 | E1a, E2a? | S | Abī-kāpī | Tablet 23, frag., Pilsu-Dagān, house sold(?); archive problem? |
| 74299c | M ₁ M I SW | 151 | | S | | frag., orchard sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN for 1 mina [+ n]; archive problem? |
| 74304d | M ₁ M I SW | 165 | | S | | frag. |
| 74304g | M ₁ M I SW | 166 | | S | | frag. |
| 731036 + 74329 | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M I SW | 146 146 | E22 E1a, E2b? | S | Ea-damiq | Tablet 24, Pilsu-Dagān, field sold by Ninurta and Elders to Mašru-ḥamiš, son of Baʿl-bārû, for 100 (shekels) |
| 74331 | M ₁ M I SW | 149 | D16, E11 | S | Eḫli-Kuša | Tablet 25, Liʾmi-šarru, son of Irʾib-Baʿl, 2 fields sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN, year of distress; archive problem |
| 74335 | M ₁ M I SW | 145 | | S | | frag., plot(?) sold by Ninurta and Elders |
| 74337a | M ₁ M I SW | 164 | E42 | S | | frag., field |
| 74338 | M ₁ M I SW | 163 | E19, E31 | S | | Tablet 26, frag., two fields sold by PNs to PN ₃ for 100 shekels; archive problem |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74295d + 74304h + 74321 | M ₁ M I SW M ₁ M I SW M ₁ M I SW | 187 187 187 | C1 | SH | | Tablet 27, frag., division of real estate and mobilia among brothers, seal of Ini-Teššup, king of Karkamiš; dupl. 74293s (+) 74302 = <i>Emar</i> 186; archive problem |
| 74304b | M ₁ M I SW | 199 | [...] | SH | | frag., Zū-Ba'la family?, Zū-Ba'la, diviner? |
| 74304f | M ₁ M I SW | 154 | | unc. | | frag., orchard and <i>hablu</i> -building confiscated by Ini-Teššup? related to <i>Emar</i> 201? |
| 74293g | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 155 | | S | | frag., Pilsu-Dagān, property sold by Ninurta and Elders |
| 74293q | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 173 | | S | | frag. |
| 74293r | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 174 | | S | | frag. |
| 74293s (+) 74302 | M ₁ M I SW-II NW M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 186 186 | | SH | | Tablet 28, division of property, archival copy?, dupl. <i>Emar</i> 187; archive problem |
| 74291e | M ₁ M I SW-SE | 160 | | S | Ea-damiq | frag., Ba'l-kabar II |
| 74291f | M ₁ M I SW-SE | 175 | | S | | frag. |
| 74180e | M ₁ M III NE | 143 | | SH | | Tablet 29, description of building, dupl.? 731005 = <i>Emar</i> 144; archive problem |
| 7355 | A "Palace" | 20 | E2a | S | | Tablet 30, Pilsu-Dagān, house and its foundation sold by 'PN to PN ₂ for 170 shekels |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 7222 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 2 | E1a, E2b | S | [...] | Tablet 31, Abbānu, 2 fields sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN for 100 shekels and 5/6 mina |
| 7227 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 6 | | SH | | Tablet 32, 2 fields, Ninurta and Elders, cf. 7222 = <i>Emar 2</i> |
| 7223 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 8 | E1a, E2b | S | | Tablet 33, Pilsu-Dagān, 3 houses, 1 plot given to PN after Pilsu-Dagān took his properties |
| 7223a | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | — | | S | | frag. |
| 7224 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 3 | E1a, E2a | S | | Tablet 34, Abbānu, vineyard in Rabbān, cultivated field sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN for 100 shekels and 5/6 mina |
| 7225 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 12 | ? | S | Eḫli-Kuša | Tablet 35, frag., sons of Ir'ib-Ba'1, field sold by Ninurta and Elders |
| 7226 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 4 | E1a | S | | Tablet 36, Pilsu-Dagān, field sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN for 200 shekels |
| 7229 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 9 | E1a, E2b? | S | | Tablet 37, Elli, 3 houses sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN for 200 shekels |
| 7230 (+) 7230a (+) 7230b | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 1 | E1a, E2a | S | | Tablet 38, Ba'1-kabar I, vineyard confiscated and sold by Ninurta and Elders |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---------------------|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 7232 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 11 | E1a | S | | Tablet 39, Abbānu, vineyard confiscated and sold by Ninurta and Elders to PN for [n]oo shekels |
| 7233 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 10 | E2b | S | Bēlu-mālik | Tablet 40, Pilsu-Dagān, house given to PN after Pilsu-Dagān took his house |
| 7235a | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 13 | | S | | frag. |
| 75282 | Surface | 40 | | S | | frag. |
| 74752 | T | 97 | E2b | S | Iš-Dagān | Tablet 41, Elli, house sold |
| 74753 + 74767 | T T | 94 94 | E2b | S | Iš-Dagān | Tablet 42, Elli, plot sold by PN to PN ₂ for 100 shekels |
| 74754 (+?) 74755 | T T | 96 96 | E2b | S | Iš-Dagān | frag., plot? |
| 74762a | T | 95 | | S | | Tablet 43, frag. plot sold by Elli, son of Pilsu-Dagān, for 200 shekels |
| 74733 | T | 90 | | SH | | Tablet 44, vineyard in Uru sold by PN to PN ₂ for 60 shekels, witness: UGULA, dupl. 74768, archival copy? |
| 74768 | T | 90 | A40 | SH | Bēlu-mālik, son of Imlik-Dagān | Tablet 45, sale of vineyard, UGULA, dupl. 74733 |
| 74737 (+) 74745 | T T | 80 80 | | SH | | Tablet 46, Hēma family, frag., sale of house, dupl. 74750a |
| 74750a | T | 80 | C15 | SH | Mati-Dagān (?) | Tablet 47, Hēma family, sale of house, dupl. 74737 (+) 74745 |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74739 | T | 76 | A58, B30, B62, B69, C24 | SH | | Tablet 48, Hēma family, plot sold by PN to PN ₂ for 30 shekels |
| 74742 | T | 92 | A34 | SH | | Tablet 49, frag., house? sale, dupl. 74746 |
| 74746 | T | 92 | A41 | SH | | Tablet 50, frag., house? sale, dupl. 74742 |
| 74751a | T | 89 | ? | SH | | Tablet 51, sale of vineyard by ^f PN to PN ₂ for 15.5 shekels and 20 <i>parīsu</i> |
| 74760 + 74763 + 74764 | T T T | 85 85 85 | B18, I3 | SH | | Tablet 52, Hēma family, sale of house and <i>hablu</i> -building by three brothers to PN ₄ for 310 shekels to repay their debts |
| 74765 | T | 81 | ? | SH | | Tablet 53, Hēma family, sale of house belonging to PN by PN ₂ for 71 shekels |
| 7528 | T I NE | 82 | A101, E45 | SH | | Tablet 54, Hēma family, sale of <i>tugguru</i> -building, orchard, sown field by ^f PN to PN ₂ for 10 shekels |
| 7513 | V I SE | 125 | E2a | S | Bēlu-mālik | Tablet 55, Pilsu-Dagān, sale of house by PN to PN ₂ for 100 shekels silver |
| 7515 | V I SE | 111 | E64, E65, E68 | S | Ba'l-gāmil | Tablet 56, sale of house by PN to ^f PN for 300 shekels silver, years of distress |
| 757 | V I SE | 126 | E1a, E2a, E10, E76 | S | Abī-kāpī | Tablet 57, Abbānu, sale of house by Ninurta and Elders to PN for 1000 shekels |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|--|---------------|---------------|--|
| 751 | V I SE | 115 | A9, A50, A80, A98, B1, B25, E75, G4 | SH | | Tablet 58, Milkī-Dagān family, sale of <i>tugguru</i> -building, 5 fields by two brothers, PN and PN ₂ , for 20 shekels to repay debt |
| 7512 | V I SE | 122 | A33, A94 | SH | | Tablet 59, sale of house by PN to PN ₂ for 20 shekels, seal of Kāpī-Dagān, diviner |
| 7519 | V I SE | 113 | G2 | SH | | Tablet 60, Milkī-Dagān family, sale of house by PN to PN ₂ for 20 shekels |
| 754 | V I SE | 120 | A63, A87, B68, C23, E13, [nail] | SH | | Tablet 61, Milkī-Dagān family, sale of inheritance share of house, vineyard by brother to brother for 50 shekels |
| 7514 | V I SW | 109 | ? | S | Baʿl-mālik | Tablet 62, sale of plot by PN to PN ₂ for 100.5 shekels, sale forced by creditors |
| 7531 | V I SW | 130 | E17, F6 | S | Aḥī-mālik | Tablet 63, sale of plot and its foundations by PN and his mother to PN ₃ ; important for definition of KI- <i>er-še-tu</i> ₄ , referred to as a house in lines 32–34 |
| 7533 | V I SW | 110 | E35 | S | Ali-mālik | Tablet 64, sale of plot by PN to PN ₂ for 5/6 mina, MN: ^d Adam, Eponym: 2nd year of PN |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 7518 | V I SW | 114 | G2 | SH | | Tablet 65, Milkī-Dagān family, prior(?) sale of plot for 20 shekels, then sold for 8 shekels |

M₁: 29 tablets; 16 fragments.

A "Palace": 11 tablets; 2 fragments.

Surface: 1 fragment.

Area T: 14 tablets; 1 fragment.

Area V: 11 tablets.

Total: 65 tablets; 20 fragments.

B.2.8 *Legal—Royal Grant*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 7356 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7340 | 17 | E1b, E2c | S | Imlik-Dagān | Tablet 1, Zū-Ašarti, royal grant?, historical introduction |

A "Palace": 1 tablet.

Total: 1 tablet.

B.2.9.1 *Legal—Slavery—Sale/Redemption*

| <i>Msk / R.</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------|--|---------------|---|--|
| R. 139 | M ₁ R | 217 | A17, A46, A65, A70, B37, B41, F5 | SH | | Tablet 1, Zū-Ba'la family, sale of four children by parents (from Šatappi) to Ba'l-mālik, son of Ba'l-qarrād, diviner, for 60 shekels, UGULA, feet of clay, nullifies 731070 + 74333 = <i>Emar</i> 216 |
| 731012 | M ₁ (former R) | 211 | C6, C13, I2, C16 | SH | Zulanna, [scribe] of the son of the king(?) | Tablet 2, Zū-Ba'la family, slave family sold by PN to Ba'l-qarrād, diviner for 120 shekels, UGULA, cf. <i>Emar</i> 212 |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk / R.</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------------|--|-------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 731013 | M ₁ (former R) | 224 | | SH | | Tablet 3, Zū-Ba'la family, female slave sold by PN from GN to Ba'l-mālik, (diviner) |
| 731020 | M ₁ (former R) | 214 | A23, B48, D26, E43a, E48 | SH | | Tablet 4, Zū-Ba'la family, female slave sold by PN from GN to Ba'l-mālik, son of Ba'l-qarrād, diviner, for 35 shekels |
| 731038 | M ₁ (former R) | 221 | A24, H ₄ | SH | | Tablet 5, Zū-Ba'la family, slave redeemed from two PNs by Ba'l-mālik, diviner, witnesses: two Hittites |
| 731070 + 74333 | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M I SW | 216 216 | B58, D41, D43, [...] | SH | | Tablet 6, ^f PN sells her daughter to ^f PN ₂ , nullified by R. 139 = <i>Emar</i> 217, feet of clay |
| 731094 | M ₁ (former R) | 215 | A68, A91, A102, E34, E82 | SH | Taḥe | Tablet 7, Zū-Ba'la family, a family of debtors (100 shekels) acquired by Ba'l-mālik, son of Ba'l-qarrād, diviner, who paid off debts in exchange for property and service |
| 74236e | M ₁ M I NE | 204 | | unc. | | frag., Zū-Ba'la family?, Zū-Ba'la, diviner? |
| 7231 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 7 | A42, A85, B22, B23 | SH | | Tablet 8, ^f PN, wife of PN ₂ from GN, sells her grandson to two brothers for 42 shekels silver |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk / R.</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------|---|---------------|---------------|---|
| 72187 | C | 35 | C22 | SH | Dagān-bēlu | Tablet 9, receipt of payment by ^f PN for a man from GN |
| 74757 | T | 84 | B1 | SH | | Tablet 10, Ḫēma family, sale of slave woman by two PNs for 55 shekels |
| 7529 | T I NE | 79 | B32, B44, [...], [...], [...] | SH | | Tablet 11, Ḫēma family, frag., sale of slave, seal of diviner |
| 7532 | T I NE | 83 | A74, E51 | SH | | Tablet 12, Ḫēma family, man sells his infant daughter, year of distress |
| 7516 | V I SE | 121 | A89, A111, B24, B43 | SH | | Tablet 13, Milkī-Dagān family, man in debt for 1 mina, enters into slavery for 50 shekels, year of distress |
| 755 | V I SE | 118 | A21, A27, A30, A33, B39, B51, [nails] | SH | | Tablet 14, Milkī-Dagān family, sale of slaves by PNs from GN for 42 shekels, seal of Kāpī-Dagān, diviner |

M₁: 7 tablets; 1 fragment.

A "Palace": 1 tablet.

Area C: 1 tablet.

Area T: 3 tablets.

Area V: 2 tablets.

Total: 14 tablets; 1 fragment.

B.2.9.2 *Legal—Feet of Clay*

| <i>Msk/R./O.</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------------|-----------------------|-------------|---|---------------|---------------|---|
| R. 78 | M ₁ R | 219 | A17, A46, A65, A70, B37, B41, F5 | SH | | Object 1, foot impression of Ba'l-bēlu, son of Zadamma |
| 74340 | M ₁ M I SW | 218 | A17, A46, A65, A70, B37, B41 | SH | | Object 2, foot impression of 'Ba'la-bi'a, daughter of Zadamma |
| O. 6766 | M ₂ Temple | 220 | A17, A70, B37, B41 | SH | | Object 3, foot impression of Išma'ḫ-Dagān, son of Zadamma, son of Karbi, man of Šatappi |

M₁: 2 objects.M₂: 1 object.

Total: 3 objects.

B.2.10 *Legal—Testament*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| R. 3 | M ₁ R | 176 | D45, E18, F9, F17 | S | Zū-Aštarti | Tablet 1, PN, Brothers, real estate and mobilia, unusual format; archive problem |
| 731051 | M ₁ (former R) | 197 | E2a | S | | Tablet 2, PN, Brothers, real estate, share of one son confiscated by Ninurta; archive problem |
| 731056 | M ₁ (former R) | 195 | | S | | Tablet 3, frag., Brothers; archive problem |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 731073 | M ₁ (former R) | 183 | E2b | S | Bēlu-mālik | Tablet 4, frag., Pilsu-Dagān, brothers, adoption, marriage stipulation; archive problem |
| 731074 | M ₁ (former R) | 184 | | S | Iš-Dagān | Tablet 5, frag., house gods |
| 731084d | M ₁ (former R) | 193 | | S | | frag. |
| 731091j | M ₁ (former R) | 192 | | S | | Tablet 6, frag., plot, orchard, <i>tugguru</i> -building, house |
| 731001 | M ₁ (former R) | 182 | A4b | SH | [...] | Tablet 7, frag., seal of Ḫešmi-Teššup, son of the king |
| 731014 | M ₁ (former R) | 201 | C1 | SH | Maryanni, Puḫi-šenni, supreme scribe | Tablet 8, Zū-Ba'la family, Karkamiš, seal of Ini-Teššup, Muṣšili II?/III?, Zū-Ba'la, diviner, Ba'l-qarrād |
| 731017 | M ₁ (former R) | 202 | ? | SH | | Tablet 9, Zū-Ba'la family, Karkamiš, Ini-Teššup, Zu-Ba'la, diviner |
| 731022 | M ₁ (former R) | 181 | C10, E49, E53, F27 | SH | Kāpī-Dagān | Tablet 10, Tuwatta-ziti, son of the king, UGULA, Brothers, seals of city Elders; archive problem |
| 731026 (+) | M ₁ (former R) | 177 | A2a | SH | | Tablet 11, frag., Karkamiš, Ini-Teššup |
| 731083 (+) | M ₁ (former R) | 177 | | | | |
| 731084p (+) | M ₁ (former R) | 177 | | | | |
| 731092l (+?) | M ₁ (former R) | 177 | | | | |
| 74295c | M ₁ M I SW | 178 | | | | |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--|--|-----------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|---|
| 74236a + 74326 | M ₁ M I NE M ₁ M I NE | 180 180 | E2a | S | Bēlu-mālik | Tablet 12, Pilsu-Dagān, Brothers |
| 74267a | M ₁ M I NW | 190 | | S | | frag., (cella) |
| 74315b | M ₁ M I SE | 203 | | SH | | Tablet 13, Zū-Ba'la family?, frag., Zū-Ba'la, diviner? |
| 74300 | M ₁ M I SW | 185 | | S | | Tablet 14, frag., Elli; archive problem |
| 74284 | M ₁ M I SW | 191 | | SH | | frag. |
| 74327 | M ₁ M I SW | 213 | A35, A38, E8, E59, E60 | SH | | Tablet 15, Zū-Ba'la family, Ba'l-mālik, diviner, adoption-marriage, seal of brother of EREŠ.DINGIR |
| 74328 | M ₁ M I SW | 196 | ? | SH | | frag., Zū-Ba'la family?, Ba'l- mālik, diviner? |
| 74293h | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 189 | | unc. | | frag. |
| 74132d | M ₁ M III SE | 188 | | S | | frag. |
| 74275 | M ₁ (clearing) | 198 | | SH | | frag. |
| 7228 (+) 7228a (+) 7228b (+) 7228c (+) 7228d | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 5 5 5 5 5 | A53, A81 | SH | Taḥe, son of Abī-kāpī | Tablet 16, adoption |
| 7360 | A "Palace" jar Msk 7336 | 15 | E66 | S | Burāqu | Tablet 17, Brothers, MN: Aba'u, Eponym: Year (the king) built the gate on the other side of the river |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|---|---------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 73268 + 73271 + frags. | C C C | 34 | | S | | Tablet 18, Brothers |
| 73267 + 73269 | C C | 30 | A12, H1 | SH | | Tablet 19, adoption- marriage, Kassite seal |
| 73270 | C | 32 | A56, A72, A93 | SH | | Tablet 20, adoption? |
| 73272 | C | 31 | A1 | SH | | Tablet 21, Karkamiš, Šaḥurunūwa, mobilia for wife, marriage of daughter(s) |
| 7659 | M ₂ Temple | 69 | | SH | | Tablet 22, adoption-marriage |
| 7664 | M ₂ Temple | 70 | E44 | SH | | Tablet 23, for daughter |
| 74766 | T | 93 | A43, A44, B4, B9, B27, B31, B67, C4 | SH | | Tablet 24, adoption?, seal of Bēlu-qarrād, son of Kāpī-Dagān, diviner |
| 7530 + 7536 + 7537 | T I NE T I NE T I NE | 91 91 91 | A47 | SH | Ḥubābu, son of Bēlu- Dagān | Tablet 25, adoption |
| 7517 | V I SW | 128 | A52, A82, A106, B20, B34, L2 | SH | | Tablet 26, ḤPN for her daughter |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 7534 | V I SW | 112 | A88, C9, E40 | SH | | Tablet 27, adoption, seal of Hittite |
| 7535 | V I SW | 129 | A39 | SH | | Tablet 28, frag. |

M₁: 15 tablets; 7 fragments.

A "Palace": 2 tablets.

Area C: 4 tablets.

M₂: 2 tablets.

Area T: 2 tablets.

Area V: 3 tablets.

Total: 28 tablets; 7 fragments.

B.2.11.1 *Legal—Uncertain Legal Texts and Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|----------------------|--|-------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731078z | M ₁ (former R) | 250 | | S | | frag. |
| 731084i | M ₁ (former R) | 249 | | S | | frag. |
| 731091i | M ₁ (former R) | 244 | | S | | frag., Elli |
| 731052 | M ₁ (former R) | 241 | A73, B7, B66 | SH | | frag. |
| 731078y | M ₁ (former R) | 248 | | SH | | frag. |
| 731080s | M ₁ (former R) | 237 | [...]? | SH | | frag. |
| 731080w | M ₁ (former R) | 179 | | SH | | frag., testament? |
| 731080x + 731085a | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ (former R) | 243 243 | B4, B8 | SH | | frag., seal of Bēlu-qarrād, son of Kāpī-Dagān, diviner |
| 731085o | M ₁ (former R) | 239 | | SH | | frag. |
| 731085t | M ₁ (former R) | 240 | A73, B66 | SH | | frag. |
| 731087d | M ₁ (former R) | 236 | | SH | | frag. |
| 731091a | M ₁ (former R) | 245 | [...] | SH | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|---|
| 731091b + 731085p | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ (former R) | 246 246 | B21 | SH | | frag., Bēlu-qarrād, diviner |
| 731085j | M ₁ (former R) | 242 | | unc. | | frag. |
| 731085n | M ₁ (former R) | 238 | | unc. | | frag., Bēlu-qarrād, diviner? |
| 74265a | M ₁ M I NW | 231 | | SH | | frag. |
| 74265b | M ₁ M I NW | 232 | | unc. | | frag., (cella) |
| 74317a | M ₁ M I SE | 167 | A57 | SH | | frag. |
| 74320 | M ₁ M I SE | 228 | ? | SH | [...]-na'i | frag. |
| 74325 | M ₁ M I SW | 229 | ? | SH | [...]- Dagān | frag., witness: [...] -kāpī, LU ₂ .A.ZU |
| 74304e | M ₁ M I SW | 235 | | unc. | | frag. |
| 74293a | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 208 | [...] | SH | | frag., Zū-Ba'la family?, Ba'l-qarrād?, diviner? |
| 74293n | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 222 | | SH | | frag., Zū-Ba'la family?, Ba'l-mālik, diviner? |
| 74293m | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 223 | | unc. | | frag., Zū-Ba'la family?, Ba'l-mālik, diviner? |
| 74293p | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 230 | | unc. | | frag. |
| 7439 | M ₁ M III NE | 254 | | SH | | Tablet 1, legal dispute?, man from Ebla, 4 PNs, list of witnesses? |
| 7480d | M ₁ M III NE | 234 | | SH | | frag. |
| 7235b | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 13 | | S | | frag., real estate? |
| 7235c | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 13 | | S | | frag., real estate? |
| 7235d | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 13 | | S | | frag., real estate? |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 7235e | A "Palace" jar Msk 7238 | 13 | | unc. | | frag., real estate?, sixty-four fragments, many Syrian-type |
| 7662 | M ₂ Temple | 74 | | SH | | Tablet 2, frag., uncertain contents, unusual phraseology |
| 74279 | P (surface) | 41 | | SH | | frag., son of EREŠ. DINGIR |
| 74747b | T | 101 | B30, B61 | SH | | frag. |
| 74750b | T | — | | SH | | frag. |
| 74751b | T | 103 | | unc. | | frag. |
| 7539 | V I SE | 131 | A110 | SH | | frag. |
| 7541a | V I SW | 134 | | unc. | | frag. |

M₁: 1 tablet; 26 fragments.

A "Palace": 4 fragments (actually 67 fragments).

M₂: 1 tablet.

Area P (surface): 1 fragment.

Area T: 3 fragments.

Area V: 2 fragments.

Total: 2 tablet; 36 fragments (actually 99 fragments).

B.2.11.2 *Legal—Uncertain Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74268b | M ₁ M I NW | 233 | | unc. | | frag., Zū-Ba'la family?, Šaggar-abu, Zū-Ba'la, diviners? |
| 74299a | M ₁ M I SW | 350 | | SH | | frag., legal or administrative |
| 74299b | M ₁ M I SW | 349 | | SH | | frag., Zū-Ba'la family?, son of the king, Ba'l-qarrād, diviner? |
| 74323 | M ₁ M I SW | 251 | D42 | SH | | frag., Šatappi, LU ₂ Karduniaš, judges |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74293e | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 356 | | S | | frag., PNs |
| 74748 | T | 102 | | S? | | frag., PNs |
| 74750c | T | 105 | | SH? | | frag., legal or administrative? Šatappi |
| 74756 | T | 100 | | SH | | frag., legal or administrative? |
| 74758 | T | 98 | | S? | | frag., legal or school text (model contract)? |
| 74761b | T | 106 | | unc. | | frag., administrative or legal? PNs? |
| 74762b | T | 108 | | S | | frag., legal or administrative? |
| 7541c | V I SW | 135 | | unc. | | frag. |
| 7541d | V I SW | 136 | | unc. | | frag., legal or administrative? |
| 7541e | V I SW | 133 | | SH | | frag., legal or administrative? PNs |

M₁: 5 fragments.

Area T: 6 fragments.

Area V: 3 fragments.

Total: 14 fragments.

Appendix B.3. Letters

B.3.1 Letters

B.3.1 *Letters*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|--|
| 731097 | M ₁ (former R) | — | Hitt. | unc. | | Tablet 1, <i>SMEA</i> 45, 1, Zū-Ba'la family?, from Hittite king, to Alziyamuwa, properties belonging to Zū-Ba'la |
| 7461 | M ₁ M III NE | 268 | Akk. | SH | C ₁₁ | Tablet 2, Zū-Ba'la family?, from Akal-Šimeki, the . . . , to Zū-Ba'la; LU ₂ .SANGA- <i>ut-ti ša</i> ^d <i>Nin-kur</i> |
| 74102c | M ₁ M III NE | 265 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 3, Zū-Ba'la family, from Ba'l-qarrād to Ba'l-qarrād, diviner, “my father” |
| 7454 | M ₁ M III NE | 258 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 4, Zū-Ba'la family?, from Šaggar-abu, “your servant,” to Adda, [“my lord”] |
| 7445 | M ₁ M III NE | 259 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 5, Zū-Ba'la family, from Šaggar-abu, “your servant,” to Adda, “[my] lord”; UGULA; messengers of Ba'l-qarrād, son of Zū-Ba'la |
| 7442 | M ₁ M III NE | 260 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 6, Zū-Ba'la family, from Šaggar-abu, “your servant,” to Adda and ^f Ammi, “my lords” |
| 7452 | M ₁ M III NE | 261 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 7, Zū-Ba'la family, double letter, from Kāpī-Dagān and Šaggar-abu, “your servant,” to Adda, “my lord” |
| 7441 | M ₁ M III NE | 264 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 8, Zū-Ba'la family, from Ba'l-mālik, “your servant,” to Pirati; regarding Kāpī-Dagān |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------------|--|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|---|
| 7437 | M ₁ M III NE | 262 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 9, from UGULA to Akiya and Šaggar-kabar; messenger from Babylonia |
| 7497 | M ₁ M III NE | 263 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 10, from ?, “your servant” to UGULA |
| 745 ¹ | M ₁ M III NE | 266 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 11, triple letter; (1) from Abī-kāpī, “your servant,” to “my lord”; (2) from Abī-kāpī to Mati, “my lord,” and ʿGAB, “my lady”; (3) from Abī-kāpī to Dagān-qarrād, Išbi-Dagān, Šamaš-ilī, Tūra-Dagān, Kili-Šarruma, and “all my brothers’ sons” |
| 7474 + 7475 | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 267 267 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 12, from ^{1d} [PN] to Kunti-Teššup, DUMU LUGAL |
| 7498d | M ₁ M III NE | 270 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 13, from Dagān-qarrād to ʿTe[...], “my lady” |
| 7471 | M ₁ M III NE | 271 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 14, frag., from [PN] to [PN ₂]; “in the morning send your son to gods of Ḫatti” |
| 7472 | M ₁ M III NE | 269 | Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 15, frag., from Niqme-Dagān, “your servant,” to “my lord” |
| 74270 | M ₁ M I NW | 272 | Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 16, frag., from [PN] and Bura[...], to “our lord” |
| 74208d | M ₁ M III NE | 273 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., chariots, troops |
| 73280 | A House A V | 25 | Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 17, from Alazaya to ʿTattašše (his wife) |
| 74734 | N | — | Hitt. | — | | Tablet 18, <i>SMEA</i> 45, 2 |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Seal</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|---|
| 74735 | R | 536 | Akk. | S | | Tablet 19, from ?, "your servant," to Yaši-Dagān, "my lord" |

M₁: 16 tablets; 1 fragment.

House A V: 1 tablet.

Area N: 1 tablet.

Area R: 1 tablet.

Total: 19 tablets; 1 fragment.

LOCAL RELIGIOUS TEXTS

B.4. *Public Rituals*

B.4.1 Installation

B.4.2 *zukru*

B.4.3 Calendar

B.4.4 *kissu*

B.4.5 Anatolian

B.4.6 Miscellaneous Rituals

B.4.7 Votive

B.4.8 Ritual Fragments

B.4.8.1 Miscellaneous Ritual Tablets and Fragments

B.4.8.2 Uncertain Ritual Fragments

B.4.1 *Ritual—Installation—EREŠ.DINGIR, maš'artu*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|----------------------------------|--|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|--|
| 731027 + 74245 | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M I NW | 369 Ai 369 Aii | Akk. | SH | Tablet 1, EREŠ.DINGIR |
| 731042 (+) 74286a | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M I SW | 369 B 369 C | Akk. | SH | Tablet 2, EREŠ.DINGIR, holes |
| 731061 + 74274 (+?) 74286e | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M II NE M ₁ M I SW | 369 Di 369 Dii 402 (E) | Akk. | SH | Tablet 3, frag., lo. ri. corner, EREŠ.DINGIR |
| 74293k + 74303a | M ₁ M I SW-II NW M ₁ M I SW | — 370 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 4, <i>maš'artu</i> |
| 731081 | M ₁ (former R) | 371 | Akk. | SH | frag., lo. ri. corner, probably not <i>maš'artu</i> |
| 74298f | M ₁ M I SW | 372 | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo. ed., probably not <i>maš'artu</i> |

M₁: 4 tablets; 2 fragments.

Total: 4 tablets; 2 fragments.

B.4.2 *Ritual—zukru*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--|---|---|--------------|---------------|---|
| 74292a + 74297c (+) 74290c 74290d + 74304a' (+?) 74292d | M ₁ M I SW-SE M ₁ M I SW M ₁ M I SW-SE M ₁ M I SW-SE M ₁ M I SW-SE M ₁ M I SW-SE | 373 A 376 373 C 373 Bi 373 Bii 374 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 1, 2 cols., Seventh-year <i>zukru</i> festival |
| 74289c | M ₁ M I SW | 424 | Akk. | SH | frag., related to Seventh-year <i>zukru</i> |
| 74289d | M ₁ M I SW | 425 | Akk. | unc. | frag., related to Seventh-year <i>zukru</i> |
| 74298b + 74287b (+?) 74286c | M ₁ M I SW M ₁ M I SW-SE M ₁ M I SW | 375 A, 448 A 428 401 | Akk. | S | Tablet 2, Annual <i>zukru</i> |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|--------------|---------------|---|
| 74146l | M ₁ M III SE | 375 B | Akk. | SH | Tablet 3, frag., up. ed., Annual <i>zukru</i> |
| 74303f (+) 74303c | M ₁ M I SW M ₁ M I SW | 375 C, 449 448 B | Akk. | SH | Tablet 4, frag., up. ri. corner, Annual <i>zukru</i> |
| 74289b | M ₁ M I SW | 448 C | Akk. | SH | Tablet 5, frag., le. ed., Annual <i>zukru</i> |
| 74177f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | SH | frag., Annual <i>zukru</i> ? |

M₁: 5 tablets; 3 fragments.

Total: 5 tablets; 3 fragments.

B.4.3 *Ritual—Calendar*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------|--|-------------|--------------|---------------|---|
| 74280a + 74291a | M ₁ M I SW M ₁ M I SW | 446 446 | Akk. | S | Tablet 1, 2 cols., Six Months, MNs: [Zarati], ^d Ninkurra, ^d Anna, ^d Adamma, Marzaḥāni, ^d Ḥalma |
| 74303j | M ₁ M I SW | 447 | Akk. | S | frag. MN: Zerati |
| 74146b | M ₁ M III SE | 452 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 2, MN: Abî |
| 7468 | M ₁ M III NE | 463 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 3, Opening of the Doors |
| 731085i | M ₁ (former R) | 455 | Akk. | unc. | frag., MN: SAG.MU |
| 74232c | M ₁ M III NE | 467 | Akk. | unc. | frag., <i>ūmi ḥiyari</i> , MNs: SAG. MU, [MN], [MN] |
| 74297e | M ₁ M I SW | 466 | Akk. | unc. | frag., from 74232c? |
| 74303b | M ₁ M I SW | 459 | Akk. | unc. | frag., ri. ed., MN: SAG.MU |
| 7525 | Surface | 454 | Akk. | unc. | frag., ri. ed., MNs: SAG.MU, [Niqa]li, [MN], Ḥamši |
| 74191f | M ₁ M III NE | 512 | Akk. | unc. | tiny frag., MN: Niqali |
| 74290a | M ₁ M I SW-SE | 524 | Akk. | SH | tiny frag., ri. ed., MN: Niqali |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| 74238e | M ₁ M III NE | 450 | Akk. | unc. | tiny frag., MN: Ninurta |
| 74293c | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 456 | Akk. | SH | tiny frag., MN: Aba |
| 74196b | M ₁ M III NE | 457 | Akk. | unc. | tiny frag., [MN] |
| 74253 | M ₁ M III SE | 461 | Akk. | unc. | frag., <i>ūmi ḥiyari, ūmi waluḥi</i> |
| 74296c | M ₁ M I SW | 458 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |

M₁: 3 tablets; 13 fragments.

Total: 3 tablets; 13 fragments.

B.4.4 *Ritual*—kissu

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---|
| 74287a | M ₁ M I SW-SE | 385 A | Akk. | unc. | Tablet 1, Dagān, Ereškigal; Šatappi |
| 74293d | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 385 B | Akk. | unc. | tiny frag., Dagān |
| 731060 | M ₁ (former R) | 385 C | Akk. | SH | Tablet 2, Dagān, Ereškigal |
| 74303d | M ₁ M I SW | 385 D | Akk. | SH | Tablet 3, frag., up. ri. corner, Dagān, Ereškigal; Šatappi |
| 74283b | M ₁ M I SW | 385 E | Akk. | SH | Tablet 4, frag., ri. ed., Dagān |
| 74286b (+) | M ₁ M I SW | 385 Fi, 386, 387, 388 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 5, 2 cols., Dagān, Ereškigal, Ea, Išḫara and Ninurta, Ninkur |
| 731078p (+) | M ₁ (former R) | 385 Fii, 386, 387, 388 | | | |
| 74303i (+) | M ₁ M I SW | 385 Fiii, 386, 387, 388 | | | |
| 74303k | M ₁ M I SW | 385 Fiv, 386, 387, 388 | | | |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------------|--|---|--------------|---------------|---|
| 74276 | M ₁ NE | 385 G, 395 | Akk. | unc. | Tablet 6, frag., le. ed., rev.: Dagān, obv.: other ritual? |
| (HCCT-E) + 74298c | — M ₁ M I SW | ASJ 14, 49 385 Hii, 386 | Akk. | unc. | Tablet 7, Ereškigal, Ea |
| 74281 | M ₁ M I SW | 385 Hi, 386 | Akk. | unc. | frag., does not join 74298c |
| 74280c | M ₁ M I SW | 385 I, 386, 388 | Akk. | unc. | Tablet 8, frag., lo.(?) ed., Ea, Ninkur |
| 731035 + 74316b | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M I SE | 385 Ji, 387, 388 385 Jii, 387, 388 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 9, Išhara and Ninurta, Ninkur |
| 74288 | M ₁ M I SW | 385 K, 388 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 10, Ninkur |
| 74290b | M ₁ M I SW-SE | 385 L, 388 | Akk. | unc. | frag., Ninkur |
| 74268a | M ₁ M I NW | 385 M, 388 | Akk. | SH | frag., Ninkur |
| 74102f | M ₁ M III NE | 385 N, 387 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74148n (+?) 74148o | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 389 390 | Akk. | unc. SH | frag. |
| 74297a | M ₁ M I SW | 391 | Akk. | unc. | uncertain frag. |

M₁: 10 tablets; 7 fragments.

Total: 10 tablets; 7 fragments.

B.4.5 *Ritual—Anatolian*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 74176 | M ₁ M III NE | 472 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 1 |
| 74102e | M ₁ M III NE | 473 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 2, frag. |
| 74285c | M ₁ M I SW | 474 A | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo. ed. |
| 74101aa | M ₁ M III NE | 474 B | Akk. | SH | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-----------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---|
| 74293o | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 475 | Akk. | unc. | frag., le. ed., <i>ambašši</i> |
| 74298d | M ₁ M I SW | 476 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 3, frag., up. le. corner |
| 74106a | M ₁ M III NE | 480 | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo.(?) ed., <i>ambašši</i> |
| 74128e | M ₁ M III SE | 477 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74198m | M ₁ M III NE | 478 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74304a | M ₁ M I SW | 479 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 4, frag. DN + offering |
| 74128g | M ₁ M III SE | 481 | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) ed., <i>ambašši</i> |
| 74128h | M ₁ M III SE | 482 | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo.(?) ed., MN(?): SAG.MU |
| 74285b | M ₁ M I SW | 483 | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo.(?) le. corner, from Tablet 4? |
| 74196l | M ₁ M III NE | 484 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74285d | M ₁ M I SW | 486 | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo. le. corner, <i>ambašši</i> |
| 74196a | M ₁ M III NE | 487 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74196c | M ₁ M III NE | 488 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74196d | M ₁ M III NE | 489 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74196j | M ₁ M III NE | 490 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |

M₁: 4 tablets; 15 fragments.

Total: 4 tablets; 15 fragments.

B.4.6 *Ritual—Miscellaneous Rituals*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------|--|-------------|--------------|---------------|---|
| 731031 | M ₁ (former R) | 394 | Akk. | unc. | Tablet 1, two rituals, well-being of oxen |
| 74132j + 74174b | M ₁ M III SE M ₁ M III SE | 392 392 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 2, frag., up. le. corner, <i>imištu</i> of the king |
| 74140a | M ₁ M III SE | 460 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 3, consecration of Aštar of Battle |
| 74289a | M ₁ M I SW | 393 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 4, ^d <i>ar-u₂-ri</i> |

M₁: 4 tablets.

Total: 4 tablets.

B.4.7 *Ritual—Votive*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|--|
| 761 | M ₂ Temple | 68 | Akk. | Lap. | Object 1, votive bead |
| 73112 | Temple Storm-god | 42 | Akk. | SH | Tablet 1, copies (3) of royal dedicatory inscriptions by the scribe Ea-damiq |

M₂: 1 object.

E South Temple (Storm-god): 1 tablet.

Total: 1 object; 1 tablet.

B.4.8.1 *Ritual—Miscellaneous Ritual Tablets and Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------------|--|-------------|--------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| 74237a | M ₁ M I SE | 462 | Akk. | unc. | Tablet 1, frag., le. ed. |
| 731078j | M ₁ (former R) | 525 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74102j | M ₁ M III NE | 443 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74102p | M ₁ M III NE | 511 | Akk. | unc. | frag., le. ed. |
| 74104j + 74104r | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 419 419 | Akk. | unc. | frag., le. ed. and lo. ed. |
| 74104s | M ₁ M III NE | 417 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74104t | M ₁ M III NE | 439 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74106d | M ₁ M III NE | 416 | Akk. | unc. | frag., le. ed. |
| 74107aq | M ₁ M III NE | 506 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74107az + 74107c | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 406 406 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74107g | M ₁ M III NE | 420 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74107i | M ₁ M III NE | 485 | Akk. | unc. | frag., Anatolian? |
| 74107z | M ₁ M III NE | 470 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74108b (+?) 74108c | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 437 438 | Akk. | unc. SH | frag. |
| 74110c | M ₁ M III NE | 435 | Akk. | unc. | frag., le. ed. |
| 74110g | M ₁ M III NE | 413 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| 74110h | M ₁ M III NE | 410 | Akk. | unc. | frag., <i>kissu</i> ? |
| 74110i | M ₁ M III NE | 408 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74110j | M ₁ M III NE | 436 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74114i | M ₁ M III NE | 503 | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74117i | M ₁ M III NE | 526 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74122az | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | SH | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74123o | M ₁ M III SE | 534 | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74127q | M ₁ M III NE | 411 | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74127v | M ₁ M III NE | 430 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74128m | M ₁ M III SE | 384 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74144c | M ₁ M III NE | 527 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74150a | M ₁ M III NE | 412 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74182c | M ₁ M III NE | 429 | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) ri. corner |
| 74190b | M ₁ M III NE | 432 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74193d | M ₁ M III NE | 397 | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) ed., <i>zuku</i> ? |
| 74196e | M ₁ M III NE | 505 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74196f | M ₁ M III NE | 533 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74196g | M ₁ M III NE | 500 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74196h | M ₁ M III NE | 501 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74196i | M ₁ M III NE | 504 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74196m | M ₁ M III NE | 502 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74196n | M ₁ M III NE | 514 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74196o | M ₁ M III NE | 508 | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74196p | M ₁ M III NE | 515 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74196q | M ₁ M III NE | 516 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 74196r | M ₁ M III NE | 521 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74196s | M ₁ M III NE | 509 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74196t | M ₁ M III NE | 510 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74196u | M ₁ M III NE | 523 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74197f | M ₁ M III NE | 520 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74197i | M ₁ M III NE | 519 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74198ac | M ₁ M III NE | 404 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74198f | M ₁ M III NE | 530 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74198g | M ₁ M III NE | 528 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74198j | M ₁ M III NE | 531 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74199u | M ₁ M III NE | 468 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74201d | M ₁ M III NE | 518 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74207c | M ₁ M III NE | 529 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74209b | M ₁ M III NE | 522 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74216a | M ₁ M III NE | 442 | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74216b | M ₁ M III NE | 441 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74232m | M ₁ M III NE | 414 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74232p | M ₁ M III NE | 507 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74273 | M ₁ (clearing) | 491 | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) le. corner |
| 74282 | M ₁ M I SW | 497 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74283a | M ₁ M I SW | 431 | Akk. | SH | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74286d | M ₁ M I SW | 409 | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74291c | M ₁ M I SW-SE | 407 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74291d | M ₁ M I SW-SE | 499 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74292b | M ₁ M I SW-SE | 464 | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74292c | M ₁ M I SW-SE | 469 | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) ed. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 74293l | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 377 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74295b | M ₁ M I SW | 403 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74297b | M ₁ M I SW | 405 | Akk. | unc. | frag., le. ed. |
| 74297f | M ₁ M I SW | 465 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74298g | M ₁ M I SW | 396 | Akk. | unc. | frag., <i>kissu</i> ? |
| 74298h | M ₁ M I SW | 426 | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74810 | M ₁ M III NE | 451 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74298i | M ₁ M I SW | 451bis | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74298j | M ₁ M I SW | 451ter | Akk. | unc. | frag., lo.(?) ri. corner |
| 74303e | M ₁ M I SW | 498 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74303g | M ₁ M I SW | 492 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74307a (+) | M ₁ M I SE | 400 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74307b | M ₁ M I SE | 399 | | | |
| 74307c | M ₁ M I SE | — | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74316a | M ₁ M I SE | 421 | Akk. | unc. | frag., le. ed. |
| 74342d | M ₁ M IV SW ¹ | 422 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74343a | M ₁ unclear | 532 | Akk. | SH | frag., le. ed. |
| 7487g | M ₁ M III NE | 423 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 7488c | M ₁ M III NE | 440 | Akk. | SH | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74900 | M ₁ M III NE | 494 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 7491c | M ₁ M III NE | 444 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 7494d | M ₁ M III NE | 495 | Akk. | unc. | frag., ri. ed., ri. corners |
| 7499a | M ₁ M III NE | 517 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 7490e | M ₁ M III NE | 493 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |

M₁: 1 tablet; 89 fragments.

Total: 1 tablet; 89 fragments.

B.4.8.2 *Ritual—Uncertain Ritual Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 74292a (<i>bis</i>) | M ₁ M I SW-SE? | 453 | Akk. | SH | frag. |
| 74293b | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 418 | Akk. | unc. | frag., le. ed. |
| 74291b | M ₁ M I SW-SE | 433 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74100h | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74110f | M ₁ M III NE | 398 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74117j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | frag. |
| 74122bc | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | frag. |
| 74122k | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74190d | M ₁ M III NE | 445 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74190l | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74132n | M ₁ M III SE | — | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74297d | M ₁ M I SW | 434 | Akk. | unc. | frag. |
| 74343b | M ₁ unclear | — | Akk. | unc. | frag. |

M₁: 11 fragments.
Total: 11 fragments.

¹ Surface clearing.

SCHOLARLY TEXTS

Appendix B.5. Lexical Texts

- B.5.1 Syll. Voc. A: Syllable Vocabulary A, me-me = *ilu*
- B.5.2 Syllabary A
 - B.5.2.1 S^a: Syllabary A
 - B.5.2.2 Paleographic S^a: Paleographic Syllabary A
 - B.5.2.3 S^a Voc.: Syllabary A Vocabulary
- B.5.3 Weidner God List
- B.5.4 Hh: ur₅-ra = *hubullu*
 - B.5.4.1 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 1
 - B.5.4.2 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 2
 - B.5.4.3 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 3–5a
 - B.5.4.4 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 5b–7
 - B.5.4.5 5ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 8–9
 - B.5.4.6 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 10
 - B.5.4.7 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 11–12
 - B.5.4.8 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 13
 - B.5.4.9 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 14–15
 - B.5.4.10 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 16
 - B.5.4.11 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 17
 - B.5.4.12 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 18
 - B.5.4.13 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 19
 - B.5.4.14 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 20
 - B.5.4.15 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 21a
 - B.5.4.16 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 21b–22
 - B.5.4.17 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 23
 - B.5.4.18 ur₅-ra = *hubullu* 24
- B.5.5 Lu: lu₂ = *ša*
- B.5.6 Izi: izi = *išātu*
- B.5.7 Diri: diri = *watru*
- B.5.8 Nigga: nig₂-ga = *makkūru*
- B.5.9 Sag B: sag = *ilu*
- B.5.10 Miscellaneous Lexical Texts and Fragments
- B.5.11 Fragments
 - B.5.11.1 Minor Lexical Fragments
 - B.5.11.2 Uncertain Lexical Fragments

B.5.1 *Lexical—Syllable Vocabulary A (Syll. Voc. A), me-me = ilu*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 74246b | M ₁ M I NW | 603 A | Sum.-Akk. | S | Bêlu-... , apprentice diviner | Tablet 1, biling., S script, some SH forms, colophon le. ed. |
| 74199w + | M ₁ M III NE | 603 Bi | Sum.-Akk. | SH? | | Tablet 2, biling., |
| 74256 (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 603 Bii | | SH? | | C frag. |
| 74200d (+ [?]) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | unc. | | |
| 74152c | M ₁ M III NE | 603 C | | SH? | | |
| 74246a (+ [?]) | M ₁ M I NW | 603 D | Sum.-Akk. | S | | Tablet 3, frag., biling. |
| 74158m | M ₁ M III SE | — | | | | |

M₁: 3 tablets.

Total: 3 tablets.

B.5.2.1 *Lexical—Syllabary A (S^a)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| 74198v | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | Tablet 1, frag., uniling. |

M₁: 1 tablet.

Total: 1 tablet.

B.5.2.2 *Lexical—Paleographic Syllabary A (Paleographic S^a)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 74175a + | M ₁ M III NE | 538 I | Sum. | SH-Arch. | Šaggar- | Tablet 1, uniling. |
| 7484q + | M ₁ M III NE | 538 O | | | abu, son | |
| 7469 + | M ₁ M III NE | 538 B | | | of Ba'l- | |
| 74175e + | M ₁ M III NE | 538 Ie | | | qarrād | |
| 74145 + | M ₁ M III NE | 538 G | | | | |
| 7469a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 538 C | | | | |
| 74133l | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 74193a + | M ₁ M III NE | 538 J | Sum. | SH-Arch. | Šaggar-abu, son of Ba'1-qarrād | Tablet 2, uniling. |
| 74148u + | M ₁ M III NE | 538 H | | | | |
| 74133d + | M ₁ M III NE | 538 R | | | | |
| 74133a + | M ₁ M III NE | 538 Fi | | | | |
| 74133b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 538 Fii | | | | |
| 74228c (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 538 K | | | | |
| 731080e (+) | M ₁ (former R) | 538 A | | | | |
| 74107ao (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 538 P | | | | |
| 74117o (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 538 M | | | | |
| 74175d | M ₁ M III NE | 538 Id | | | | |
| 74132c (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 538 E | Sum. | Arch. | Ba'1-[...] | Tablet 3, uniling. |
| 74175c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 538 Ic | | | | |
| 74146r (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 538 Ti | | | | |
| 74117n (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 538 L | | | | |
| 7483b | M ₁ M III NE | 538 D | | | | |
| 74123g | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum. | SH-Arch. | | frag., from Tablet 1 or 2, uniling. obv. // 74127p |
| 74127p | M ₁ M III NE | 538 Q | Sum. | SH-Arch. | | frag., from Tablet 1 or 2, uniling. obv. // 74123g |
| 74152e | M ₁ M III NE | 538 N | Sum. | SH-Arch. | | frag., from Tablet 1 or 2, uniling. |
| 74152h | M ₁ M III NE | 538 Tiii | Sum. | Arch.? | | frag., uniling. |
| 74175b | M ₁ M III NE | 538 Ib | Sum. | Arch.? | | frag., uniling. |
| 7484p | M ₁ M III NE | 538 Tiv | Sum. | Arch.? | | frag., uniling. |
| 7489h | M ₁ M III NE | 538 Tv | Sum. | Arch.? | | frag., uniling. |
| 7493a | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | SH-Arch.? | | frag., uniling. |
| 7496g | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | Arch.? | | frag., uniling. |
| 74234k | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | Arch.? | | frag., uniling. |

M₁: 3 tablets; 11 fragments.

Total: 3 tablets; 11 fragments.

B.5.2.3 *Lexical—Syllabary A Vocabulary (S^a Voc.)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---|---|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74171b + 7523a = 7523b + 74199d + 74158a + 7521 | M ₁ M III NE Surface M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III SE Surface | 537 A 537 G 537 H 537 E 537 I | Sum.-Akk. | SH | [PN] | Tablet 1, biling., five cols. obv., four cols. rev., holes |
| 731064 + 74249a (+) 74249b | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M I NW M ₁ M I NW | 537 Ci 537 Cii 537 D | Sum.-Akk. | S | Ribi-Dagān | Tablet 2, biling. five(?) cols. obv., four cols. rev., holes |
| 74204a | M ₁ M III NE | 537 B | Sum.-Akk. | SH | Šaggar-abu | Tablet 3, frag., up. le. corner obv., biling., “extract, not complete,” signs A through DU |
| 74199t | M ₁ M III NE | 537 K | Sum.-Akk. | SH? | | Tablet 4, frag., obv. col. i |
| 74231a | M ₁ M III SE | 537 F | Sum.-Akk. | SH | | large frag., biling., from Tablet 3 or Tablet 4, abbreviated text, four columns obv., four? columns rev. |
| 7486a | M ₁ M III NE | 537 L | Sum.-Akk. | SH? | | frag., biling., from Tablet 3 or Tablet 4, lo. le. corner obv. |
| 74309 | M ₁ M I NE | 537 M | Sum.-Akk. | SH? | | frag., biling. |

M₁: 4 tablets (1 extract); 1 fragment.

Total: 4 tablets (1 extract); 1 fragment.

B.5.3 *Lexical—Weidner God List*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74165i (+ ²) | M ₁ M III SE | 539 Ai | Sum./ | SH | | Tablet 1, some glosses |
| 7485j (+ ²) | M ₁ M III SE | 539 B | Akk. | | | |
| 7485c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74165j (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 539 Aii | | | | |
| 74198n (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 539 C | | | | |
| 74165k (+) | M ₁ M III SE | — | | | | |
| 74123f | M ₁ M III SE | 539 D | | | | |
| 74890 (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum./ | SH | | Tablet 2, polyglot |
| 74158k (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 558 G | Akk.- | | | |
| (74118α) (+ ²) | (M ₁ M III NE?) | — | Hurr. | | | |
| (74160α) (+ ²) | (M ₁ M III NE?) | — | | | | |
| ... | | | | | | |
| 74122h | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum./ Akk. | unc. | | uncertain frag., col. i of Tablet 1 or 2, or acrographic? |

M₁: 2 tablets; 1 fragment.

Total: 2 tablets; 1 fragment.

B.5.4.1 *Lexical—ur₅-ra = ḫubullu 1 (Hh) Business Expressions*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731046 + | M ₁ (former R) | 541 A | Sum. | S | Ba'1-bēlu | Tablet 1, uniling. |
| 74342b + | M ₁ M IV SW ² | 541 C | | | | |
| 74248a (+ ²) | M ₁ M I NW | 541 E | | | | |
| 74198l | M ₁ M III NE | 541 R | | | | |
| 731044 (+) | M ₁ (former R) | 541 B | Sum.- | SH | Ba'1-mālik, | Tablet 2, biling. |
| 74117c | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | | son of Ba'1- | |
| 7498i (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 541 T | | | qarrād | |
| 74122al(?) (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 541 V | | | | |
| 731085l (+) | M ₁ (former R) | 541 Z | | | | |
| 74107ax | M ₁ M III NE | 541 Y | | | | |
| 731059a + | M ₁ (former R) | 541 Di | Sum. | S | Išma'1- | Tablet 3, uniling., catchline for Hh 2 |
| 731059b + | M ₁ (former R) | 541 Dii | | | Dagān | |
| 731059c (+) | M ₁ (former R) | 541 Diii | | | | |
| 74178b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 541 F | | | | |
| 74164c | M ₁ M III SE | 541 U | | | | |

² Surface clearing.

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|--------------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74104h | M ₁ M III NE | 541 L | Sum. | SH | | Tablet 4, biling.?, frag. |
| 741010 (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 541 W | Sum. | unc. | | Tablet 5, biling.?, frag. rev. |
| 74122ba | M ₁ M III NE | 541 J | | SH | | |
| 731067 | M ₁ (former R) | 541 G | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., G // H, biling. |
| 74171f | M ₁ M III NE | 541 H | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., H // G, biling. |
| 74124a | M ₁ M III SE | 541 K | Sum. | SH? | | large frag., ri. ed., uniling.? |
| 74132p | M ₁ M III SE | 541 O | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 74139 | M ₁ M III NE | 541 M | Sum. | unc. | [PN] | frag., uniling.?, paleographic colophon, from Tablet 4 or 5 |
| 7496c | M ₁ M III NE | 541 P | Sum. | unc. | | frag., from Tablet 1 or 3, uniling. |
| 7490f | M ₁ M III NE | 541 Q | Sum. | unc. | | frag., Q // R (Tablet 1), uniling.? |
| 731084j | M ₁ (former R) | 541 X | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74104y | M ₁ M III NE | 541 N | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74293j | M ₁ M I SW-II NW | 541 S | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74107av | M ₁ M III NE | 541 AA | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74160h | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling. |
| 7480b | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | uncertain frag., uniling.? Hh 1 or Nigga? |

M₁: 5 tablets; 12 fragments.

Total: 5 tablets; 12 fragments.

B.5.4.2 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 2 *Business Expressions*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74191a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 542 A | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 1, biling. |
| 74164b (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 542 N | Akk. | | | |
| 7418of (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 7488a + | M ₁ M III NE | 542 R | | | | |
| 74215b + | M ₁ M III NE | 542 Ei | | | | |
| 74101x + | M ₁ M III NE | 542 Eii | | | | |
| 74146h (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 542 I ¹ | | | | |
| 74204e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 542 T | | | | |
| 74118c | M ₁ M III NE | 542 J | | | | |
| 74127b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 542 K | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 2, biling. |
| 74146m (+) | M ₁ M III SE | — | Akk. | | | |
| 74132l (+ [?]) | M ₁ M III SE | 542 S | | | | |
| 731058 (+) | M ₁ (former R) | 542 B | | | | |
| 74250 (+ [?]) | M ₁ M I NW | 542 C | | | | |
| 7491z (+ [?]) | M ₁ M III NE | 542 L | | | | |
| 74217a + | M ₁ M III NE | 542 H | | | | |
| 74214d (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74234e | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74101e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 3, biling. |
| 7482b (+ [?]) | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | | | |
| 74232q (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74342a (+) | M ₁ M IV SW ³ | 542 D | | | | |
| 7489k | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74112a | M ₁ M III NE | 542 Q | Sum.- | SH | | frag., Q // G, from Tablet 2 or 3, biling. |
| | | | Akk. | | | |
| 74298e | M ₁ M I SW | 542 G | Sum.- | SH | | frag., G // Q, from Tablet 2 or 3, biling. |
| | | | Akk. | | | |
| 74137k | M ₁ M III NE | 542 P | Sum.- | SH | | frag., biling. |
| | | | Akk. | | | |
| 74129c | M ₁ M III NE | 542 M | Sum.- | SH | | frag., biling. |
| | | | Akk. | | | |
| 74132s | M ₁ M III SE | 542 O | Sum.- | SH | | frag., lo. ed., biling. |
| | | | Akk. | | | |
| 74148aa | M ₁ M III NE | 542 F | Sum.- | SH | | frag., biling. |
| | | | Akk. | | | |

³ Surface clearing.

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|
| 74232d | M ₁ M III NE | 602 AC | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling. |
| 74104u | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., biling.?, Hh 2? |

M₁: 3 tablets; 8 fragments.

Total: 3 tablets; 8 fragments.

B.5.4.3 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 3-5a Wood

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 731030 | M ₁ (former R) | 543 A, 544 A, 545 A, 737 | Sum. | S | Rībi-Dagān | Tablet 1, uniling., Seal F16; incantation, holes |
| 74163b | M ₁ M III NE | 543 C, 544 C | Sum. | S | | Tablet 2, uniling., frag., up. ri. corner |
| 7480a | M ₁ M III NE | 543 B | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 3, biling., lo. ri. corner, frag. |
| 74171j | M ₁ M III NE | 543 D | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 4?, biling., ri. ed. frag., extract |
| 731048 | M ₁ (former R) | 544 B, 545 B | Sum.- Akk. | SH | Ba'1-mālik, son of Ba'1-qarrād | Tablet 5, biling. le. ed., frag., extract |
| 74107u | M ₁ M III NE | 544 E | Sum. | SH | | frag., lo. ed. (rev.), biling.?, from Tablet 3?, holes |
| 74114j | M ₁ M III NE | 544 D | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 74104x | M ₁ M III NE | 544 F | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., from Tablet 5? |
| 7491w | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., from Tablet 5? |

M₁: 5 tablets; 4 fragments.

Total: 5 tablets; 4 fragments.

B.5.4.4 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = *ḫubullu 5b-7* Wood

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 74209a + | M ₁ M III NE | 545 Di | Sum.- | SH | Ba'l-mālik, | Tablet 1, biling., |
| 7526 (+) | Surface | 545 Dii | Akk. | | son of Ba'l- | holes |
| 74201c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | qarrād | |
| 74201a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AA | | | | |
| 74199j (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AB | | | | |
| 74209e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AI | | | | |
| 74198ad (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AC | | | | |
| 74143a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 V | | | | |
| 74232b | M ₁ M III NE | 547 C | | | | |
| 7498f + | M ₁ M III NE | 545 G | Sum.- | SH | Šaggar-abu, | Tablet 2, biling. |
| 74233l (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 Ci | Akk. | | son of Ba'l- | |
| 74233k (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 Cii | | | qarrād | |
| 74126a + | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AG | | | | |
| 74238h + | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AL | | | | |
| 74197h (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AH | | | | |
| 74211 (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 H | | | | |
| 74233e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AF | | | | |
| 74146g + | M ₁ M III SE | 545 Yi | | | | |
| 74150c + | M ₁ M III NE | 545 Yii | | | | |
| 74233t (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 J | | | | |
| 74233b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 Z | | | | |
| 74103w (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AM | | | | |
| 7498m (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 O | | | | |
| 74146n (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 545 N | | | | |
| 74238d + | M ₁ M III NE | 545 K | | | | |
| 74196k (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AK | | | | |
| 74107d (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AJ | | | | |
| 74234c + | M ₁ M III NE | 545 E | | | | |
| 74234m + | M ₁ M III NE | 545 T | | | | |
| 74233h (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 F | | | | |
| 74107w + | M ₁ M III NE | 545 X | | | | |
| 74201e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AN | | | | |
| 74147f (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AP | | | | |
| 74158f (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 545 L | | | | |
| 74216e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 W | | | | |
| 74172c + | M ₁ M III SE | 545 P | | | | |
| 74233f + | M ₁ M III NE | 545 Q | | | | |
| 74234o (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 540 I | | | | |
| 74204b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AT | | | | |
| 74204c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AE | | | | |
| 74238i + | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74123h (+) | M ₁ M III SE | — | | | | |
| 74198i | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AD | | | | |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------------|---|------------------------|---------------|---------------|---|--|
| 74190c + 74209c + 7498j | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 545 U 545 AR 562 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | P[N], student of [PN ₂] | Tablet 3, biling. |
| 7448 | M ₁ M III NE | 545 I | Sum. | SH | | Tablet 4, uniling., pillow exercise extract |
| 74190i | M ₁ M III NE | 545 R | Sum. | SH | | Tablet 5, uniling., exercise extract |
| 74114d + 74109b + 74178c | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 545 M 545 S — | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 6, biling. exercise extract |
| 7496j + [?] 7481c | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 545 AQ — | Sum.- Akk. | SH? | | Tablet 7, biling. exercise extract |
| 74105d | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AS | Sum. | SH | | frag., up. ed. (= lo. ed.?, rev.) dupl. H, D, uniling.? |
| 74122e | M ₁ M III NE | 545 AO | Sum. | SH | | frag., dupl. AP, D, uniling.? |
| 74117d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | uncertain frag. |
| 74177b | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | uncertain frag., uniling.? |

M₁: 7 tablets (4 extracts); 4 fragments.

Total: 7 tablets (4 extracts); 4 fragments.

B.5.4.5 *Lexical—ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 8–9 *Reeds*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--|---|--|---------------|---------------|---|-------------------|
| 74155 + 74910 + 74122g (+) 74191b + 7487c + 74106c (+) 7484s | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 546 Ai 582 546 I 546 Aii 585 546 M 546 K | Sum.- Akk. | SH | [PN], son of [PN ₂], diviner, student of Kidin-Gula | Tablet 1, biling. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 7491e | M ₁ M III NE | 546 G | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74107ad | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74127f | M ₁ M III NE | 546 L | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74171e | M ₁ M III NE | 580 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling. |
| 74177d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling. |
| 74190e | M ₁ M III NE | 546 H | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74132i | M ₁ M III SE | 546 J | Sum. | SH | | Tablet 2, frag., uniling.? |
| 74107v | M ₁ M III NE | 546 C | Sum. | unc. | | frag. uniling., from Tablet 2? |
| 7482g | M ₁ M III NE | 546 E | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling. |
| 74148d | M ₁ M III NE | 546 D | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling. |
| 74261e | M ₁ M I NW | 546 B | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 7487j | M ₁ M III NE | 546 F | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.?, from Tablet 1? |
| 7491d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 7484a | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | uncertain frag., up. ed., biling., Hh 8–9 or Izi? |

M₁: 2 tablets; 13 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets; 13 fragments.

B.5.4.6 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 10 *Vessels*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| 7416of (+?) | M ₁ M III NE | 547 A | Sum. | unc. | | Tablet 1, uniling. |
| 74206b (+?) | M ₁ M III NE | 547 D | | | | |
| 74177c | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74119b | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 2, biling. |
| 74119c | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.?, from Tablet 2? |

M₁: 2 tablets; 1 fragment.

Total: 2 tablets; 1 fragment.

B.5.4.7 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 11–12 *Leather, Metal*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--|--|
| 74247 + | M ₁ M I NW | 548 D, 549 D | Sum. | S | | Tablet 1, uniling., a few Akk. glosses |
| 731054 + | M ₁ (former R) | 548 K, 549 K | | | | |
| “Tokyo” (+?) | — | — | | | | |
| 74278 (+?) | M ₁ (clearing) | 548 Z, 549 Z | | | | |
| 74123u | M ₁ M III SE | — | | | | |
| 74105a | M ₁ M III NE | 548 B, 549 B | Sum. | S | | Tablet 2, uniling., holes |
| 74171c + | M ₁ M III NE | 548 J, 549 J | Sum. | S | | Tablet 3, uniling. |
| “Freiburg” | — | — (ASJ 9) | | | | |
| 74128o | M ₁ M III SE | 548 W | Sum. | S | | frag., ri. ed., uniling., selectively bilingual, dupl. K |
| 731084z | M ₁ (former R) | 548 Q | Sum. | S | | frag., ri. ed., uniling., obv. not edited |
| 74166a | M ₁ M III NE | 548 H | Sum.- Akk. | SH | [...]–Ba’la, son of Ba’l-mālik, [student? of] Ba’l- mālik | Tablet 4, biling. large frag., rev. |
| 74156e | M ₁ M III SE | 548 I | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | large frag., biling., obv. cols. i-ii, from Tablet 4? |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------------------------------|--|---------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74123a | M ₁ M III SE | 548 V | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | large frag., biling., rev., two columns, from Tablet 4? |
| 74233g | M ₁ M III NE | 548 P | Sum.- Akk. | SH | [PN] | Tablet 5, large frag., biling., paleographic colophon(?) |
| 74148a | M ₁ M III NE | 548 G | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 6, biling. pillow exercise extract |
| 74148k (+ ²) 74172a | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III SE | 548 O 581 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling., from Tablet 5? |
| 74103b (+) 74122ae | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 548 A 548 N | Sum. | unc. SH | | frag., up. le. corner obv., uniling.? |
| 74124b | M ₁ M III SE | 548 Y | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | large frag., biling., rev. |
| 74104i | M ₁ M III NE | 548 E | Sum. | SH | | frag., uniling.?, dupl. I |
| 74128r | M ₁ M III SE | 548 X | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 74154 | M ₁ M III NE | 548 S | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.?, dupl. D+ |
| 74160e | M ₁ M III NE | 549 AG ¹ | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling., not AF |
| 74198q | M ₁ M III NE | 548 AB | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling. |
| 74123w | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling., lo. ed. |
| 74101v | M ₁ M III NE | 547 E | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling. |
| 74107l | M ₁ M III NE | 548 AA | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74122ag | M ₁ M III NE | 548 AC | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., dupl. V |
| 74122ah | M ₁ M III NE | 548 AD | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74156a | M ₁ M III SE | 548 M | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., obv. col. i |
| 74156b | M ₁ M III SE | 548 L | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., obv. col. i |
| 74159k | M ₁ M III SE | 548 F | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |

Table (cont.)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74160c | M ₁ M III NE | 548 U | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74198o | M ₁ M III NE | 548 T | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7481d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7481p | M ₁ M III NE | 548 R | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7484b | M ₁ M III NE | 548 AF | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7485l | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | uncertain frag., biling. |
| 7491m | M ₁ M III NE | 548 AE | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7484c | M ₁ M III NE | 584 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | uncertain frag., biling. |
| 74107y | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | uncertain frag., biling., lo. le. corner |
| 73265 | C | 548 C, 39 | Sum. | SH? | | Tablet 7, uniling., exercise extract |

M₁: 6 tablets (1 exercise extract); 29 fragments.
Area C: 1 tablet (1 exercise extract).
Total: 7 tablets (2 exercise extracts); 29 fragments.

B.5.4.8 *Lexical—ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 13 *Domestic Animals*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------------|--|----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731079 (+?) 74240a | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M I NW | 550 A 550 C | Sum. | S | | Tablet 1, uniling. |
| 731080o | M ₁ (former R) | 550 I | Sum. | S | | frag., uniling., from Tablet 1? |
| 74102d | M ₁ M III NE | 550 B | Sum. | unc. | | Tablet 2, uniling., le. ed., cryptic colophon |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 7476a | M ₁ M III NE | 550 G | Sum. | unc. | | frag, uniling., from Tablet 2? |
| 7520 (+ ²) | M ₁ M IV NW | 550 D | Sum.- | SH | Šaggar- | Tablet 3, biling., selectively biling. |
| 7522 | M ₁ M IV NW | 550 E | Akk. | unc. | abu | |
| 74104w | M ₁ M III NE | 550 H | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling., up. ed. |
| 74146o | M ₁ M III SE | 550 F | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 74105j | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 7491i | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | possible frag., biling. |

M₁: 3 tablets; 5 fragments.

Total: 3 tablets; 5 fragments.

B.5.4.9 *Lexical—ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 14–15 *Wild Animals, Meat Cuts*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| 731086 (+) | M ₁ (former R) | 551 C, 552 C | Sum. | S | | Tablet 1, uniling. |
| 7342 | Surface | 551 B, 552 B | | | | |
| 74137a + | M ₁ M III NE | 551 Ai | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 2, biling. |
| 74171a (+ ²) | M ₁ M III NE | 551 Aii | Akk. | unc. | | |
| 74143b | M ₁ M III NE | 551 E | | | | |
| 74190g | M ₁ M III NE | 551 D | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., from Tablet 2? |
| 74160i | M ₁ M III NE | 551 F | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., from Tablet 2? |
| 74123l | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |

M₁: 2 tablets; 3 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets; 3 fragments.

B.5.4.10 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = *hubullu i6* *Stones*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spots</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 74203e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 553 Ai | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 1, biling., holes |
| 74230a + | M ₁ M III SE | 553 Aii | Akk. | | | |
| 74198af (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 553 B | | | | |
| 74242a (+) | M ₁ M I NW | 553 C | | | | |
| 74238o (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 553 D | | | | |
| 74199s (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74209f (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 553 E | | | | |
| 74233s (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 553 H | | | | |
| 74127j (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 553 Ii | | | | |
| 74198y (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 553 Iii | | | | |
| 74107e + | M ₁ M III NE | 553 J | | | | |
| 74200c + | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74204f | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74248c | M ₁ M I NW | 553 F | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 2, biling. frag. |
| 7489p | M ₁ M III NE | 553 M, 344 | Sum. | unc. | | uncertain frag., uniling.? |
| 74148v | M ₁ M III NE | 553 L | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling. |
| 74178a | M ₁ M III NE | 553 G | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74199o | M ₁ M III NE | 553 K | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 731082 | M ₁ (former R) | 308 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 731089f | M ₁ (former R) | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.?, dupl. A |
| 74148ab | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | uncertain frag., uniling.? |
| 7489b | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |

M₁: 2 tablets; 8 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets; 8 fragments.

B.5.4.11 *Lexical—ur₅-ra = ḫubullu 17 Plants*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| 731050 | M ₁ (former R) | 554 E | Sum. | SH | | Tablet 1, frag., uniling.? |
| 731040a | M ₁ (former R) | 554 B | Sum. | unc. | | frag., up. ri. corner, uniling. |
| 731089c | M ₁ (former R) | 554 F | Sum. | SH | | frag., uniling.? |
| 7481h | M ₁ M III NE | 554 A | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 7491ac | M ₁ M III NE | 554 C | Sum. | SH | | frag., uniling.?, lo.(?) ed. |
| 74127m | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |

M₁: 1 tablet; 5 fragments.

Total: 1 tablet; 5 fragments.

B.5.4.12 *Lexical—ur₅-ra = ḫubullu 18 Fish, Birds*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spots</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|--|
| 74100c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 555 B | Sum.- | SH | [PN] | Tablet 1, biling. student of Kidin-Gula |
| 74100a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 555 C | Akk. | | | |
| 74103e + | M ₁ M III NE | 555 J | | | | |
| 7481n (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 555 H | | | | |
| 74158r (+?) | M ₁ M III SE | 555 F | | | | |
| 74208c | M ₁ M III NE | 555 E | | | | |
| 7498c + | M ₁ M III NE | 555 Ai | Sum.- | SH | Ba'1-mālik, | Tablet 2, biling. |
| 74166d | M ₁ M III NE | 555 D | Akk. | | son of Ba'1-qarrād | |
| 74171d | M ₁ M III NE | 555 Aii | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | large frag., biling., from Tablet 2? Tablet 1? or another source? |
| 74107aa | M ₁ M III NE | 547 B | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling. |
| 74122w | M ₁ M III NE | 593 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spots</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74123q | M ₁ M III SE | 596 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling. |
| 74165c | M ₁ M III SE | 579 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., ri. ed. |
| 74242b | M ₁ M I NW | 555 G | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74345f | M ₁ unclear | 555 I | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7467 | M ₁ M III NE | 555 K | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 3, biling., pil- low exercise extract, unorthographic Sum. |

M₁: 3 tablets (1 exercise extract); 7 fragments.
Total: 3 tablets (1 exercise extract); 7 fragments.

B.5.4.13 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 19 *Textiles*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 7484n (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- | unc. | | Tablet 1, frag., biling., cryptic colophon |
| 74104e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | |
| 74190j (+ [?]) | M ₁ M III NE | 556 B | | SH | | |
| 7491a (+ [?]) | M ₁ M III NE | 556 E | | unc. | | |
| 74148m | M ₁ M III NE | 556 G | | SH | | |
| 74122b | M ₁ M III NE | 556 C | Sum. | unc. | | Tablet 2?, large frag., uniling.? |
| 74149 | M ₁ M III SE | 556 D | Sum.- Akk. | S | | Tablet 3, biling., large extract; Sum.-syll. Sum.- Akk. |
| 74202 | M ₁ M III NE | 556 A | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 4, biling., pillow exercise extract |
| 7498l | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | SH? | | frag., uniling.? |
| 74190m | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | uncertain frag., biling. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| [unknown] | M ₁ unclear? | 556 F | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | uncertain frag., biling., not inventoried, not copied |

M₁: 4 tablets (2 exercise extracts); 3 fragments (+1 not documented).

Total: 4 tablets (2 exercise extracts); 3 fragments (+1 not documented).

B.5.4.14 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 20 *Geographical Names (Fields)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spots</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------|--|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731053 | M ₁ (former R) | 557 A | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, biling. |
| 74171g | M ₁ M III NE | 557 D | Sum. | unc. | | Tablet 2, frag., le. ed., uniling.? |
| 74147g | M ₁ M III NE | 557 B | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74159f | M ₁ M III SE | 557 C | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo. le. corner, biling. |
| 74233n + 74233m | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 788 788 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., from Tablet 1? |

M₁: 2 tablets; 3 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets; 3 fragments.

B.5.4.15 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 21a *Geographical Names*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74129e ¹ | M ₁ M III NE | 558 A, 559 K | Sum. | SH | | Tablet 1, uniling., not 74129a, rev. unclear |
| 74234b | M ₁ M III NE | 558 A | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 2, biling., exercise extract |
| 74104p | M ₁ M III NE | 558 K | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling., from Tablet 1? |
| 74238v | M ₁ M III NE | 558 M | Sum. | unc. | | uncertain frag., ri. ed., uniling. |

M₁: 2 tablets (1 exercise extract); 2 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets (1 exercise extract); 2 fragments.

B.5.4.16 *Lexical—ur₅-ra = ħubullu 21b-22* *Geographical Names, Stars*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74198b | M ₁ M III NE | 558 D, 559 I | Sum. | S | | Tablet 1, uniling., bottom half, holes |
| 74115 + | M ₁ M III NE | 558 B, 559 Ai | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 2, biling. |
| 74159ac (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 559 Aii | Akk. | | | |
| 74104g (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 558 J | | | | |
| 74232a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 559 H | | | | |
| 74199v | M ₁ M III NE | 559 F | | | | |
| 74187 (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 558 E, 559 B | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 3, biling. |
| 74227 (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 558 C | Akk. | | | |
| 74158j + | M ₁ M III SE | 559 C | | | | |
| 74122u + | M ₁ M III NE | 559 E | | | | |
| 74104k (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74199b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 559 G | | | | |
| 74122am + | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74122f | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 7455 + | M ₁ M III NE | 559 Di | Sum. | SH | | Tablet 4, uniling., pillow exercise extract |
| 74155b | M ₁ M III NE | 559 Dii | | | | |
| 74117g | M ₁ M III NE | 559 J | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 74232f | M ₁ M III NE | 558 L | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 74114h | M ₁ M III NE | 558 Hi | Sum. | unc. | | frag., biling.?, from Tablet 3? |
| 7490c | M ₁ M III NE | 558 Hii | Sum. | unc. | | frag., up. ed., uniling.? |
| 74117b | M ₁ M III NE | 558 I | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74122au | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |

M₁: 4 tablets (1 exercise extract); 6 fragments.

Total: 4 tablets (1 exercise extract); 6 fragments.

B.5.4.17 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 23 *Food*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spots</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------------|--|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74118a (+?) 74186 | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 560 C 560 D | Sum.- Akk. | SH unc. | [PN] | Tablet 1, frag., ri. ed., cryptic colophon |
| 74113a | M ₁ M III NE | 560 F | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 2, frag., biling. |
| 7496b (+?) 74107ab | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 560 A — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., le. ed., biling. |
| 74107o | M ₁ M III NE | 560 G | Sum. | unc. | | frag., biling.? |
| 74105k | M ₁ M III NE | 560 B | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo. ed., biling. |
| 74271 | M ₁ M I NW | 560 E | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | large frag., biling. |

M₁: 2 tablets; 4 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets; 4 fragments.

B.5.4.18 *Lexical*—*ur₅-ra* = ḫubullu 24 *Food*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spots</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------|--|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74160g + 74199p | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 561 F — | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, frag., biling., 2 cols., rev. |
| 74234d | M ₁ M III NE | 561 B | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74217b | M ₁ M III NE | 560 H, 561 A | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo. le. corner, biling. |
| 7491p | M ₁ M III NE | 561 C | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7489l | M ₁ M III NE | 561 D | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74127d | M ₁ M III NE | 561 E | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo. ri. corner, biling. |
| 731084o | M ₁ (former R) | 561 H | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spots</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74208b | M ₁ M III NE | 561 G | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | [PN] | frag., biling., 2 cols., cryptic colophon |
| 74197d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., lo. ed., biling.? |
| 74143k | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | uncertain frag., biling. |
| 74109a | M ₁ M III NE | 591 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | uncertain frag., biling., Hh 24? Lu? |

M₁: 1 tablet; 10 fragments.

Total: 1 tablet; 10 fragments.

B.5.5 *Lexical*—*lu*₂ = ša (*Lu*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---|--------------------|
| 74121i + | M ₁ M III NE | 602 Ai | Sum.- | SH | Šaggar-abu, | Tablet 1, biling., |
| 74121iii + | M ₁ M III NE | 602 Aii | Akk. | | son of Ba'l- | Lu I |
| 74232e | M ₁ M III NE | 602 U | | | qarrād, son of Zū-Ba'la, son of Šuršu | |
| 74148b + | M ₁ M III NE | 602 D | Sum.- | SH | [PN], [son ² of | Tablet 2, biling., |
| 74148l + | M ₁ M III NE | 602 F | Akk. | | Ba'l-mā]lik ² , | Lu I |
| 74129d (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 558 F | | | student of | |
| 74134d (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 G | | | Ba'l-mālik | |
| 74135j (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 H | | | | |
| 74117k + | M ₁ M III NE | 602 R | | | | |
| 74148c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 J | | | | |
| 7495a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 AD | | | | |
| 74106e + | M ₁ M III NE | 541 Ii | | | | |
| 74221b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 541 Iii | | | | |
| 74122o (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 V | | | | |
| 74214c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 W | | | | |
| 7426o (+) | M ₁ M I NW | 602 Z | | | | |
| 74113b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 B | | | | |
| 7496a + | M ₁ M III NE | 602 C | | | | |
| 74147c (+ ²) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 I | | | | |
| 7486d + | M ₁ M III NE | 602 K | | | | |
| 7495c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 O | | | | |
| 74114c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 Y | | | | |
| 74107f + ² | M ₁ M III NE | 602 AA | | | | |
| 74254e (+ ²) | M ₁ M III SE | — | | | | |
| 74135c | M ₁ M III NE | 602 M | | | | |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74158d (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 602 Ei | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 3, biling., Lu I, frag., ri. ed. and rev. |
| 74146d (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 602 S | Akk. | | | |
| 74132u (+?) | M ₁ M III SE | 598 | | | | |
| 74152f | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74169a + | M ₁ M III NE | 602 Eii | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 4, biling., Lu II–Izi |
| 74148af + | M ₁ M III NE | 602 Li | Akk. | | | |
| 74148 + | M ₁ M III NE | 602 Lii | | | | |
| 74148w (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 602 X | | | | |
| 74198e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74158i (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 602 P | | | | |
| 74122c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 569 | | | | |
| 74178e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 569 | | | | |
| 74104b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74101d + | M ₁ M III NE | 587 | | | | |
| 74102l | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74148p | M ₁ M III NE | 602 N | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., Lu I |
| 7496i | M ₁ M III NE | 602 Q | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., Lu I, not confirmed by Taylor |
| 74158e | M ₁ M III SE | 583 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling., lo. ri. corner, Lu I, exercise extract? |
| 731075p | M ₁ (former R) | 589 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., Lu I |
| 74146t | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed., biling., Lu I |
| 74103r | M ₁ M III NE | 602 AB | Sum. | unc. | | frag., biling.?, Lu I, not confirmed by Taylor |
| 74232k | M ₁ M III NE | 602 T | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., Lu I |

M₁: 4 tablets; 7 fragments.

Total: 4 tablets; 7 fragments.

(See also 4.4.18 Hh 24.)

B.5.6 *Lexical*—*izi* = *išātu* (*Izi*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---|--|
| 74105b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 567 | Sum.- | SH | [PN], [son ² of] Ba'1-[mālik, so]n ² of Ba'1-qarrād, diviner, student of Kidin-Gula | Tablet 1, frag., le. ed., biling., Izi b, dupl. Proto-Izi 1a |
| 7494b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 567 | Akk. | | | |
| 74122i (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74232j (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74248b (+) | M ₁ M I NW | — | | | | |
| 74123k | M ₁ M III SE | 594 | | | | |
| 74122ab | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 2, frag., biling., Izi b, dupl. Proto-Izi 1b? |
| 7490b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 564 | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 3, frag., biling., Izi c |
| 74198u (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | | | |
| 7491ae (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 565 | | | | |
| 7479b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 7498e (+ ²) | M ₁ M III NE | 566 | | | | |
| 74198r (+ ²) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74238n (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 537 J | | | | |
| 74127n | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74164a (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 568 | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 4, large frag., lo. ed., biling., Izi d, 3 cols. |
| 74259 (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 568 | Akk. | | | |
| 74146f | M ₁ M III SE | 578 | | | | |
| 74199l + | M ₁ M III NE | 571 | Sum.- | unc. | | Tablet 5, frag., lo. le. corner, biling., Izi e |
| 74198w | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | | | |
| 731075j | M ₁ (former R) | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., Izi e, from Tablet 5? |
| 7433 | M ₁ M III NE | 572 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 6, Izi e, biling., exercise extract, irregular shape |
| 7491k | M ₁ M III NE | 590 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | uncertain frag., biling. |
| 74132q | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Izi frag., biling. |
| 74232l | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | uncertain frag., uniling.?, Izi? Hh 19? |

M₁: 6 tablets (1 exercise extract); 4 fragments.

Total: 6 tablets (1 exercise extract); 4 fragments.

(See also 4.5 Lu, Tablet 4, Lu-Izi combination tablet).

B.5.7 *Lexical—diri = watru (Diri)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74152b | M ₁ M III NE | 540 A | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, frag., biling. |
| 74123i | M ₁ M III SE | 540 F | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 2, frag., near ri. ed., biling., not “Msk 74133i” |
| 74146a (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 540 B | Sum.- | SH | | frag., biling., holes |
| 74198z (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 600 | Akk. | | | |
| 74199i (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 570 | | | | |
| 74238r | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74128c (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 554 D | Sum.- | SH | | frag., biling. |
| 74165e (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 540 E | Akk. | | | |
| 74160a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 540 D | | | | |
| 74254c | M ₁ M III SE | 540 C | | | | |
| 74128k | M ₁ M III SE | 540 G | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74198d | M ₁ M III NE | 599 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74107ag | M ₁ M III NE | 540 H | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74159g | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling. |

M₁: 2 tablets; 6 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets; 6 fragments.

B.5.8 *Lexical—nig₂-ga = makkūru (Nigga)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spots</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| 74103a + | M ₁ M III NE | 573 | Sum.- | SH | | Tablet 1, biling., cryptic |
| 74104a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 573 | Akk. | | | colophon |
| 74103c (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 573 | | | | |
| 74106b | M ₁ M III NE | 573 | | | | |
| 74190h | M ₁ M III NE | 574 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling., from Tablet 1? |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spots</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74100f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | uncertain frag., uniling.? Nigga? Diri? |

M₁: 1 tablet; 2 fragments.

Total: 1 tablet; 2 fragments.

B.5.9 *Lexical—sag = ilu (Sag B)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 731055 (+) <i>Oriente</i> 23 | M ₁ (former R) — | 575 | Sum.- Akk. | S | Ba'l-bārû | Tablet 1, frag., biling., joins large tablet from the antiquities market |

M₁: 1 tablet.

Total: 1 tablet.

B.5.10 *Lexical—Miscellaneous Lexical Texts and Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 7462 | M ₁ M III NE | 601 | Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 1, irregular shape, Hurr. syllabary, model contract |
| 74152a | M ₁ M III NE | 563 B | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 2, frag., up.(?) ed., biling. |
| 731087c | M ₁ (former R) | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., Hh 24? |
| 74100i | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | Arch. | | frag., uniling.?, arch. script |
| 74101h | M ₁ M III NE | 588 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74122s | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., vocabulary with reduplicated signs |
| 74123p | M ₁ M III SE | 595 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling., acrographic?, IGI-compounds |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------------|--|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74152g | M ₁ M III NE | 563 A | Sum. | unc. | | frag., biling.?, sign values |
| 74159ae | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., Hh? |
| 74160l | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., Hh? |
| 74166b | M ₁ M III NE | 576 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling., acrographic |
| 74171i | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74191c + 7484l | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 577 — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed., biling., acrographic, IGI-compounds |
| 74221a | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., biling.? |
| 7478c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le. ed., acrographic |
| 7481c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le. ed., sign values, Hh 5b–7? |
| 7488f | M ₁ M III NE | 586 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., lo.(?) ed., biling., acrographic? |
| 7491t | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | [PN] | frag., le. ed., rev., colophon |

M₁: 2 tablets; 16 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets; 16 fragments.

B.5.11.1 *Lexical—Minor Lexical Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| 731075m | M ₁ (former R) | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74101r | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101s | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101t | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed., biling. |
| 74101u | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---|---|
| 74102g | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 12 | unc. | unc. | [PN,] student of [PN ₂] | frag., up. ri. corner (rev.), paleographic colophon |
| 74103m | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling. |
| 74103s | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling.? |
| 74104d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74104f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74104q | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., Hh? |
| 74105c | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 19 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | [PN] | frag., up. ed., biling., colophon |
| 74105g | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.?, Hh? |
| 74105l | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.? |
| 74106h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107af | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., biling.?, Hh 24? Diri? |
| 74108d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74108f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74116a | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |
| 74122aa | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., ri. ed., biling., Hh? |
| 74122ay | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74122j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le. ed., cryptic colophon? |
| 74122m | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | SH | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| 74122n | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., biling., 2 cols. |
| 74127k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74132r | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74143c | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |
| 74143d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74146i | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74148ad | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., Hh 1? |
| 74148ae | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74148g | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed., biling. |
| 74160m | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74165f | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74190k | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74193c | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74195c | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed., biling. |
| 74198s | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., acrographic? |
| 74198t | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74201b | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., uniling.?, 2 cols. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| 74232h | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74232r | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed., biling. |
| 74236c | M ₁ M I NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74238a | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., Hh? |
| 74238s | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74238w | M ₁ M III NE | 558 N | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74238x | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7480g | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7481g | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7481q | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7482i | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7486b | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ri. corner, biling. |
| 7487a | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7487e | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7487f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7489c | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., 2 cols. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|--|--|
| 7489n | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490l | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7491j | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ri. corner, biling. |
| 7491n | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7491q | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7491r | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7493h | M ₁ M III NE | 538 S', 604 no. 17 | unc. | unc. | Ba'l-x [...son/ student? of] Ba'l-mā[lik] | uncertain frag., paleographic colophon |
| 7493i | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7494f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7496d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |

M₁: 68 fragments.

Total: 68 fragments.

B.5.11.2 *Lexical—Uncertain Lexical Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| 731075n | M ₁ (former R) | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 731078b | M ₁ (former R) | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74307f | M ₁ M I SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74100e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 74101j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101n | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74102m | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103p | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., acrographic |
| 74105h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107au | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107s | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74109d | M ₁ M III NE | 749 | unc. | unc. | | frag., Hh 5b–7? Mesop. incant.? |
| 74110e | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74114k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74116e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122an | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122as | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122p | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122q | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74126c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74127ab | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74127g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74127h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74127i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74127s | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74127w | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| 74133g | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 1 | Akk. | unc. | Ba'l- mālik? | frag. |
| 74133h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74133i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., not Diri |
| 74134c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., Hh? |
| 74135q | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74137e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74137h | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74147i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74147j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74148s | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 74148x | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74148y | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74177g = 74197c | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74180l | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74198c | M ₁ M III NE | 787 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74214e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74232n | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 13 | Akk. | SH | [PN] | frag. |
| 74233j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74234j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74234p | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 7438 | M ₁ M III NE | 227 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., Sealings L3, L4, L5 |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| 7479a | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7480f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7481e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7481k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., Hh 20? |
| 7481m | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7481r | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7482a | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7482c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7484j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7484k | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., Hh 21a? |
| 7485b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7485o | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7486e | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7486k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7487d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7489j | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 7489m | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490n | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490p | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling. |
| 7491g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7493j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., Weidner? |
| 7493k | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | SH | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| 7496f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | [PN] | frag., cryptic colophon |
| 74123e | M ₁ M III SE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74123m | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74146w | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74158p | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74159o | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., Hh 13? |
| 74228b | M ₁ M III SE | 538 S | Akk. | unc. | [PN] | frag. |
| 74254b | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74342i | M ₁ M IV SW ⁴ | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74345d | M ₁ unclear | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74345h | M ₁ unclear | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7524 | Surface | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |

M₁: 90 fragments.

Total: 90 fragments.

⁴ Surface clearing.

Appendix B.6. Divinatory Texts

- B.6.1 Extispicy Omens
 - B.6.1.1 Extispicy Compendia
 - B.6.1.2 Liver Models
- B.6.2 Celestial Omens
- B.6.3 Calendrical Omens
 - B.6.3.1 Almanac
 - B.6.3.2.1 Hemerological Omens, General Series
 - B.6.3.2.2 Hemerological Omens, Monthly Series
- B.6.4 Behavioral Omens
 - B.6.4.1 Sacrificial Sheep
 - B.6.4.2 Oxen
- B.6.5 Teratological Omens
- B.6.6 Medical Diagnostic-Prognostic Texts
- B.6.7 Oracle Reports
- B.6.8 Omen Fragments
 - B.6.8.1 Miscellaneous Omen Fragments
 - B.6.8.2 Uncertain Omen Fragments

B.6.1.1 *Divinatory—Extispicy Compendia—bārûtu*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------------------|--|-------------|--------------|---------------|---|---|
| 74165a + 74173d | M ₁ M III SE M ₁ M III NE | 684 684 | Akk. | S | [...]šaya scri[be...] Amīl- Šimegi(?) [...] | Tablet 1, frag., up. ed., GAG.TI = <i>sikkat</i> <i>šēli?</i> |
| 74125a (+?) 74125b | M ₁ M III SE M ₁ M III SE | 682 683 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., GAG.TI = <i>sikkat</i> <i>šēli</i> , BE |
| 731023 | M ₁ (former R) | 678 | Akk. | S | | Tablet 2, <i>tīrānū</i> , BE |
| 731089b | M ₁ (former R) | 679 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., le. ed., <i>tīrānū</i> , BE |
| 731089a | M ₁ (former R) | 680 | Akk. | unc. | | uncertain frag., <i>tīrānū?</i> , found with Msk 731089b |
| 731089h | M ₁ (former R) | 681 | Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 3, frag., <i>tīrānū</i> , DIŠ |
| 731040 | M ₁ (former R) | 670 | Akk. | S | | Tablet 4, KI.GUB = <i>mazzāzu</i> , BE |
| 731043 (+?) 731089d | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ (former R) | 671 — | Akk. | S | [PN] | Tablet 5, KI.GUB = <i>mazzāzu</i> , BE, crypt- tic colophon |
| 731089g | M ₁ (former R) | 672 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., KI.GUB = <i>mazzāzu</i> , DIŠ(?) |
| 74129a | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., KI.GUB = <i>mazzāzu</i> |
| 731029 (+?) 74100j | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M III NE | 669 673 | Akk. | S | [PN] | Tablet 6, SIPA = <i>martu</i> (or 74100j: ^{giš} TUKUL = <i>kakku?</i>), BE |
| 74192a | M ₁ unclear | — | Hurr. | — | | Tablet 7* |
| 731080q (+?) 731080p | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ (former R) | 674 675 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|--|---------------------|
| 731075r | M ₁ (former R) | 676 | Akk. | S | | frag. |
| 74124h | M ₁ M III SE | 677 | Akk. | S | | Tablet 8, frag., UD |
| 7491b | M ₁ M III NE | 705 | Akk. | S | [PN] scribe, son of(?) P[N ₂ ?] | frag., le. ed., BE |
| 74100b | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | S | | frag. |

M₁: 8 (+ n*) tablets; 9 (+ m*) fragments.
Total: 8 (+ n*) tablets; 9 (+ m*) fragments.
*Unknown number of Hurr. tablets (n) and fragments (m).

B.6.1.2 *Divinatory—Liver Models*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 7430 | M ₁ M III SE | 667 | Akk. | unc. | | Object 1 |
| 7431 | M ₁ M III NE | 668 | Akk. | unc. | | Object 2 |

M₁: 2 objects.
Total: 2 objects.

B.6.2 *Divinatory—Celestial Omens—Enūma Anu Enlil (EAE)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74140c (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 650 | Akk. | SH | [PN] | Tablet 1, frag., up. ed., |
| 74195a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 650 | | | | ri. ed., moon, BE(?), |
| 74195b | M ₁ M III NE | 650 | | | | cryptic colophon, dupl. EAE 1 |
| 731041 | M ₁ (former R) | 651 A | Akk. | S | | Tablet 2, moon, BE, dupl. EAE 5, EAE 3, EAE 8–10?, EAE 11–13? |
| 74204d + | M ₁ M III NE | 651 Ci | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 3, frag., moon, |
| 74165h (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 651 Cii | | | | BE, dupl. EAE 5, EAE 3, |
| 7470 + | M ₁ M III NE | 651 Bi | | | | EAE 8–10?, EAE 11–13? |
| 74206a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 651 Bii | | | | |
| 7488e (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 7491h + | M ₁ M III NE | 651 Di | | | | |
| 7494h | M ₁ M III NE | 651 Dii | | | | |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------------|---|-------------------|--------------|---------------|---|--|
| 74235a (+?) 74228d | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III SE | 652 — | Akk. | SH | Šaggar ¹ - abu, scribe, [diviner] | Tablet 4, moon, dupl. EAE 17–18, Dīš |
| 74345b | M ₁ unclear | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., Dīš, moon, dupl. or from Tablet 4? |
| 74148e | M ₁ M III NE | 656 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., le. corner, moon?, BE, from Tablet 6? |
| 74229 | M ₁ M III SE | 653 | Akk. | SH | [...]Ba ¹ la/ [...]diviner, scr]ibe | Tablet 5, sun, BE, 2 cols. per side |
| 74233d + 74238q + 74238p | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 655 655 655 | Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 6, frag., stars, moon, sun, BE, 2 cols. per side, holes |
| 74122ap | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., le. ed., stars, BE, from Tablet 6? |
| 74215a | M ₁ M III NE | 660 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., stars, BE, 2 cols., from Tablet 6? |
| 7495b | M ₁ M III NE | 662 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., stars |
| 74147h | M ₁ M III NE | 663 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., stars, BE |
| 74165d | M ₁ M III SE | 665 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., stars |
| 74226d | M ₁ M III SE | 661 ¹ | Akk. | SH | | frag., sun?, stars? |
| 741040 | M ₁ M III NE | 658 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., BE |
| 74114a | M ₁ M III NE | 657 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., le. ed., BE |
| 74119a | M ₁ M III NE | 654 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74148q | M ₁ M III NE | 664 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74200e | M ₁ M III NE | 659 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. corner |
| 74238y | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |

M₁: 6 tablets; 14 fragments.

Total: 6 tablets; 14 fragments.

B.6.3.1 *Divinatory—Almanac*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|---------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74266c (+?) | M ₁ M I NW | 605 A | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, frag., months |
| 74266a | M ₁ M I NW | 607 | | unc. | | III, IV, V, ? |
| 74163a | M ₁ M III NE | 605 B, 608 | Akk. | SH? | | Tablet 2*, frag., lo. ed., months V and ?, rev.: <i>iqqur īpuš</i> , General Series |
| 731085e | M ₁ (former R) | 606 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., month ?, from Tablet 1 or Tablet 2 |

M₁: 2 tablets; 1 fragment.

Total: 2 tablets; 1 fragment.

(See also 6.3.2.1.)

B.6.3.2.1 *Divinatory—Hemerological Omens—iqqur īpuš, General Series*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74209d + | M ₁ M III NE | 609 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, frag. |
| 74123j | M ₁ M III SE | 609 | | | | |
| (74163a) | M ₁ M III NE | 605 B, 608 | Akk. | SH? | | (Tablet 2*), frag., lo. ed., obv.: Almanac |

M₁: 1* tablet.

Total: 1* tablet.

(*See also 6.3.1.)

B.6.3.2.2 *Divinatory—Hemerological Omens—iqqur īpuš, Monthly Series*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 74159a + | M ₁ M III SE | 610 C | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, short |
| 74128s (+?) | M ₁ M III SE | 610 H | | | | recension, months |
| 74117f (+?) | M ₁ M III NE | 610 A | | | | I, II, III, [IV], V, VI, |
| 74117a (+?) | M ₁ M III NE | 610 B | | | | VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, |
| 74105e (+?) | M ₁ M III NE | 610 E | | | | XII; D1Š |
| 74124c (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 610 Fi | | | | |
| 74124d | M ₁ M III SE | 610 Fii | | | | |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---|--|
| 74143 ^l | M ₁ M III NE | 610 D | Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 2, frag., short recension, months IV?, X |
| 74296a | M ₁ M I SW | 611 A | Akk. | SH | Ba'1-mālik, son of Ba'1-qarrād, scribe, diviner | Tablet 3, long recension, I; months I, II, [III], [IV], V, VI; Dīš |
| 74342g (+) | M ₁ M IV SW ⁵ | 611 B | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 4, frag., long recension, I; months [I], II, [III], IV, V, VI; Dīš |
| 74342h + | M ₁ M IV SW | 611 D | | | | |
| 74342e + | M ₁ M IV SW | 611 Ci, K | | | | |
| 74342n | M ₁ M IV SW | 611 Cii | | | | |
| 74170 | M ₁ M III NE | 611 E | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 5, frag.; long recension, I; months II?, V? |
| 74205d | M ₁ M III NE | 611 F | Akk. | SH | | frag., lo. ri. corner, cols. ii-iii, long recension, I; months III, IV; F // G, H, I |
| 74342o | M ₁ M IV SW | 611 G | Akk. | SH | | frag., lo. ed., col. iii, long recension, I; months III, IV; G // F |
| 74107a | M ₁ M III NE | 611 H | Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed., col. ii, long recension, I; month III; H // F |
| 74303h | M ₁ M I SW | 611 I | Akk. | unc. | | frag., long recension, I; month III; I // F, H |
| 74342c | M ₁ M IV SW | 611 J | Akk. | SH | | frag., cols. iii-iv, long recension, I; months IV, V?; joins F? |
| 74342j | M ₁ M IV SW | 612 | Akk. | SH | | frag., long recension, I |
| 74342l | M ₁ M IV SW | 613 | Akk. | SH | | frag., long recension, I |

⁴ Surface clearing.

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74342m | M ₁ M IV SW | 614 | Akk. | SH | | frag., long recension, I |
| 74342k | M ₁ M IV SW | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed., long recension, I? |
| 74173a (+?) 74169b (+?) 74166c | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 615 B 615 C 615 A | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 6, up. ri. corner, long recension, II; months [VII], VIII, IX, X, XI, XII; DİŞ |
| 74128w | M ₁ M III SE | 615 D | Akk. | unc. | | frag., long recension, II; months XI, XII |
| 731063 | M ₁ (former R) | 616 A | Akk. | unc. | [P]N | frag., le. ed., le. corner, long recension, I? |
| 73108oz | M ₁ (former R) | 617 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 731084l | M ₁ (former R) | 620 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 731084r | M ₁ (former R) | 618 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107ah | M ₁ M III NE | 635 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74107h | M ₁ M III NE | 634 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74117e | M ₁ M III NE | 616 B | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122d | M ₁ M III NE | 621 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122v | M ₁ M III NE | 643 | Akk. | SH | | frag., up.(?) ri. corner |
| 74127o | M ₁ M III NE | 628 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74128j | M ₁ M III SE | 636 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74128n | M ₁ M III SE | 645 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74128p | M ₁ M III SE | 610 G | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74128q | M ₁ M III SE | 649 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74132f | M ₁ M III SE | 619 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 74132k | M ₁ M III SE | 633 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135n | M ₁ M III NE | 629 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74156c | M ₁ M III SE | 623 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74180b | M ₁ M III NE | 637 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74216d | M ₁ M III NE | 630 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74236f | M ₁ M I NE | 622 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74238c | M ₁ M III NE | 631 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74261a | M ₁ M I NW | 632 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74308 | M ₁ M I NW | 639 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74345g | M ₁ unclear | 624 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74820 | M ₁ M III NE | 625 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7484g | M ₁ M III NE | 642 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7484r | M ₁ M III NE | 641 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7488g | M ₁ M III NE | 638 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7491l | M ₁ M III NE | 644 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7498h | M ₁ M III NE | 626 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7498o | M ₁ M III NE | 627 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 7540 | M ₁ surface | 647 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |

M₁: 6 tablets; 43 fragments.

Total: 6 tablets; 43 fragments.

B.6.4.1 *Divinatory—Behavioral Omens, Sheep*—šumma immeru

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|---|---|
| 731077a + 731077b (+?) 74261c | M ₁ (former R) M ₁ (former R) M ₁ M I NW | 698 Ai 698 Aii 698 F | Akk. | SH | Ba'l-[mālik, son of Ba'l- qarrād], scribe [and diviner] | Tablet 1, frag., le. half, 2 cols., per side, D1š, cryptic colophon |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-----------------------------------|--|----------------|--------------|---------------|---|--|
| 74104c (+ ²) 74212 | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 698 B 698 C | Akk. | unc. SH | [Ba'l-mālik, son of Ba'l- qarrād, scribe and] diviner | Tablet 2, frag., up. ed. with up. ri. corner, cryptic colophon |
| 74203a | M ₁ M III NE | 698 E | Akk. | unc. | | frag., BE, E // A, from Tablet 2? cf. 74135m |
| 74101w | M ₁ M III NE | 698 D | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74132e | M ₁ M III SE | 699 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 731075z | M ₁ (former R) | 701 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., from Tablet 2? |

M₁: 2 tablets; 4 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets; 4 fragments.

B.6.4.2 *Divinatory—Behavioral Omens, Oxen—šumma alpū*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74107k | M ₁ M III NE | 700 | Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 1, frag., le. ed., BE GUD.ḪIA |

M₁: 1 tablet.

Total: 1 tablet.

B.6.5 *Divinatory—Teratological Omens—šumma izbu (Izbu)*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| 74161 | M ₁ M III NE | 686 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, frag., le. ed., BE |
| 74199k | M ₁ M III NE | 687 | Akk. | SH | | frag., lo. ed. |
| 74148ag | M ₁ M III NE | 690 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74199f | M ₁ M III NE | 693 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74226b | M ₁ M III SE | 689 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74252 | M ₁ M III SE | 691 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 74261b | M ₁ M I NW | 688 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74122x | M ₁ M III NE | 692 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74133c | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135s | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |

M₁: 1 tablet; 9 fragments.

Total: 1 tablet; 9 fragments.

B.6.6 *Divinatory—Medical Diagnostic-Prognostic Texts—sakikkû*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74122a | M ₁ M III NE | 694 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, frag., dupl. <i>Sakikkû</i> 10, 26, 16 |
| 74127a | M ₁ M III NE | 695 | Akk. | SH | | frag., le. corner, le. ed., DİŠ, dupl. <i>Sakikkû</i> 29? |
| 74159aa | M ₁ M III SE | 697 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) le. corner; DİŠ, dupl. <i>Sakikkû</i> 6? |
| 74xxx* | M ₁ unclear | — | Hurr. | — | | Tablets ?-?*, uncertain |

M₁: 1 (+ n*) tablets; 2 (+ m*) fragments.

Total: 1 (+ n*) tablet(s); 2 (+ m*) fragments.

*Unknown number of Hurr. tablets (n) and fragments (m).

B.6.7 *Divinatory—Oracle Reports*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>SMEA 45</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--|--|----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 7457 + 7498a? | M ₁ unclear M ₁ unclear | 3 3 | Hitt. | — | | Tablet 1, damage to lo. ri. corner, temple of Ninkur; KIN oracle and extispicy (SU.MEŠ) |
| 7458 + 74114m ^{1?} + 74126e ^{1?} | M ₁ unclear M ₁ unclear M ₁ unclear | 4 4 4 | Hitt. | — | | Tablet 2, damage to up. ri. corner, temple of ^d LAMMA KI.LAM, extispicy |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>SMEA 45</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| 7492 + | M ₁ unclear | 5 | Hitt. | — | | Tablet 3, lo. le. corner |
| 74102q ¹⁷ + | M ₁ unclear | 5 | | | | missing, partially |
| 74110l ¹⁷ + | M ₁ unclear | 5 | | | | restored by illicit |
| (private | (M ₁ unclear) | 5 | | | | frag., two inquiries: |
| 54) | | | | | | <temple of> Ištar |
| | | | | | | of Battle (<i>tāḫazi</i>), |
| | | | | | | extispicy; temple of |
| | | | | | | Šaggar, extispicy |
| 731096 | M ₁ (former R) | 6 | Hitt. | — | | Tablet 4, frag., up. ri. corner |

M₁: 4 tablets.

Total: 4 tablets.

B.6.8.1 *Divinatory—Miscellaneous Omen Texts*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74224 | M ₁ unclear | — | Hurr. | unc. | | Tablet 1, frag., lo.(?) le. corner |
| 74109c | M ₁ M III NE | 715 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74110k | M ₁ M III NE | 696 | Akk. | SH | | frag., up.(?) ed., <i>izbu</i> or medical? |
| 74118b | M ₁ M III NE | 714 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74122ad | M ₁ M III NE | 722 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74122aq | M ₁ M III NE | 723 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74133j | M ₁ M III NE | 719 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., extispicy? |
| 74144b | M ₁ M III NE | 711 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ri. corner |
| 74159i | M ₁ M III SE | 703 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74159l | M ₁ M III SE | 713 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74159m | M ₁ M III SE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., le. ed., BE [...] |
| 74159u | M ₁ M III SE | 721 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., S script? |
| 74182b | M ₁ M III NE | 702 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|------------------|--|
| 74197g | M ₁ M III NE | 718 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., extispicy? |
| 74198ab | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | [PN] | frag., le. ed., BE [...], colophon |
| 74198ae | M ₁ M III NE | 648 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., hemerology? |
| 74199e | M ₁ M III NE | 640 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., hemerology? |
| 74199h | M ₁ M III NE | 725 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., extispicy? |
| 74214f | M ₁ M III NE | 727 | Akk. | unc. | [PN] | frag., extispicy? |
| 74234l | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74238g | M ₁ M III NE | 712 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., hemerology? |
| 74345e | M ₁ unclear | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7482e | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed., <i>izbu</i> ? |
| 7491ab | M ₁ M III NE | 726 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7491ad | M ₁ M III NE | 710 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7493b | M ₁ M III NE | 716 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135m | M ₁ M III NE | 685 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., le. ed., physiognomic or <i>šumma imмерu</i> ? |
| 74136a | M ₁ M III NE | 728 | Akk. | SH | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74203f | M ₁ M III NE | 706 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 73108oj | M ₁ (former R) | 708 | Akk. | unc. | Šaggar- [abu] | frag., le. ed., hemerology?, DIŠ |
| 731084h | M ₁ (former R) | 717 | Akk. | unc. | [PN] | frag., cryptic colophon |
| 74199g | M ₁ M III NE | 666 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7476b | M ₁ M III NE | 704 | Akk. | unc. | | large frag., ri. ed. |
| 7481b | M ₁ M III NE | 720 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |

M₁: 1 tablet; 34 fragments.

Total: 1 tablet; 34 fragments.

B.6.8.2 *Divinatory—Uncertain Omen Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 731089e | M ₁ (former R) | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., almanac? |
| 74100g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74102k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107am | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107aw | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74110b | M ₁ M III NE | 646 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74117h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., 2 cols. |
| 74117p | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122y | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74127e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., cryptic colophon |
| 74127l | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74171h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74193b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74198aa | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74198k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | [Ba'1-mālik, son of Ba'1-qar]rād? | frag., cryptic colophon, colophon |
| 74205c | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74221d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74233c | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 1 | Akk. | SH | Ba'1-mālik, son of [Ba'1-qarrād] | frag. |
| 74238u | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 7482j | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | S? | | frag. |
| 7485f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., 2 cols. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| 7486l? [*] | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., unnumbered? |
| 7487b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7489q | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7489r | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490m | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7494e | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7496h | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., SH? |
| 74132h | M ₁ M III SE | 597 | unc. | unc. | | frag., celestial or lex.? |
| 74132v | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74146k | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74158q | M ₁ M III SE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74159p | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74345a | M ₁ unclear | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |

M₁: 35* fragments.

Total: 35* fragments.

(*Including one evidently unnumbered fragment.)

Appendix B.7. Incantations and Rituals

B.7.1 Incantations

B.7.2 Uncertain Incantation Fragments

B.7.1 *Incantations—Incantations and Rituals*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------------------------------|---|-------------------|---------------|---------------|--|---|
| 74102a + 74107ai | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 729 729 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, udug-ḫul, mostly Sum. |
| 741020 | M ₁ M III NE | 730 | Sum. | unc. | | frag., lo. ed., udug-ḫul? |
| 74199q | M ₁ M III NE | 731 | Sum. | unc. | | frag., udug-ḫul? |
| 74107ak | M ₁ M III NE | 732 | Sum. | unc. | | Tablet 2, frag., up. le. corner, sag-gig |
| 74228a | M ₁ M III SE | 733 | Sum. | SH | | frag. |
| 74107q | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74173e | M ₁ M III NE | 734 | Sum. | SH | | frag., unorthographic |
| 74147b (+) 74179 (+?) 74146q | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III SE | 735 735 736 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 3, frag., <i>šimmatu</i> (<i>Muššu'u</i> 8) |
| (731030) | M ₁ (former R) | 543–544, 737 | Akk. | S | Rībi- Dagān, apprentice diviner | (Tablet 4*), Hh 3–5a unilng. Sum., seal F16; dupl. BAM 574 |
| 74124f | M ₁ M III SE | 738 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 731080l | M ₁ (former R) | 739 | Akk. | SH | | frag., le. ed. |
| 74183 | M ₁ M III NE | 740 | Sum. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |
| 7481a | M ₁ M III NE | 741 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74122t | M ₁ M III NE | 743 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., up. ed. |
| 74107t | M ₁ M III NE | 744 | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 7499b | M ₁ M III NE | 744 | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107p | M ₁ M III NE | 745 | Sum. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ri. corner |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74107m | M ₁ M III NE | 746 | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107n | M ₁ M III NE | 746 | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74236g | M ₁ M I NE | 750 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74199r | M ₁ M III NE | 751 | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74234h | M ₁ M III NE | 752 | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135b | M ₁ M III NE | 753 | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74146u | M ₁ M III SE | 755 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74114b | M ₁ M III NE | 756 | Sum. | SH | | frag., le. ed. |
| 74165g | M ₁ M III SE | 757 | Sum.- Akk. | SH | | frag., le. ed. |
| 74107ap | M ₁ M III NE | 758 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107ac | M ₁ M III NE | 759 | Sum. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74117l | M ₁ M III NE | 761 | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74200f | M ₁ M III NE | 762 | Sum. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74101a | M ₁ M III NE | 763 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ri. corner |
| 7485e | M ₁ M III NE | 764 | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74203b | M ₁ M III NE | 765 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74102h | M ₁ M III NE | 766 | Akk. | SH | | frag., lo. ed., 2 cols., col. iv blank |
| 74143e | M ₁ M III NE | 777 | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |

M₁: 3* tablets; 31 fragments.

Total: 3* tablets; 31 fragments.

(*See also 4.4.3, Hh 3-5a, Tablet 1, appendix.)

B.7.2 *Incantations—Uncertain Incantation Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| 74236d | M ₁ M I NE | 707 | Akk. | SH | | frag., lo. ed. |
| 74102n | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag., le. ed. |
| 74107an | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74114l | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122aj | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |
| 74122ak | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |
| 74122ar | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., incant. or lex.? |
| 74122bb | M ₁ M III NE | 748 | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74148f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74221c | M ₁ M III NE | 791 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74232i | M ₁ M III NE | 790 | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74238t | M ₁ M III NE | 747 | unc. | unc. | | frag., incant. or lit.? |
| 74165b | M ₁ M III SE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |

M₁: 13 fragments.

Total: 13 fragments.

Appendix B.8. Literary Texts

- B.8.1 Ballad of Early Rulers
- B.8.2 Benediction for the King
- B.8.3 Date Palm and Tamarisk
- B.8.4 Enlil and Namzitara
- B.8.5 Fowler
- B.8.6 Gilgamesh
- B.8.7 Instructions of Šūpê-amēlī
- B.8.8 Literary Fragments
 - B.5.8.1 Miscellaneous Literary Fragments
 - B.5.8.2 Uncertain Literary Fragments

B.8.1 *Literary—Ballad of Early Rulers—ki ^den-ki-ke₄ ġiš-ġur ġur-ġur-re / itti Ea uššurā ušurātu*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 74127ac + | M ₁ M III NE-SE | 767 Ai | Sum.-Akk. | SH | Šagg[ar]- | Tablet 1, |
| 74128x + | M ₁ M III NE-SE | 767 Aii | | | abu, | biling., |
| 74136b + | M ₁ M III NE-SE | 767 Aiii | | | divi[ner] | Sum.-unorth. |
| 74153 (+ ²) | M ₁ M III NE | 767 Aiv | | | | Sum.-Akk. |
| 74159n (+) | M ₁ M III SE | — | | | | |
| 74132t (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 767 Av | | | | |
| 74137m (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 767 Avi | | | | |
| 74344 | M ₁ unclear | 767 Avii | | | | |
| 74159j | M ₁ M III SE | 767 B | Sum.-Akk. | unc. | | Tablet 2, frag. |

M₁: 2 tablets.

Total: 2 tablets.

B.8.2 *Literary—Benediction for the King—ti-la lugal-ġu₄₀ / buluṭ bēlī*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 74243 | M ₁ M I NW | 775 | Sum.-Akk. | S? | PN?, title? | Tablet 1, biling. |

M₁: 1 tablet.

Total: 1 tablet.

B.8.3 *Literary—Date Palm and Tamarisk*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 74143m (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 783 D | Akk. | SH | [PN] | Tablet 1, frag. |
| 7480j (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 784 | | | | |
| 7490g (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 784 | | | | |
| 74102b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 783 A | | | | |
| 74123s (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 754 | | | | |
| 74123v (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 783 B | | | | |
| 74128f (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 783 C | | | | |
| 74143n (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 784 | | | | |
| 74143o (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 783 E | | | | |
| 74158g (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 784 | | | | |
| 74345c | M ₁ M IV SW ⁶ | — | | | | |

⁶ Surface clearing.

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 74128t | M ₁ M III SE | 783 F | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 2, frag. |
| 74156d | M ₁ M III SE | 783 G | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |

M₁: 2 tablets; 1 fragment.

Total: 2 tablets; 1 fragment.

B.8.4 *Literary—Enlil and Namzitara—nam-zi-tar-ra* ^d*en-lil*₂ *mu-zal-le*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 74174a (+ ²) | M ₁ M III NE | 771 | Sum.-Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, biling. |
| 74107al (+ ²) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | |
| 74148r (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 772 | | | | |
| 74238l (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 773 | | | | |
| 74182a (+ ²) | M ₁ M III NE | 774 | | | | |
| 74112b | M ₁ M III NE | 592 | | | | |

M₁: 1 tablet.

Total: 1 tablet.

B.8.5 *Literary—Fowler—lu₂-mušen-du₃*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|--|
| 7498b (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 768 Ai | Sum.- | SH | Šaggar-abu, | Tablet 1, up. le. |
| 7478b | M ₁ M III NE | 768 Aii | Akk. | | [diviner] | corner, 2 cols., biling., Sum.- unorth. Sum. |
| 74137b | M ₁ M III NE | 768 B | Akk. | SH | [Šaggar-abu,] diviner | Tablet 2(?), ri. ed., 1 col., biling., Akk. |
| 74214a | M ₁ M III NE | 769 | Sum. | SH | | frag., lo. le. corner, 1 col., biling., Sum. |
| 74159c | M ₁ M III SE | 770 | Sum.- Akk. | unc. | | frag., biling., 2 cols., unorthographic Sum.-Akk. |

M₁: 2 tablets; 2 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets; 2 fragments.

B.8.6 *Literary—Gilgamesh—ša naqba imuru*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---|
| 74128d | M ₁ M III SE | 781 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, frag. |
| 7498n + | M ₁ M III NE | 782 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 2, frag., joins two looted fragments |
| 74104z + | M ₁ M III NE | 782 | | | | |
| 74159d (+) | M ₁ M III SE | 782 | | | | |
| (frag. b) (+) | — | — | | | | |
| (frag. c) | — | — | | | | |

M₁: 2 tablets.

Total: 2 tablets.

B.8.7 *Literary—Instructions of Šūpê-amēlī—šimâ milka*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| 74107aj (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 778 | Akk. | SH | | Tablet 1, frag., 2 cols. |
| 74177a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 778 | | | | |
| 74177e = | | | | | | |
| 74197a (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 778 | | | | |
| 74233p (+) | M ₁ M III NE | 778 | | | | |
| 74233q | M ₁ M III NE | 778 | | | | |
| 74233r | M ₁ M III NE | 778 | Akk. | SH? | | Tablet 2, frag., ri. corner |
| 74234g | M ₁ M III NE | 779 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |
| 74295a | M ₁ M I SW | 780 | Akk. | SH | | frag., le. ed. |

M₁: 2 tablets; 2 fragments.

Total: 2 tablets; 2 fragments.

B.8.8.1 *Literary—Miscellaneous Literary Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 731068 | M ₁ (former R) | 785 | Akk. | SH | [PN] | frag., lo.(?) ri. corner, colophon? |
| 74103d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | [PN] | frag., up. ed., cryptic colophon |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--------------------|--|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| 74103f + 74103x | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 776 776 | Sum. | SH | | frag. |
| 74105m | M ₁ M III NE | 760 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo. ed. |
| 74123aa | M ₁ M III SE | 742 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74159h | M ₁ M III SE | 786 | Akk. | SH | | frag., ri. ed. |

M₁: 6 fragments.

Total: 6 fragments.

B.8.8.2 *Literary—Uncertain Literary Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--|
| 74108i | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74112b | M ₁ M III NE | 592 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., cf. <i>Emar</i> 771 (<i>Msk</i> 74174a) |
| 74122al | M ₁ M III NE | 541 | unc. | unc. | | frag., Hh 1 biling. or Date Palm? |
| 74138 | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo. ri. corner |
| 74143g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., uncertain |
| 74143h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., uncertain |
| 74144d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74160b | M ₁ M III NE | 724 | Akk. | SH | | frag., up.(?) ed., divinatory or Date Palm? |
| 74238m | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., cryptic colophon? colophon? |
| 7480h | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 7485i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74124g | M ₁ M III SE | 789 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74128i | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74128l | M ₁ M III SE | — | Akk. | SH | | frag., ri. ed. |

M₁: 14 fragments.

Total: 14 fragments.

UNCERTAIN TEXTS

Appendix B.9. Uncertain Texts and Fragments

B.9.1 Uncertain Fragments

B.9.1 *Uncertain—Uncertain Fragments*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 731075b | M ₁ (former R) | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 731075c | M ₁ (former R) | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 731075q | M ₁ (former R) | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |
| 731078i | M ₁ (former R) | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74261d | M ₁ M I NW | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74261f | M ₁ M I NW | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74266b | M ₁ M I NW | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74267b | M ₁ M I NW | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74307d | M ₁ M I SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74307e | M ₁ M I SE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74307g | M ₁ M I SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74280b | M ₁ M I SW | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74298k | M ₁ M I SW | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) le. corner |
| 74100d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | S | | frag. |
| 74101c | M ₁ M III NE | 291 | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101l | M ₁ M III NE | 292 | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101m | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101p | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74101q | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74101y | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74101z | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 74102i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103j | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74103l | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103n | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103o | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103q | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103t | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103u | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74103v | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74104l | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74104m | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74104n | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74104v | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74105f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74105i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74106f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74106g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107ae | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107ar | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107as | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107at | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74107b | M ₁ M III NE | 359 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 74107r | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74108e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74108g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74108h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74110a | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74110d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74114e | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74116b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74116c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74116d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74117m | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74117q | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122ac | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122af | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122ai | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74122ao | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122at | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122av | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122aw | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122ax | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122l | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74122r | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74122z | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74126b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74126d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 74127aa | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74127r | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74127t | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74127u | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74127x | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74127y | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74127z | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74129b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74133e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74133f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74133k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74133m | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74133n | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74133o | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74134a | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74134b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135a | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135l | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 74135o | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135p | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74135r | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74137f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74137g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74137i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74137j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74137l | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74143f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74143i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74147a | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74147d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ri. corner |
| 74147e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74148ac | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74148h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74148i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74148j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74148t | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74148z | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74150b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74152d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74160d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74160j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74160k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74160n | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| 74173b | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74173c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74175f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74178d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74180c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74180d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74180g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74180h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74180i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74180j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74180k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74190f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74191d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74191e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74191g | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74197b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74197e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74198p | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74199a | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74199c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74199m | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74199n | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74201f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74203c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74203d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 74205a | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74205b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74206c | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) le. corner |
| 74207b | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74208e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74232g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74232o | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74233i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74233o | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74234i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74234n | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 74238aa | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74238b | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74238j | M ₁ M III NE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74238k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74238z | M ₁ M III NE | 538 S | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7478a | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7479c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le.(?) ed. |
| 748oc | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 748oe | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 748oi | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 748if | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 748ii | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 748ij | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 748il | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7482d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 7482f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7482h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7482k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7482l | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7482m | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7482n | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7483a | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7484d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 7484e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7484f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7484h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7484i | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7484m | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7484o | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7485d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7485g | M ₁ M III NE | 427 | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7485h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 7485k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7485m | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7485n | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7485p | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 7485q | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 7486f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7486g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7486h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |
| 7486i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 7486j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 7487h | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |
| 7488b | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 7489e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 7489i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490i | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490j | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490q | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7490r | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7491aa | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 7491af | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7491f | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7491s | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7491u | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7491v | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7491x | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | S | | frag. |
| 7491y | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7493c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7493d | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |
| 7493e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7493f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7494c | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 7494g | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ri. corner |
| 7496e | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 7498k | M ₁ M III NE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 74123ab | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74123ac | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74123ad | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74123n | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74123r | M ₁ M III SE | — | Sum. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74123t | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., le. ed. |
| 74123x | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74123y | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74123z | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74124e | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74128u | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74128v | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74132g | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74132m | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74132o | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74146e | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) le. corner |
| 74146j | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74146p | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74146s | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74146v | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74158h | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74158l | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74158n | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74158o | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74159ab | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74159ad | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Lang.</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 74159q | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74159r | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74159s | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ed. |
| 74159t | M ₁ M III SE | 792 | Akk. | SH | | frag. |
| 74159v | M ₁ M III SE | 793 | Akk. | SH | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 74159w | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74159x | M ₁ M III SE | 299 | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74159y | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74159z | M ₁ M III SE | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74226c | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74228e | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74228f | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74228g | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 74254d | M ₁ M III SE | 709 | Akk. | unc. | | frag., up.(?) ri. corner |
| 74255 | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74257 | M ₁ M III SE | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 74342f | M ₁ M IV SW ⁷ | — | unc. | SH | | frag. |
| 7538 | M ₁ surface | — | unc. | unc. | | frag. |
| 73107 | Temple Storm-god | 54 | Akk. | S | | frag., ri. ed. |
| 7541b | V I SW | — | Akk. | unc. | | frag., lo.(?) ed. |

M₁: 272 fragments.

E South Temple (Storm-god): 1 fragment.

V I SW: 1 fragment.

Total: 274 fragments.

⁷ Surface clearing.

APPENDIX C

COLOPHONS⁸

C.1 Diviners as Scribes

- C.1.1 Šaggar-abu
- C.1.2 Ba'ḷ-mālik
- C.1.3 Ribi-Dagān
- C.1.4 Ba'ḷ-bārū
- C.1.5 Ba'ḷ-bēlu
- C.1.6 Išma'-'Dagān

C.2 Uncertain Scribes

- C.2.1 Student Copies Associated with the Family of Zū-Ba'la
- C.2.2 Partially Preserved and Uncertain Scribes
- C.2.3 Fragmentary Colophons

C.3 Paleographic Colophons

⁸ Because the colophons have been edited by Arnaud (*Emar* 604 and *passim*) and again by Cohen (2009), I do not re-edit them in this catalogue.

C.1 DIVINERS AS SCRIBES

C.1.1 Šaggar-abu

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---------------------|--|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 74204a | M ₁ M III NE | 537 B | Lexical | S ^a Voc. | SH | Tablet 3, extract |
| 74175a | M ₁ M III NE | 538 I | Lexical | Paleographic S ^a | SH | Tablet 1 |
| 74193a | M ₁ M III NE | 538 J | Lexical | Paleographic S ^a | SH | Tablet 2 |
| 74126a (+) 7498f | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 545 AG 545 G | Lexical | Hh 5b–7 biling. | SH | Tablet 2 |
| 7520 | M ₁ M IV NW | 550 D | Lexical | Hh 13 biling. | SH | Tablet 3 |
| 7412ii | M ₁ M III NE | 602 Ai | Lexical | Lu I | SH | Tablet 1 |
| 74235a | M ₁ M III NE | 652 | Divinatory | Celestial | SH | Tablet 4 |
| 73108oj | M ₁ (former R) | 708 | Divinatory | Uncertain | unc. | frag., hemerology? |
| 74153 | M ₁ M III NE | 767 Aiv | Literary | Ballad of Early Rulers | SH | Tablet 1 |
| 7498b | M ₁ M III NE | 768 Ai | Literary | Fowler | SH | Tablet 1 |
| 74137b | M ₁ M III NE | 768 B | Literary | Fowler | SH | Tablet 2(?) |

Total: 11.

C.1.2 Baʿl-mālik

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------------|--|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| 731044 | M ₁ (former R) | 541 B | Lexical | Hh 1 biling. | SH | Tablet 2 |
| 731048 | M ₁ (former R) | 544–545 B | Lexical | Hh 3–5a biling. | SH | Tablet 5 |
| 74143a | M ₁ M III NE | 545 V | Lexical | Hh 5b–7 biling. | unc. | Tablet 1 |
| 7498c + 74166d | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE | 555 Ai 555 D | Lexical | Hh 18 biling. | SH | Tablet 2 |
| 74133g | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 1 | Uncertain | Lexical? | unc. | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| 74233c | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 1 | Uncertain | Divinatory? | SH | frag. |
| 74296a | M ₁ M I SW | 611 A | Divinatory | Hemerology | SH | Tablet 3 |
| 731077a | M ₁ (former R) | 698 Ai | Divinatory | Behavior | SH | Tablet 1 |
| 74212 | M ₁ M III NE | 698 C | Divinatory | Behavior | SH | Tablet 2 |
| 74198k | M ₁ M III NE | — | Uncertain | Divinatory? | unc. | frag. |

Total: 10.

C.1.3 *Ribi-Dagān*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 731064 | M ₁ (former R) | 537 Ci | Lexical | S ^a Voc. | S | Tablet 2 |
| 731030 | M ₁ (former R) | 543–544 A, 737 | Lexical | Hh 3–5a uniling., incantation | S | Tablet 1, seal F16, incantation |

Total: 2.

C.1.4 *Baʿl-bārû*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|---|
| 731055 + <i>Oriente</i> 23 | M ₁ (former R) — | 575 — | Lexical | Sag B | S | Tablet 1, join with looted tablet, which bears the colophon |

Total: 1.

C.1.5 *Baʿl-bēlu*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 731046 | M ₁ (former R) | 541 A | Lexical | Hh 1 uniling. | S | Tablet 1 |

Total: 1.

C.1.6 *Išmaʿ-Dagān*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 731059a | M ₁ (former R) | 541 Di | Lexical | Hh 1 uniling. | S | Tablet 3 |

Total: 1.

C.2 COLOPHONS—UNKNOWN SCRIBES

C.2.1 *Student Copies Associated with the Family of Zū-Ba'la*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|--|--|--------------------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------|---|
| 74232n | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 13 | Uncertain | Lexical | SH | frag., [PN], son of Ba'ḷ-[mālik, scribe, diviner] of the gods of Emar, [student? of] Šaggar-abu |
| 74166a | M ₁ M III NE | 548 H | Lexical | Hh 11 biling. | SH | Tablet 4, cryptic colophon, [PN son? of ...]-Ba'la, son of Ba'ḷ-mālik, [scribe, diviner [of the gods of] Emar; [student?] of Ba'ḷ-mālik |
| 7495a | M ₁ M III NE | 602 AD | Lexical | Lu I | unc. | Tablet 2, [PN], [son? of Ba'ḷ-mā]lik?, student of Ba'ḷ-mālik |
| 7493h | M ₁ M III NE | 538 S', 604 no. 17 | Lexical | Uncertain | unc. | frag., Ba'ḷ-x[... son/student? of] Ba'ḷ-mā[lik] |
| 74191b | M ₁ M III NE | 546 Aii | Lexical | Hh 8–9 biling. | SH | Tablet 1, [PN], [son? of PN ₂], scribe, diviner, student of Kidin-Gula |
| 74208c | M ₁ M III NE | 555 E | Lexical | Hh 18 biling. | unc. | Tablet 1, [PN], student? of Kidin-Gula |
| 74105b + 74122i (+) 74232j (+) 74248b | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M I NW | 567 — — — | Lexical | Izi | unc. | Tablet 1, [PN], [son? of] Ba'ḷ-[mālik, so]n? of Ba'ḷ-qarrād, diviner, student of Kidin-Gula |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------|--|
| 74102g | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 12 | Lexical | Uncertain | unc. | frag., [PN], student of [PN ₂] |
| 74190c | M ₁ M III NE | 545 U | Lexical | Hh 5b–7 biling. | unc. | Tablet 3, [PN] student of [PN ₂] |

Total: 9.

C.2.2 *Partially Preserved Colophons and Unknown Scribes*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------------------|---------------|--|
| 74246b | M ₁ M I NW | 603 A | Lexical | Syll. Voc. A | S | Tablet 1, Bêlu-x[...], apprentice diviner |
| 7483b | M ₁ M III NE | 538 D | Lexical | Paleographic S ^a | unc. | Tablet 3, Ba'1-[...] |
| 731063 | M ₁ (former R) | 616 A | Divinatory | Hemerology | unc. | frag., [...]- ^d D[a ^{??} -gan] |
| 74229 | M ₁ M III SE | 653 | Divinatory | Celestial (Solar) | SH | Tablet 5, [(PN son of?) ...]-Ba'1a / [... scri]be |
| 74173d | M ₁ M III NE | 684 | Divinatory | Extispicy <i>sikkat šēli</i> | S | Tablet 1, [...] šaya, scrib[e ...] |
| 7491b | M ₁ M III NE | 705 | Divinatory | Extispicy | S | frag., [PN] apprentice scribe |
| 74243 | M ₁ M I NW | 775 | Literary | Benediction for the King | S? | Tablet 1, perfectly preserved, but unclear name and title(?) |
| 74158g | M ₁ M III SE | 784 | Literary | Date Palm and Tamarisk | SH | Tablet 1, tablet of [PN], so[n of PN ₂ ...] |
| 731068 | M ₁ (former R) | 785 | Literary | Uncertain | SH | frag., traces of colophon? |

Total: 9.

C.2.3 *Fragmentary Colophons*

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|----------------------|--|-------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 74171b | M ₁ M III NE | 537 A | Lexical | S ^a Voc. | SH | frag., Tablet 1 |
| 74139 | M ₁ M III NE | 541 M | Lexical | Hh 1 uniling. | unc. | frag. |
| 74233g | M ₁ M III NE | 548 P | Lexical | Hh 11 biling. | SH | frag., Tablet 5 |
| 74102d | M ₁ M III NE | 550 B | Lexical | Hh 13 uniling. | unc. | frag., Tablet 2 |
| 74203e (+) 74230a | M ₁ M III NE M ₁ M III SE | 553 Ai 553 Aii | Lexical | Hh 16 biling. | SH | frag., Tablet 1 |
| 7491a | M ₁ M III NE | 556 E | Lexical | Hh 19 biling. | unc. | frag., Tablet 1 |
| 74186 | M ₁ M III NE | 560 D | Lexical | Hh 23 biling. | unc. | frag., Tablet 1 |
| 74208b | M ₁ M III NE | 561 G | Lexical | Hh 24? biling. | unc. | frag. |
| 74148b | M ₁ M III NE | 602 D | Lexical | Lu I | SH | frag., Tablet 2 |
| 74106b | M ₁ M III NE | 573 | Lexical | Nigga | SH | frag., Tablet 1 |
| 7491t | M ₁ M III NE | — | Lexical | Uncertain | unc. | frag. |
| 7496f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Lexical | Uncertain | unc. | frag. |
| 74105c | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 19 | Lexical | Uncertain | unc. | frag. |
| 74122j | M ₁ M III NE | — | Lexical | Uncertain | unc. | frag., le. ed. |
| 731029 | M ₁ (former R) | 669 | Divinatory | Extispicy SIPA | S | frag., Tablet 6 |
| 731043 | M ₁ (former R) | 671 | Divinatory | Extispicy <i>mazzāzu</i> | S | frag., Tablet 5 |
| 74195b | M ₁ M III NE | 650 | Divinatory | Celestial | SH | frag., Tablet 1 |
| 731084h | M ₁ (former R) | 717 | Divinatory | Uncertain | unc. | frag. |
| 74198ab | M ₁ M III NE | — | Divinatory | Uncertain | unc. | frag. |
| 74214f | M ₁ M III NE | 727 | Divinatory | Uncertain | unc. | frag. |
| 74103d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Literary | Uncertain | unc. | frag. |

Table (*cont.*)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| 7479a | M ₁ M III NE | — | Uncertain | Lexical | unc. | frag. |
| 7480f | M ₁ M III NE | — | Uncertain | Lexical | unc. | frag. |
| 74850 | M ₁ M III NE | — | Uncertain | Lexical | unc. | frag. |
| 74122p | M ₁ M III NE | — | Uncertain | Lexical | unc. | frag. |
| 74228b | M ₁ M III SE | 538 S | Uncertain | Lexical | unc. | frag. |
| 74238m | M ₁ M III NE | — | Uncertain | Literary | unc. | frag. |
| 7496d | M ₁ M III NE | — | Uncertain | Uncertain | unc. | frag., paleographic colophon? |
| 74238z | M ₁ M III NE | 538 S | Uncertain | Uncertain | unc. | frag., paleographic colophon? |

Total: 29.

C.3 PALEOGRAPHIC COLOPHONS

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--|
| 74175a | M ₁ M III NE | 538 I | Lexical | Paleographic S ^a | SH-Arch. | Šaggar-abu, Tablet 1 |
| 74193a | M ₁ M III NE | 538 J | Lexical | Paleographic S ^a | SH-Arch. | Šaggar-abu, Tablet 2 |
| 74139 | M ₁ M III NE | 541 M | Lexical | Hh 1 uniling. (?) | unc. | [PN], frag. |
| 74233g | M ₁ M III NE | 548 P | Lexical | Hh 11 biling. | SH | [PN], Tablet 5 |
| 74121 | M ₁ M III NE | 602 A | Lexical | Lu I | SH | Šaggar-abu, Tablet 1 |
| 7495a | M ₁ M III NE | 602 AD | Lexical | Lu I | SH | [PN], [son? of Baʿl-mā]lik?, student of Baʿl-mālik, Tablet 2 |

Table (cont.)

| <i>Msk</i> | <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Emar</i> | <i>Genre</i> | <i>Text</i> | <i>Script</i> | <i>Scribe</i> |
|------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|------------------------|---------------|---|
| 74248b (+) | M ₁ M I NW | — | Lexical | Izi | SH | [PN], [son ² of] |
| 74122i (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | Ba'1-[mālik, so]n ² of |
| 74232j (+) | M ₁ M III NE | — | | | | Ba'1-qarrād, diviner, |
| 75105b | M ₁ M III NE | 567 | | | | student of Kidin-Gula, Tablet 1 |
| 74153 | M ₁ M III NE | 767 A | Literary | Ballad of Early Rulers | SH | Šaggar-abu, Tablet 1 |
| 7498b | M ₁ M III NE | 768 A | Literary | Fowler | SH | Šaggar-abu, Tablet 1 |
| 74137b | M ₁ M III NE | 768 B | Literary | Fowler | SH | [Šaggar-abu?], Tablet 2(?) |
| 74158g | M ₁ M III SE | 784 | Literary | Date Palm and Tamarisk | SH | tablet of [PN], so[n of PN ₂ ...], Tablet 1 |
| 74102g | M ₁ M III NE | 604 no. 12 | Uncer- tain | Uncertain | unc. | frag., [PN], student of [PN ₂] |
| 7493h | M ₁ M III NE | 538 S', 604 no. 17 | Uncer- tain | Uncertain | unc. | frag., Ba'1-x[... son/ student? of] Ba'1-mā[lik] |
| 7496d | M ₁ M III NE | 538 S | Uncer- tain | Uncertain | unc. | frag. |
| 74228b | M ₁ M III SE | 538 S | Uncer- tain | Uncertain | unc. | frag. |
| 74238z | M ₁ M III NE | 538 S | Uncer- tain | Uncertain | unc. | frag. |

Total: 16.

APPENDIX D

SUMMARY OF EPIGRAPHIC DATA FROM EMAR AND 'TEMPLE' M₁

- D.1 Summary—Total Number of Excavated Inscribed Objects from Emar
- D.2 Summary—Total Excavated Tablets and Fragments from 'Temple' M₁
- D.3 Summary—Genres Attested in 'Temple' M₁: Syrian and Syro-Hittite Scribal Traditions

Table (cont.)

| <i>Find-spot</i> | <i>Admin.</i> | <i>Leg.</i> | <i>Let.</i> | <i>Rit.</i> | <i>Lex.</i> | <i>Div.</i> | <i>Inc.</i> | <i>Lit.</i> | <i>Unc.</i> | <i>TOTAL</i> | <i>%</i> |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------|
| VISW | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 13 | 0.7 |
| Surface | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 0.4 |
| Uncertain | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.1 |
| German-Syr. | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.2 |
| TOTAL | 137 | 244 | 21 | 186 | 558 | 187* | 38 | 52 | 464 | 1887* | 100 |
| % | 7 | 13 | 1 | 10 | 30 | 10* | 2 | 3 | 25 | 100 | |

* The total number of unpublished Hurrian tablets and fragments is uncertain.

D.2 SUMMARY—TOTAL EXCAVATED TABLETS AND FRAGMENTS FROM ‘TEMPLE’ M₁

| <i>M₁ Find-spot</i> | <i>Admin.</i> | <i>Leg.</i> | <i>Let.</i> | <i>Rit.</i> | <i>Lex.</i> | <i>Div.</i> | <i>Inc.</i> | <i>Lit.</i> | <i>Unc.</i> | <i>TOTAL</i> | <i>%</i> |
|--------------------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------|
| R. | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0.3 |
| Former R. | 13 | 66 | 1 | 10 | 29 | 24 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 154 | 9.0 |
| INW | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 36 | 2.1 |
| INE | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 12 | 0.7 |
| ISE | 1 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 18 | 1.1 |
| ISW | 7 | 25 | 0 | 47 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 90 | 5.3 |
| ISW-SE | 4 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 20 | 1.2 |
| ISW-II NW | 1 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 20 | 1.2 |
| II NE? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.1 |
| III NE | 55 | 3 | 16 | 85 | 426 | 98 | 31 | 30 | 350 | 1094 | 64.1 |
| III SE | 15 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 72 | 32 | 5 | 14 | 60 | 210 | 12.3 |
| III NE-III SE | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0.2 |
| IV SW** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 16 | 0.9 |
| IV NW | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.1 |

Table (cont.)

| <i>M₁ Find-spot</i> | <i>Admin.</i> | <i>Leg.</i> | <i>Let.</i> | <i>Rit.</i> | <i>Lex.</i> | <i>Div.</i> | <i>Inc.</i> | <i>Lit.</i> | <i>Unc.</i> | <i>TOTAL</i> | <i>%</i> |
|--------------------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------|
| Clearing | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0.2 |
| NE | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.1 |
| Surface | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0.1 |
| Unclear | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 13* | 0 | 1 | 4 | 20* | 1.2* |
| TOTAL | 101 | 128 | 18 | 184 | 552 | 187* | 38 | 52 | 447 | 1707* | 100 |
| % | 6 | 7 | 1 | 11 | 32 | 11* | 2 | 3 | 26 | 100 | |

* The total number of unpublished Hurrian tablets and fragments remains uncertain.
** Surface clearing.

D.3 SUMMARY—GENRES ATTESTED IN ‘TEMPLE’ M₁:
SYRIAN AND SYRO-HITTITE SCRIBAL TRADITIONS

| <i>Genre</i> | <i>Tablets</i> | | | | | <i>Fragments</i> | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|----------|------------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|----------|
| | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Unc.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>%</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>SH</i> | <i>Unc.</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>%</i> |
| Administrative | 0 | 44 | 9 | 53 | 18 | 0 | 11 | 30 | 41 | 4 |
| Legal | 30 | 33 | 0 | 63 | 21 | 21 | 24 | 10 | 55 | 5 |
| Letter | 0 | 13 | 3 | 16 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Ritual | 2 | 23 | 6 | 31 | 10 | 1 | 24 | 115 | 140 | 13 |
| Lexical | 15 | 55 | 15 | 85 | 29 | 3 | 57 | 277 | 337 | 32 |
| Divinatory | 7 | 16 | 12 | 35* | 12* | 4 | 26 | 121 | 151* | 14* |
| Incantation | 0** | 2 | 1 | 3** | 1 | 0 | 11 | 33 | 44 | 4 |
| Literary | 0 | 11 | 1 | 12 | 4 | 0 | 8 | 17 | 25 | 2 |
| Uncertain | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 14 | 256 | 272 | 26 |
| TOTAL | 54 | 197 | 47 | 298* | 100 | 31 | 175 | 860 | 1066* | 100 |
| % | 18 | 66 | 16 | 100 | | 3 | 16 | 81 | 100 | |

* The total number of unpublished Hurrian tablets and fragments remains uncertain.
** The sole example of a Syrian-style incantation is appended to a lexical list (see 4.4.3, Tablet 1, above).

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